


IMPERIAL FEDERATION



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INDEX TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

VOLUME II. JAN.-DEC., 1887.

Aberdeen Daily Free Press on Canada and the States,

202
Adelaide, Railway from, to Melbourne, 46
Africa, A New Cable Route to, 6
Africa, South, British Advance in, 142
Confederation of, 47
Hoffmeyer, Mr., on, 162
Sentiments of a Delegate from, 226
Agent-General, The Post of, 245
Annual Register, The, 45
Antarctic Expedition, Proposed, 221
Anticosti Bloaters, 232
Archbishop for Sydney, An, 25
Archibald, Sir A., 31
Australasia, The New Imperial Fleet for, 157, 217, 241
Australia, Telegraphic Route to, 48
Trade between Canada and, 26
Australia, South, Awakening of, 156
Northern Shore of, 182
Revenue of, 29, 192
Woolen Manufactures of, 160
Australia, Western, British Interests in, 212
More about, 232
Australian Appeal to English Democracy, 234
Banks, Federal Action of, 76
Combined Defensive Land Forces, 248
Contingent to the Soudan, 86
Federation and New South Wales, 235
Loyalty, Native-born, 208
Mail Service, 9
Mobilisation, Difficulties of, 233
Oranges in London, 162
Progress, 233
Regiment for India, An, 209
Wool, A Chinese Market for, 162
Australian Public Opinion, 201

Ballarat and the Mother Country, 162
Banquet to Mr. Stanhope and Sir H. Holland, Full Report of, 163
To Colonial Representatives, 90
BELL, H. T. MACKENZIE, on "The Source of Britain's Strength," 156
Poem by, 97
Bermuda, No Telegraph to, 201
Bible, The Crown Monopoly in the, 27
Boers, How the, Treat Britishers, 69
Boundary Question, A, 51
Branches, On, 34
Brassey, Lord, Banquet to, 182
Bright, John, Answered, 35, 64
Melbourne Age on, 86
Montreal Gazette on, 65
Britain's Strength, The Source of, 156
British Circle, Completion of the, 212

Cambridge Branch, Meeting of, 81
University and the Colonies, 144
Canada and the Jubilee, 27, 153
and the United Kingdom, Commercial Union between, 226
and the United States, 25, 28, 182, 211
Montreal Daily Witness on, 101
Montreal Herald on, 243
Commercial Union between, A Picture of, 229
Climate of, 242
Commercial Union, the Ruin of, 244
Communication between, and the East, 154
Defences of, 77
Emigration to, 245
Militia of, and the War Office, 86
Parcel Post in, 45
Proud of Strengthening the Empire, 214
The League in, 97
The Outlook for Englishmen in, 70
Trade with, 85
United States Press on the Annexation of, 237
Canadian Cricket Eleven for England, A, 142
Dominion, The Defensive Strength of the, 185
Engineers' Certificates, 4
Loyalty, 235
Military Forces, 163
Pacific Railway, The, 161, 182
Pacific Steamship Subsidy, 132, 142, 162
The *Melbourne Argus* on, 143
Ports, Insecurity of, 123
Reply, A, to Professor Goldwin Smith, 97
Tariff, The New, 146, 222
Trade with British Empire, 104, 123
Cape Colony and English Settlers, 4
M.P., From a, 92
Cattle, Importation of, by Australia, 4
Census, A, of the Empire, 85
An Imperial, 37, 125, 143, 173
Important Correspondence on, 135
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J., on United Empire, 233, 242
Church of England, The, and Federation, 7
Clarke, Sir Edward, on our Common Language, 121
Cobden of New South Wales, The, 124
Coaling Stations, Our, 25, 143
Are, Properly Defended? 214
Coast Defence in Australia, 4
Cohen, The Late Mr. Lionel, 171
Colonial Defence, The *Auckland Star* on, 203
and English Iron, Relative Cost of, 121
Government Securities, 128

Colonial Patriotism, 231
Policy and Progress, Fifty Years of, 193
Pressure; or, Teaching, your Grandmother Country, 98
Colonies, Casting in our Lot with the, 194
England and her, Essays on, 129
Commercial Relations of, 181
Competition between, 182
Semmes, Admiral, on, 141
Service, Mr., on, 122
Scholarships for the, 59
The Foreign Office and the, 76
The Secretary of State for the, 49
Throwing Light upon the, 13
Colonists at English Universities, 30, 122
Colonisation, 50
Debate on, at Church Congress, 229
Report of Committee on, 223
Sir F. de Winton on, 143
State-directed, Discussion on, 121
Little, J. S., on, 45
M.P.'s and, 66
Salisbury, Lord, on, 46, 49
Commerce, Intercolonial, Extension of, 126
Commercial Union, The Circumstances of, 211
Question, Colonists on the, 125
Commissioners for the Colonies, 202
Conference (see Imperial Conference)
Consuls, Commercial Reports of our, 6
CORRESPONDENCE—
Anderson, Sir James, "The Value of Telegraphic Communication in Time of War," 22
"Colonial," "Does the British Empire want Rechristening?" 44
"Defence, not Defiance," "A Protest," 44
Dufferin, Lady, "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund," 43, 259
Kersey, H. M., "The Value of Telegraphic Communication in Time of War," 44
"L. T. S., "A Testimonial from New Zealand," 160
Moxon, T. B., "Mr. John Bright's Manches er Letter," 64
Mundill, J., "A Quotation Found," 84
Ridley, A. E., "A Canadian Protest against Commercial Union," 260
Skinner, F. S. B., "The Western Pacific," 260
Westgarth, W., "Sir Charles Tupper and Imperial Federation," 43
"Winnipegosis," "Mr. Goldwin Smith Proves too much," 240
Cradock Branch, Meeting of, 33
Crown Colonies, Sir J. Pope Hennessy on, 93
Dalton, Canon, on the Imperial Conference, 247, 251
Davenport, Sir Samuel, 67
Deakin, Mr., Dinner to, 201
and Mr. Vale on Federation, 215
Debates (see Meetings, &c.)
Debt, An Imperial, 52
Deceased Wife's Sister, The, and Federation, 161, 222
Decimal Coinage, 11, 241
Defensive Strength of the Canadian Dominion, 185
Delagoa Bay, 4
Demerara, A Voice from, 212
Dilke, Sir Charles, on the Future of the Empire, 155
Distinguished Convert, A, 185
Docks, Repairing, in the Colonies, 66
Domain, The Imperial, 251
Down with Everything, 152
Dufferin's, Countess of, Fund, 43
Durham, Sermon by Bishop of, 228
Edinburgh, Formation of Branch at, 254
Emigrants, 181
Emigration Office Committee, The, 14
Returns of, 47
Empire, The—Feeble or Federal, 14
Citizens of the British, 54
Essays, Thoughts suggested by a Volume of, 185
Exeter Theatre, Fire at, 201
Federation (see Imperial Federation)
Commercial, The Fair Trade Scheme of, 245
Intercolonial, 4
of Education, 65, 87
of Science and Art, 70, 143
of the Empire, 149
Under which? 9
Federations, Existing, A Lesson from, 170
"Fiat Justitia ruat Cœlum," 32
Fitzherbert, Sir William—A Parting Message, 172
"Foreign News," 201
Foreign Vessels in British Ports, 223
Forster, The late Right Hon. W. E., Proposed Memorial to, 35, 47
Fraser, The Hon. Malcolm, Speeches at a Banquet to, 8
French-Canadian Statesman, A, advocates Federation, 215
Fruit, Colonial, in England, 47
Geography, The Study of, as it is and as it ought to be, 213
Gladstone, Mr., on the Unity of the Empire, 148
Glasgow, Formation of Branch at, 58

Goschen, Right Hon. J. G., on Imperial Defence, 27
Greater Britain in the Georgian and Victorian Era, 157
Guarantee Fund, 176, 221, 225
Halifax, Meeting at, 42
Hamilton, Mr. Arthur, V.C., 66
Hartington, Lord, Converted to Federation, 68
Hazell's Annual Encyclopædia, 45
Hennessy, Sir J. Pope, on Crown Colonies, 93
Here and There, 16, 39, 59, 78, 100, 137, 157, 179, 196, 219, 237, 257
Holland, Sir H., The *Lyttelton Times* on, 141
Hollisley Bay Colonial College, 142
Honduras, British, The Currency of, 221
Humane Society, The, of Australia, 65
Hypothesis, An, and an Induction, 96
Imperial Conference, The, 7, 28, 74
Australian Opinion on, 68
Blue Books concerning, 182
1. The New Imperial Fleet for Australia, 217
2. Coaling Stations, 239
3. King George's Sound and Thursday Island, 239
4. Defences of Cape Colony and Natal, 256
5. The Military Forces of Australia, 256
Colonial Office, The, and, 67
Echo, The, on, 85
Evidence for, 80
Leeds Mercury, The, on, 118
Landseer, Mr., on, 123
Melbourne Argus, The, on, 141
Opening of, 88
Opening Meeting, Report of, 111
Pall Mall Gazette on, 85
Press, The, on, 10, 103
Precedents established by, 130
Queen's Speech on, 201
Representatives at, 31, 57
Advocating Federation, 91
Banquet to, 90, 109
Banquet to, at the Mansion House, 127
Biographies of, 71
Knights, 87
List of, 71
Reception of, by the Queen, 134
Reynolds' Newspaper on, 85
Salters' Company, Master of the, on, 87
Stanhope, Right Hon. E., on, 123
Varieties of Opinion on, 184
Why "Colonial"? 222
Imperial Defence, 201
Cape Colony and, 67
Daily Mail, The Hull, on, 86
Dunraven, Lord, on, 47
The Royal Marines and, 56
IMPERIAL FEDERATION—
Academy Banquet, at, 153
Arnold-Forster, H. O., on, 53
Agricultural Engineers' Association, at, 47
Berry, Sir Graham, on, 201
Bright, John, and, 46
Brixton, at, 246
Cambridge, Duke of, on, 122
Cambridge, at, 81
Canada, in, 86
Church of England, The, and, 7
Colomb, Captain, on, 243
Colonial Trades Journal on, 52
Dalton, Canon, on, 222, 247, 251
Englishman's Journal, The, on, 45
Fiscal Reform, and, 179
Fowler, Sir R., on, 52
French View of, A, 26
French-Canadian, A, advocates, 215
Glasgow Evening News on, 96
Goschen, Right Hon. G. J., on, 162
Hartington, Lord, converted to, 68
Harris, Lord, on, 47
Holbrook, Hon. H., on, 181
Holland, Sir H., on, 27
Land and Water on, 104
Lansdowne, Lord, on, 154
Leeds Mercury, The, on, 147
Leicestershire, Opinion on, in, 45
Manchester, Bishop of, on, 123
Mann, W. E., on, 53
Melbourne Age, The, and, 202
Montreal Star, The, on, 27
Morgan, Osborne, on, 133, 242, 252
Morning Herald, The (Nova Scotia), on, 65
National Union Club, and, 28
Newfoundland Delegates on, 195
New Zealand, Premier of, and, 69
Parliament, in, 82, 102, 139, 160, 180, 199, 219
Prize Essay Competition, 31
Prospects of Fifteen Years ago, 145
Public Schools, at the, 73, 101, 234, 255
Queensland Premier, The, on, 85
Representatives at Conference, advocated by, 91
Reviews, in the, for June, 148
Rogers, J. W., Q.C., on, 45
Roslin Castle, on board the, 37
Schoolmasters' Duty towards, 57
Stage, on the, 27
Stanley of Preston, Lord, on, 121
Times, The, on, 175

IMPERIAL FEDERATION (*continued*)—

- Trade, the Lords of, and, 51
- Trevelyan, Sir G., on, 28
- Tupper, Sir Charles, on, 29, 43
- Victoria, Debate on, in Parliament of, 203, 215
- Wakefield, The Trade of, and, 14
- Westminster, Debate at, on, 138
- Westminster Review*, The, on, 172
- What do we mean by, 150
- Young, Frederick, on, 182
- Imperial Institute, The, 46
 - Council of, 142
 - Laying Foundation Stone of, 175
 - On its Defence, 92
 - Where and How, 28
- Imperial Penny Postage (*see* Postage)
- India, An Australian Regiment for, 209
 - and China Mails, The, 151, 176
 - Standard of Length in, 225
- Irrigate, Settle, and Cultivate, 162

- Jamaica : Its Present Position and Future Prospects, 206
- Jubilee Address by Canadian Parliament, 153
 - Address by New South Wales Parliament, 143
 - Illuminations, 162
 - Ode by Robert Buchanan, 158
 - Ode by Swinburne, 158
 - Ode, The South Australian, 10
 - The, and McGill University, 67

KENDAL, FRANK—

- The University of Cambridge and the Colonies, 144
- Kensington Branch, Annual Meeting of, 58
- Kilkenny Cats in London, 32
- King George's Sound, 222

- Lansdowne, Lord, on Imperial Federation, 154
- Laurier, Hon. M., 221
- League, The Annual Report of, 84, 105
 - Appeal for Funds for, 169
 - Banquet by, to Representatives at Conference, 109
 - Plan of Table at, 120
 - Banquet by, to Right Hon. E. Stanhope and Right Hon. Sir H. Holland, 163
 - in Canada, Resolutions passed by, 97
 - in Canada, Spread of, 145
 - Judged through the Conference, 94
 - *Melbourne Argus*, The, on, 186
 - *Newcastle Chronicle*, The, on, 87
 - Report of Secretary of, 253
 - Representatives of, at the Conference, 135
 - Principles of, 230
 - Progress of (*see* Meetings)
- Leeds Mercury*, The, on the Conference, 118
- Urgent for Federation, 147

LEWISHAM, LORD—

- The Royal Marines and Imperial Defence, 56

Literature (*see* Reviews of Books)

- LONGLEY, J. A.—

An Australian Regiment for India, 209

MACFARLANE, THOS.—

- An Imperial Tariff, 11
- A Plea for Commercial Union between Canada and the United Kingdom, 226
- Mail Service, The Australian, 9
 - Subsidy, Debate on the, 176
 - Why the, was Ratified, 171
- Manning, Cardinal, on Emigration, 163
- Marines, The Royal, and Imperial Defence, 56
- Mark Lane Express*, The, on Free Trade, 182
- Marriage Laws of England and the Colonies, 161
- MARRIOTT, J. A. R.—

Lectures on Federation by, 122

The University of Oxford and the Colonies, 191

MATHEWS, JEHU—

- A Pan-Britannic Customs Union, 188
- McArthur, The late Sir William, 245
- Medal to Canadian Forces, 5
- Medical Congress in Adelaide, 3

MEETINGS, DEBATES, ETC.—I. In London, 17, 18, 41,

- 60, 238
- Balham, 60, 66
- Balloon Society, 158
- Battersea, 258
- Clapham, 17, 238
- Constitutional Club, 41
- Finsbury, 17
- Forest Hill, 41
- Hampstead, 79
- Highbury, 17
- Holloway, 41
- Islington, 137
- Kensington, 58, 137, 258
- Lewisham, 17, 60
- Polytechnic, 100
- St. Pancras, 17
- Westminster, 138
- Willersden, 79

II. In the Provinces—

- Alderley Edge, 257
- Barnet, 259
- Barnsley, 40
- Birmingham, 16
- Blidworth, 40
- Bradford, 16, 79
- Brampton, 258
- Buckden, 258
- Cambridge, 40
- Cardiff, 16, 40
- Chipping Norton, 100
- Cradock, 33
- Croydon, 40
- Dudley, 100, 137
- Enfield, 79, 258
- Exeter, 60
- Embro, 158
- Glasgow, 158
- Glenferrie, 79
- Halifax, 42
- Halstead, 17

MEETINGS, DEBATES, ETC. (*continued*)—

- Harrow, 60
- Hereford, 17
- Hertford, 60
- Huddersfield, 17
- Hull, 79
- Huntingdon, 258
- Horsham, 40
- Ingersoll, 100
- Leeds, 40
- Leyton, 17
- Leytonstone, 40
- Liverpool, 79
- Long Wittenham, 18
- London (Ontario), 158
- Manchester, 61, 79, 259
- Masbro', 18
- Melbourne, 41
- Montreal, 41, 81, 101, 137, 158
- Montrose, 61
- Newcastle, 80, 101, 138
- Newington, 18
- Newton, 18
- Norwich, 18
- Oxford, 18, 19, 80, 159
- Plymouth, 5, 101
- Portsmouth, 101
- Redruth, 18
- Rochester, 60
- Rugby, 18
- Ryton, 18
- Sheffield, 18
- Southend, 138
- Stonehaven, 18, 101
- Stroud, 101
- Tiverton, 259
- Toronto, 80
- Wolverhampton, 80
- Meeting, The Annual General, 48
 - Notes from, 96
- Mediterranean, England in the, 181
- Melbourne Argus*, The, on the League, 186
- Melbourne Branch, Activity of, 33
 - Great Demonstration by, 196
- Melbourne, Is, Impregnable? 73
- Merchandise Marks, Fraudulent, 87
- Migrate and Federate, 128
- Military and Financial Condition of Europe, 222
- Misrepresentative Undoubtedly, 236
- Montreal Branch, Meeting of, 87
- Morgan, Osborne, 6
 - at Montreal, 252
 - on the Unity of the Empire, 133
- Morley, John, on the Trade of the British Empire, 139
- MUNDILL, J.—
- A Reserve Squadron of British Merchant Steamers, 92

- Natal, Representative Government for, 163
- Navy, The Royal, and the Colonies, 3, 5
- Newfoundland Bait Bill, The, 65, 86
 - and Canada, 141
 - Physical Union of, with Canada, 161
 - The, Delegate, on Imperial Federation, 195
- New Guinea and Australia, 6, 87
 - Protectorate, Our, 154
- New Hebrides, The, Convention, Draft of, 238
 - Difficulty, History of, 131
 - Difficulty, Termination of, 231
 - and France, 163, 222
 - *Melbourne Argus* on, 221
- New South Wales and Australian Federation, 235
 - Brighter Prospects for Emigration to, 70
 - Industries of, 219
 - Public Debt of, 141
 - Revenue of, The, 44, 169
 - The Cobden of, 124
 - The New Policy of, 134
 - Usefulness of the Empire to, 228
- New Year's Greeting, A, 15
- New Zealand and Cambridge University, 5
 - Defences of, 77, 203
 - Finance in, 161
 - The Premier of, Eager for Federation, 69
 - Schoolmasters, 141
- North-West, The Great, 207
 - Passage, The New, 236
- Not for Sale, 252
- Nova Scotia, A Cathedral for, 27
 - Does, want Independence? 32
 - The League in, 25

- One Side of the Question, 152
- Oxford University Branch, Meeting of the, 19, 159
 - Work for the, 69
 - and the Colonies, 191

- Page, Captain, 5
- Pan-Britannic Customs Union, A, 188
- Parting of the Ways, The, 244
 - Message, A, 172
- Peterboro' (Canada) Branch, Formation of, 129
 - Meeting of the, 249
 - Protests against Commercial Union, 216

POETRY:—

- "Drake's Statue at Plymouth" (H. F. Wilson), 249
- "Greater Britain" (Oscar Boulton), 188
- "In Memoriam: W. E. Forster" (H. T. Mackenzie Bell), 97
- "The Empire in Council" (H. F. Wilson), 77
- "The Imperial Conference" (H. W. J.), 93
- Postage, Imperial Penny, 5, 6, 26, 48, 62, 142
 - Henniker Heaton on, 86
 - G. J. Goschen on, 123
 - The English Post Office and, 75
 - The Postmaster-General on, 83
 - The *Southland Times* on, 121
- Prize Essay Competition, A, 31
- Protest, A, 44
- Public Schools, The, Imperial Federation at, 73, 101, 132, 178, 194, 234, 255
 - Our Crusade among, 183

- Quarantine in Australia, 65
- Queensland and the Germans, 46
 - Proposed Partition of, 133
 - State-Aided Village Settlements in, 221
- Quotation, An Unlucky, 147

- Re-christening, Does the British Empire want, 44
- Rede Lecture, The Moral of the, 174
- Representative or Misrepresentative? 206
- Reserve Squadron, A, of British Merchant Steamers, 92
- Retrospect, A, 188

REVIEWS OF BOOKS—

- "A British Federative Union," 189
- "Guide to Emigration and Colonisation," 78
- "Our Colonial Expansion," 104
- "The Crown Colonies of Great Britain," 104
- "The Emigrants' Handbook to the British Colonies," 160
- "The Naval Annual, 1886," 10
- "The Unit of Imperial Federation," 64
- "United States of Britain," 104
- Riflemen, Home and Colonial, 242
- Rochester, Formation of Branch at, 58
- Roslin Castle*, Imperial Federation on the, 37
- Royal Society, The, and the Colonies, 3
- Russian Gold Fields, 260
 - Cruisers, 260
 - Railway to the Pacific, 162

Sale Office for Colonial Government Publications,

- Wanted a, 91
- Salisbury, Lord, on State-Directed Colonisation, 49
 - on Imperial Strength, 181
- Scholarships for the Colonies, 59
- Scotland in the Pacific, 237
- Selby, Formation of a Branch at, 18
- Sermon, An Imperial, 228
- Service, Mr. James, 222

SIGNED ARTICLES BY—

- Bell, H. T. Mackenzie, 156
- Bowker, R. M., 92
- Fitzherbert, Sir W., 172
- Kendal, Frank, 144
- Lewisham, Lord, 56
- Longley, J. A., 209
- Macfarlane, Thomas, 11, 226
- Mariotti, J. A. R., 191
- Mathews, Jehu, 188
- McGoun, A. (Jun.), 149
- Mundill, J., 92
- Tupper, Sir Charles, 15
- Wilson, H. F., 183
- Smith, Professor Goldwin, in *Contemporary Review*, 223
 - on some Arguments of, 95
 - as a Prophet, 55
 - A Canadian Reply to, 97
 - and the *Toronto Week*, 122
- South Australian Register*, False News in, 221
- Spirit of Unity, The, 190
- Sprigg, Sir Gordon, 5
- Stanhope, Right Hon. E., Banquet to, 163
 - Despatch by, 13
 - on the Imperial Conference, 123
 - Resumes the Vice-Chairmanship, 28
 - The Press on, 19
- Stock-taking, 250
- Stokes, Professor, 242
- Sugar Bounties, 46
- Sydney, Defences of, 187
 - Mint, The, 51
 - Naval Training Ship for, A, 241

- Tariff, An Imperial, 11
- Tasmania, Revenue of, 33
- Tasmanian Imperialists, 213
- Telegraphic Communication with Australasia, 48
 - with the Colonies, Mr. Raikes on, 122
 - with New Westminster, 6
 - in Time of War, The Value of, 44
- Thring, The late Rev. E., 234
 - on the Unity of Nations, 241
- Thursday Island, 243
- Times*, The, on Imperial Federation, 115
- Title of H. M. the Queen, 123
- Trade of the British Empire, John Morley on the, 139
 - Routes of the Empire, 123
 - The Lords of, and Imperial Federation, 51
 - The Mutual, of the British Empire, 36
- Treaty, A Peace-Compelling, 100
- Tupper, Sir Charles, 29, 43
 - A New Year's Greeting from, 15

- United Empire, An, 243
- Universities, Colonists at English, 30
- University of Cambridge, The, and the Colonies, 144
 - of Oxford, The, and the Colonies, 191

- Victoria, Appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor for, 26
 - Debate on Federation in the Parliament of, 203
 - Financial System of, 66
 - Forces of, 141
 - Hearty Reception of the League's Principles in, 43
 - Industries of, 219
 - A South Australian Opinion of, 8
 - Iron in, 87
 - Revenue of, 32, 175
- Vincent, Howard, Address by, 38

- Wakefield, Imperial Federation and the Trade of, 14
- Warren, Sir Charles, on Geography, 213
- Watkin, Sir Edward, on the Colonial Office, 143
- Westminster Review*, The, on Imperial Federation, 172
- Whitaker's Almanack, 45
- Wilson, H. F., "Our Crusade among the Public Schools," 183
 - Poem by, 77
- Wimbledon, Competitors at, 203
- Wonderful Year, A, 12
- Working Men Federationists, 205
- Work for the Winter, 210

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Contents.

EDITORIAL—

	PAGE.
NOTES AND COMMENTS	3
A NEW PACIFIC CABLE ROUTE TO AFRICA	6
CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND FEDERATION	7
UNDER WHICH FEDERATION?	9
THE AUSTRALIAN MAIL SERVICE	9
1886—A WONDERFUL YEAR	12
MR. STANHOPE'S DESPATCH	13

SIGNED ARTICLES—

AN IMPERIAL TARIFF. By THOMAS MACFARLANE	11
A NEW YEAR'S GREETING. By SIR CHARLES TUPPER	15

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES, &c.—

AN IMPERIAL REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE	7
A SOUTH AUSTRALIAN OPINION OF VICTORIAN INDUSTRIES	8
SPEECHES AT A BANQUET TO THE HON. MALCOLM FRASER, C.M.G.	8
LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH	10
THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN JUBILEE ODE	10
THROWING LIGHT UPON THE COLONIES	13
IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND THE TRADE OF WAKEFIELD	14
THE EMIGRATION OFFICE COMMITTEE	14
THE EMPIRE—FEEBLE OR FEDERAL?	14
HERE AND THERE	16
PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES	16
FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT SELBY	18
REPORT OF MEETING OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY BRANCH	19
THE PRESS ON MR. STANHOPE'S DESPATCH	19

CORRESPONDENCE—

THE VALUE OF TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION IN TIME OF WAR	22
--	----

LITERATURE—

LORD BRASSEY'S NAVAL ANNUAL	10
------------------------------------	----



PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

43, ST. MARGARET'S OFFICES, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

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British subjects throughout the Empire who sympathise with the cause of Imperial Federation are invited to enrol themselves as Members of the League, and to give all the assistance in their power towards ensuring its success.

Imperial Federation.

JANUARY 1, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

RIGHT heartily do we wish A Happy New Year to all our Subscribers. We hope they have been satisfied with our endeavours in their behalf during the past twelve months! Our object has been to supply them with a continuous record of the League's work and progress: to call attention to whatever makes for Federation; to supply arguments in support of our principles, and single out special objects for immediate agitation; to leave no opponent unanswered, no impediment unassailed, no fallacy unrefuted. Our efforts have met with the most practical kind of appreciation; we have to thank members of the League and the public generally for a continuous and rapid increase in our circulation.

THE arrangements for the year 1887 give us reason to believe that we shall have even more important events to chronicle and more extensive operations to record than in 1886. As the number of the League's adherents grows, the task of this Journal in providing an accurate register of Federationist thought and action becomes more arduous and more important. We appeal to our readers for help. Tell us what you are doing; what difficulties you have to meet; what arguments confront you; what support you need; what progress you make. By establishing a common centre, we shall be able to transmit the whole energy of the League into every corner of the Empire, and focus information from manifold sources upon whatever problem is ripe for solution. We shall, in short, be able to speak with one voice and act with one purpose in Australasia, Canada, South Africa, and the United Kingdom.

TO-day marks the passage of another small reform in the direction of Federation. Much inconvenience and loss, we are told, has been caused to shipowners and Canadian engineers by the fact that certificates granted in the Dominion were not recognised in England. From this day forward an order of the QUEEN in Council directs that second-class engineers' certificates shall hold good on sea-going British ships whether granted in Canada or in Great Britain. Some may think this a trifling matter; but it will make every Canadian engineer a firm ally of the British connection, and ready to fight tooth and nail against any proposal for disruption, whereby his certificate would lose nine-tenths of its value!

THE Council of the Royal Society are anxious to keep abreast of the times. PROFESSOR STOKES, in his anniversary address, stated that a scheme had been formulated for establishing some kind of connection between our oldest scientific society and those of the Colonies. At present, as was pointed out by PROFESSOR HUXLEY in the presidential address of last year, the work of English-speaking men of science who do not inhabit the United Kingdom can only be recognised by their election as Foreign Members of the Royal Society, or by the award of international medals. This rule worked well in old days, but a feeling has grown up of late that in science, as in other matters, the co-operation of English-speaking people all over the world is desirable. This feeling is not peculiar to the

Royal Society in London; it has been re-echoed in the antipodes, and, in fact, a letter from the Royal Society of Victoria seems to have been the immediate cause of the idea assuming practical form. The committee appointed to consider the matter endeavoured first to frame a scheme wide enough to include all English-speaking communities. But it was found that "closely connected as we are with the United States by blood and language, they are politically a foreign nation;" so the committee confined their efforts to producing a scheme embracing the Colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. This will be brought before the new council, and if approved by the Fellows also, the necessary measures will be incorporated into the statutes.

WE need not dwell upon the implied belief of the committee that not only in blood and language, but also politically the natural connection of this country with the Colonies is beyond dispute. That in itself is remarkable testimony from a body of such eminence. What we desire particularly to emphasise is the spectacle of this great Royal Society spontaneously preparing to adopt Federation as the most practical means of extending its influence and strengthening its position. Is it not a hopeful sign for the expansion of the same principle in its wider development, when we see a learned and progressive society, which has no axe to grind and nothing to hinder the pursuit of its own interests, voluntarily expressing its adhesion to a theory which can only be completely realised on the grandest scale by Imperial Federation?

CAPTAIN THOMAS, R.N., commandant of the naval forces of Victoria, recently notified the Government that, on the expiration of the term for which he was engaged, he intended to return to England and rejoin the Royal Navy. The reason which caused CAPTAIN THOMAS to give up his present post was the refusal of the Admiralty to recognise service in the Colonial naval forces as counting towards seniority in the British navy. It is admitted that the Colonial forces are greatly in need of experienced officers, and that their efficiency is much improved by supervision from men like CAPTAIN THOMAS, whose life has been spent in the regular service. But the Admiralty seemed to be deliberately putting obstacles in the way. It is only natural that naval officers should hesitate to accept engagements which diminish their none too plentiful chances of promotion. Promotion and seniority ought to be the reward of serving one's country, not here or there, but anywhere. Is not the country benefited as fully by service in Australia as in the Channel? Considering the importance of building up a trustworthy system of Colonial defence, it would be more reasonable to give officers increased seniority for taking part in the work than to refuse to recognise the years devoted to duties so efficiently and profitably performed.

THE intelligence is therefore peculiarly gratifying that the Admiralty has relented, and given its consent to the extension of CAPTAIN THOMAS's appointment for three years, which will be allowed to count for seniority. There is a curious condition attached to the permission, that the Victorian Government is to "change the title of CAPTAIN THOMAS to that of CAPTAIN of the CERBERUS, and in command of the Victorian naval forces." No doubt there is a hidden virtue in the new style, which we do not attempt to probe; the practical result is excellent.

THE South Australian branch of the British Medical Association is initiating a movement for a Medical Congress

in Adelaide concurrently with the Jubilee Exhibition. This will be the first meeting of the sort ever held in Australia, and cannot fail to be of great service in promoting the exchange of ideas and observations between medical men from the various Colonies. The conditions of their work are so different from those of the profession at home that mutual advantage should accrue to all who take part in the Congress, and no small accession to the general store of medical knowledge may be expected. We hope that the British Medical Association will be as wise as the Royal Society have recently shown themselves, and encourage to the utmost all efforts for the organisation of the Australian branches, on the lines of a Federation which shall admit all members of the Association to full privileges in whatever part of the Empire they may chance to find themselves. This is not inconsistent with some better arrangement than exists at present for combination of the different Australian branches in periodical session.

THAT Australian coasts must be made as secure against attack as our own is indisputable. If the Imperial Conference is worth anything, it will settle this, at all events. There are three ways of providing the necessary defences: each Colony may be required to look after itself; the whole group may combine for a Federal armament; or a *pro rata* subsidy may be paid to the Imperial Government in return for an undertaking to keep a certain force in Australian waters. This last is ADMIRAL TRYON'S scheme. He considers that an annual payment of £90,000 in time of peace, to be increased to £153,000 in war, from the Colonies would maintain a sufficiently powerful squadron. The Melbourne *Age* expresses itself in favour of such an arrangement, but demurs to an agreement for so long a period as ten years. But for this special service new vessels will be required, in addition to the number hitherto considered adequate; and before Parliament votes the money it will have to be satisfied that the ships will not be thrown upon its hands again until they have worked off the cost of construction. Presuming the Navy to be efficient for its existing duties, these additional vessels would be superfluous for other than the special purpose of Australian service. If they are guaranteed ten years' employment, they will be worth building; but if dispensed with after only half that period, they may become White Elephants at Portsmouth or Devonport.

THE *Age* is too sanguine when it deduces from the provision of such a squadron the cessation of any need for shore fortifications. "If we get the ships," it says, "we do not want the forts." But unless the squadron is to perform no other duties than those of guard-ships, forts will be as necessary as ever. How seriously action would be crippled if the cruisers could never leave the ports! How greatly weakened by distribution between the various points of attack! Besides, the only class of vessels which could be any sort of substitute for forts are those huge ironclad floating batteries expressly excluded from ADMIRAL TRYON'S scheme of which the *Age* approves.

At a recent conference of chief inspectors of stock and representative breeders of Australia, the question of prohibiting the importation of stock was discussed at great length. Opinions were somewhat evenly divided, but finally a resolution in favour of prohibiting the introduction of all "bovine, ovine, equine, porcine, feline, and canine animals" into Australasia was lost. An amendment was proposed by MR. WOOD, a Queensland breeder, setting forth that the prohibition on the importation of cattle and

sheep from the United Kingdom might, under proper restrictions, be safely removed. This amendment was carried by ten votes to eight, and we congratulate the conference on their refusal to maintain any unnecessary barrier against the free circulation of Imperial traffic. Unfettered commercial intercourse will take us a long way towards the goal of Federation.

A REPORT has gone abroad that the Portuguese have been recently shaken in their resolution of never ceding Delagoa Bay to any other Power. Whether this report emanates from some enterprising brain, wherein the wish was father to the thought, we know not. But there can be no doubt that the possession of Delagoa Bay would be of immense value towards the consolidation of British power in South Africa, and a prize well worth paying a good deal to obtain. We hope that the Foreign Office will keep on the alert, and take care that if Delagoa Bay ever does change hands, it may fall into the hands of no other nation but England.

"INTERCOLONIAL Federation has apparently ceased to be a live question," says the Melbourne *Leader*. Party spirit, it asserts, runs so high in each Colony that the Legislatures have neither time nor inclination to consider questions which are not subordinate to the immediate interests of faction. Certainly, some scenes in the New South Wales Assembly this session have been very painful reading for those who desire to see the highest traditions of the British Parliament maintained in every self-governing Colony. But we are disposed to think that too much importance has been attached by the *Leader* to these, let us hope, ephemeral ebullitions. If it is true that the Federal Council has failed to realise the aspirations towards Intercolonial Federation at which it aimed, we look for the cause in the absence of any Federal authority to carry into practice the designs and suggestions of the Council. There is at present no motive force to work the machinery, and playing at politics is a game which soon loses its attractions. From the Imperial Conference we hope to see enough vital energy emanate to galvanise the Colonies into combined action anew. But the Phoenix which springs from the ashes of Intercolonial Federation must unfold Imperial wings; the concerns of the Empire must be raised above the sphere of local politics altogether, and this can be done best by widening the basis of authority to its utmost limits, so that individual interests may be merged in an overwhelming sense of the common weal.

THE Cape Colonists are never tired of talking about the importance to the Colony of a big strain of English blood. At present Dutch influence preponderates largely, and can only be counteracted by emigration from England, and the Government therefore needs Englishmen to populate South Africa. "English influence must be paramount," said SIR GORDON SPRIGG the other day. Yet when MR. ARNOLD WHITE offers to send out picked men provided with implements, and asking nothing but a grant of land on which to settle, he is informed by the Cape authorities that the land must be paid for. MR. WHITE naturally objects to this treatment, and declines to immigrate his men, while the Government as yet remains equally firm. Surely it should be possible to come to some arrangement. The Government might, it would seem, very well grant the land to the settlers on the security of the land itself and the promise of some return when it should do more than pay its way. Some such scheme would be advantageous to both parties, though no doubt the immigrants have some reason in thinking that they confer quite enough advantage

in the mere fact of settling, and may justifiably claim a plot of land in return for the assistance they are rendering the Premier in his endeavour to make "English influence paramount."

THE Australasian Colonies have united in sending a telegram to the Home Government, to ask what steps will be taken to strengthen the naval squadron in their waters in the event of Great Britain being concerned in any outbreak of hostilities. They suggest no terms, but they must know that whatever offer may be made by England will depend very much on themselves. There are signs on their part of a disposition to rely somewhat too implicitly upon the efforts which, should a war really break out, the Mother Country would undoubtedly make to afford efficient protection to one and all of her dependencies; and this is hardly the spirit in which we should expect them to face the matter. They must be prepared to give as well as to take. But the whole question had much better be reserved for cool discussion at the Conference in the spring; it will never be satisfactorily settled by a series of cabled questions and answers.

NOTEWORTHY among recent pronouncements in favour of Imperial Federation has been the division in the Plymouth Parliamentary Debating Society. For three months a Bill dealing with the subject had been under discussion, and we are informed that the debates were the most interesting ever heard in that House. MR. BULTEEL must indeed have felt proud of his victory when the numbers were announced—for the second reading, 110; against it, 102. A report in one of the local newspapers says:—"The scene to be witnessed by the large congregation of strangers in the galleries on the announcement of the result of the division eclipsed description, and had never been paralleled probably in any house of legislature. The amalgamation of the Empire was now virtually an accomplished fact."

WE believe that the closeness of the division was affected by certain points of privilege, and other extraneous questions which cropped up during the debate; but what deserves most attention is the large number of members of the society who, by coming week after week to the debates, showed the keen interest felt in the town concerning Imperial Federation. It is admitted that never had there been such an attendance in the history of the society. The people of Plymouth are evidently wise folk, who know what is worth discussing, and who cannot have too much of a good thing.

FAMOUS movements and striking events have a tendency to become petrified, as it were, into some expressive term or phrase, which finally gets incorporated by usage as a part of the national language. We need only refer to the acceptance of the too familiar word "Boycotting" as an instance in point. It seems that we are about to furnish the next example of this tendency ourselves. The phrase "Imperial Federation" is becoming an understood term for describing a certain sort of unity. Thus MR. J. NORMAN LOCKYER, the well-known astronomer, lecturing at Hull the other day, said that there was already an *Imperial Federation* for comparing observations in different parts of the world. He could find no words more thoroughly intelligible to his audience for expressing the mutual relations which exist between the various branches of the society for the study of Solar Physics! When Imperial Federation has begun to come into use as a household word, the end cannot be far off.

A SPECIMEN of the medal granted to the Canadian forces which served against the Half-Breeds and Indians in the North West campaign of 1885 was shown to us recently. It is the first and only medal ever awarded to Colonial forces acting alone, and is, on that account, of considerable historical interest. The ribbon is, we believe, identical with that attached to the Waterloo medal, and will remind the wearers of the most glorious feat of arms ever achieved by British soldiers. If it be true that Waterloo was the crowning victory in England's long struggle for Empire in the West, is there not a peculiar fitness in employing the decoration of 1815 on the first occasion when the heirs of that Empire have been called upon to take up arms in its defence?

CAPTAIN PAGE, of the Canadian Militia, has been one of the first to be decorated with the new Distinguished Service Order. He won it by his bravery in the battle of Ginniss in the autumn of 1885, when GENERAL STEPHENSON inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Soudanese. Very little was said about that engagement; far less, we have been informed, than the importance of the affair merited. It is, therefore, satisfactory to learn that CAPTAIN PAGE's conduct has received its due reward in this eminent badge of distinction.

IT is a curious instance of the anomalies with which all postage systems seem to be encumbered, that in the Dominion of Canada newspapers are carried free, while letters are charged three cents. As a consequence of this, an Imperial Penny Postage would involve, sooner or later, a reduction in the Canadian internal postage rates, and probably a charge for newspapers. It is, therefore, hardly to be expected that the Canadian Press should be enthusiastic about the proposed scheme, and all depreciatory comments must naturally be taken *cum grano salis*. But the public convenience is the first thing to be considered, and we believe that it is sure to prevail in the long run over every other consideration.

IN referring to the knighthood recently conferred on SIR GORDON SPRIGG, a Grahamstown paper makes the suggestion that the whole system of decoration-giving might be advantageously reformed by creating one general Legion of Honour for the Empire, "not limited to officials, and not obtainable through mere Ministerial caprice." There is no necessity to cast slurs on the existing system of distributing honours, but the suggestion is worth consideration. An order of distinction, which should be the well-earned reward of every citizen, whether at home or in the very latest acquisition to the Imperial possessions, who had done any service of a stated kind for the Empire as a whole, or for his own particular part of it, would go far towards promoting the healthy rivalry of brotherhood.

NEW ZEALAND has been granted a privilege which as yet is shared by no other of the Australasian Colonies. On the recommendation of the Council of the Senate of Cambridge, its University is to be affiliated to the older English institution, and its graduates are, within certain limits, to be admitted to all the advantages of affiliation. New Zealand is to be congratulated on this concession, and the other Colonies will not grudge her the distinction. Some of them have already made good their reasonable claim on the educational establishments of the Mother Country for a share in those good results of University teaching which can only belong to a carefully-organised and well-trying system of instruction; and a fresh advance has been made by this compliment paid to New Zealand.

A SHARE in the benefits which, it is hoped, will be derived by trade from the commercial reports now furnished by our consuls throughout the world, has been offered to the Colonies by the SECRETARY OF STATE. Each Colony individually has been asked for its opinion as to the best means of promoting and extending trade by the services of consular and diplomatic officers. In putting these questions a step has been taken which cannot be too highly praised. The exhaustive reports of the Board of Trade, as given in its journal, have won the approval and gratitude of all in this country who have large commercial interests. To refuse to place Colonial merchants on equal terms in this respect with those at home would be as unjust as it would be unwise; but, at the same time, the Colonies, as they themselves know well, contribute nothing to the vast expense of keeping up our consular system, with its ramifications which touch the ends of the world, and it is for them to recognise that they are receiving a boon which would never be theirs but for their close connection with Great Britain.

THE question of what to do with British New Guinea has been wisely left for the Colonies themselves to settle. If they consider that a protectorate is insufficient, and that their interests demand annexation and settlement, the Imperial Government are quite ready to make things easy for them, and even to contribute something towards the expenses. But New Guinea has no strategic advantages for the defence of the Empire; it is secured by our protectorate against foreign aggression; and for purposes of settlement the climate renders it useless. The Government has acted judiciously in offering to give effect to Colonial wishes, for New Guinea may be useful to Australia, and, if so, there is no reason why it should not be administered by Australian authorities. But annexation at the expense of the Imperial exchequer should take place only when there is clear evidence that the Empire as a whole will be benefited. In such a case, no expense should be spared; but the New Guinea affair seems to have a purely Australian character.

MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P., never loses a chance of doing the League a good turn. He is just now taking a holiday tour to the Cape of Good Hope, and accordingly we find that on the *Roslin Castle* the following notice was promptly circulated by the captain:—

A LECTURE ON THE SUBJECT OF
IMPERIAL FEDERATION,

By O. VAUGHAN MORGAN, Esq., M.P.,

Will be given in the Town Hall, Roslin, on Monday, December 13th, at 8 p.m.

The Lecturer has been good enough to express a wish that a discussion may ensue, so that the subject may be brought under the crucial test of the free and enlightened intelligence of the Electors of the Borough generally!

A DEPUTATION from the London Chamber of Commerce waited upon the POSTMASTER-GENERAL on December 17th, with reference to the excessive charges of our Post Office as compared with other countries. A strong case was made out, as every reader of IMPERIAL FEDERATION could predict, in favour of reducing the rates of postage. MR. RAIKES refused to anticipate the result of the Imperial Conference on the subject, but intimated that he would be well pleased to see the Colonies enter the Postal Union. That, he said, would be a great step in advance; but his warmest eulogy was reserved for MR. HENNIKER HEATON's scheme of an Imperial Penny Postage, which, if we correctly interpret a somewhat confused report, he spoke of as likely to form one

of the most gratifying features of HER MAJESTY's Jubilee, if it were the outcome of the ensuing Conference. The cheers with which this remark was greeted showed that the deputation were quite of the same opinion.

THE United States transcontinental railways have suffered from serious snow-blocks this year earlier than usual. The Canadian North-West was enjoying splendid weather without snow at the same time. While news was arriving of trains being buried in drifts in Dakota, the telegrams from British Columbia, North-West Territory, and Manitoba reported clear, fine weather, with all trains "running on time."

NEW WESTMINSTER (British Columbia) and Canso (Nova Scotia), the two extreme points of British North America, were connected in direct telegraphic circuit a few days ago, making an unbroken line of about 4,600 miles. The Commercial Cable Company's Atlantic wire is landed at Canso, and a message was immediately repeated to London, the result being that New Westminster, on the Pacific coast, received a reply from London in the space of five minutes. We congratulate MR. HOSMER, the energetic chief of the Canadian Pacific Railway Telegraph Department, on this magnificent feat. Such a perfect system of communication, passing over none but British territory to a point 7,000 miles from London, is something for the whole Empire to be proud of.

A NEW PACIFIC CABLE ROUTE TO
AUSTRALIA.

SIR JAMES ANDERSON has returned to the subject of ocean cables in a letter which we publish in another column. Since our last issue the matter has practically passed the stage of argument, and it is therefore unnecessary for us to follow it up further. We are glad to hear that a powerful company has been formed, with a capital of £2,000,000, to establish a telegraphic line between the Australasian Colonies and Vancouver. This will spare us the necessity of further allusion to the weak places in our communications, which will soon be doubled in strength and efficiency by the possession of an alternative route.

Sir James Anderson's letter is interesting, as giving the opinion of an experienced man upon the probable results to our commerce of an outbreak of hostilities with another Power. His suggestion that neutral lines of telegraph would be available opens the field for some nice questions as to the laws of international neutrality in time of war. But where are these neutral lines? If any agreement could be arrived at to neutralise all cables, the case would be different; but there does not seem much prospect of this, and at present there is but one route to Australia. We want to see *two*, and we shall not be kept waiting long for the event.

As for the proposition that the time for laying an alternate line is "only when we have determined with whom we are going to war, and where we are going to fight him," we really cannot understand it all. What we want is to make certain of being able to flash out the instructions to every port in the Empire, "Lay down your mines," the moment hostilities are imminent. No one can gainsay the vital importance of having this power. No one can reasonably deny that, whether cable-cutting be easy or difficult, the possession of two routes gives a twofold chance of forwarding intelligence that may save millions of pounds' worth of property from destruction.

We believe that a Pacific cable route would, in fact, do more than double our chances, because we have no great faith in any foreign squadron being found on the high seas so far from port, if war with England was expected. But admitting one route to be no more secure than another, the mere numerical addition to our possible means of communication would well deserve all the support that can be given to it, and the safety of the Empire emphatically demands that the addition be made without delay.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND FEDERATION.

WE hail with satisfaction the broad and generous spirit in which the promoters of the Church House scheme are maturing their plans. There is evidence of a wise resolve not to consider the requirements of Great Britain alone, but to make full allowance for the needs of Colonial Churches also, and even Continental congregations. No one can read the correspondence on the subject which from time to time has been published, no one could have listened to the stirring speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Mansion House meeting on December 10th, without feeling that the unity of the Church is co-extensive with the Empire, and that there exists a strong determination to maintain that unity in the face of non-essential differences.

It seems to us that the prospects of the Church House very much depend upon a recognition of the true principles of Federation; unity of action in those essential matters whereon all are agreed, liberty of conscience and of conduct in questions of detail—these are the postulates of success, whether in a spiritual or a temporal empire. The various sections and parties inseparable from an organisation so vast as the Church of England are agreed upon the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, and there are many ways of doing good under one banner which are multiplied by the very fact of diversity. We wish it had been possible to elevate this great scheme to still larger dimensions; we should have liked to see the Church House develop into a "Christian House," where all denominations of religion might find a place to transact their own business, and an opportunity for harmonious action in the sphere of their common interests. This would be the true logical outcome of the striving for unity, and we are tempted to hope that it may not yet be too late to advocate a grand Federation whereby the supporters of the scheme would be immensely increased and their influence and resources vastly augmented.

However this may be, there is little doubt that the attempt to provide a central institution for the whole of the Church business of the Empire will prepare men's minds for the wider system of Imperial Unity which is represented by the League. It is true, indeed, as the Archbishop of Canterbury well said, that, "among all the feelings which unite the Colonies to England, none is stronger than the Church feeling." Religion has in all ages proved one of the mightiest incentives to union among mankind, and we readily admit that "the Church has immense power in binding and knitting the bonds existing between this country and the Colonies." We attach great importance to the smallest tie that tends to make Federation easy and disruption difficult. But here we have the full leverage of a common religion and a common faith working in our favour.

Those who heard the Archbishop's speech, and marked his reference to the anomaly presented by the two Houses of Convocation, will naturally be reminded of the parallel existing in the present condition of the Empire. "Who will believe," said his Grace, "that in the nineteenth century the whole of England is divided by a zigzag line from east to west, and that all the deliberations of the Church have to be carried on partly on one side and partly on the other? Questions are really considered in duplicate. . . . When, in these days, communication is so rapid and so easy, it is clear that circumstances and events will drive us to have, not two provincial synods, but one national synod." Yes, and circumstances are driving the British Empire to the same goal. Too long have Imperial questions been dealt with in duplicate. In our defences, our postal arrangements, our laws, our whole system of government, we suffer from multiplication of centres where simplicity is essential to welfare. The "zigzag line" which separates the component parts of the Empire is drawn upon the ocean, which in these days can be bridged as easily and effectually as the division between the Convocations of York and Canterbury.

Every day this truth is being forced home more vigorously, and it has received no better illustration than the determination of the Church of England to destroy the artificial barriers which interfere with efficient administration of her vast interests.

AN IMPERIAL REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE.

THE following Despatch from the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Governors of Colonies under responsible government, was published on December 7th, 1886. A circular, enclosing a copy of the Despatch, has also been forwarded to the Governors of Crown Colonies:—

DOWNING STREET, November 25, 1886.

SIR,—You will no doubt have remarked that in the Queen's Speech on the prorogation of Parliament, Her Majesty was pleased to refer to her Colonial and Indian Possessions in the following terms:—"I have observed with much satisfaction the interest which, in an increasing degree, is evinced by the people of this country in the welfare of their Colonial and Indian fellow-subjects; and I am led to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire. I have authorised communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments, with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest."

2. The communications thus promised with the Colonies have engaged the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and they have come to the conclusion that the Queen should be advised to summon a Conference, to meet in London in the early part of next year, at which representatives of the principal Colonial Governments will be invited to attend for the discussion of those questions which appear more particularly to demand attention at the present time. I request you to inform your Ministers of this proposal, which I am confident will be very satisfactory to them, and to express the hope which I entertain of their cordial co-operation.

3. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the question which is at once urgent and capable of useful consideration at the present time is that of organisation for military defence. The patriotic action of the Colonies in offering contingents of troops to take part in the Egyptian campaign made a deep and lasting impression on the public mind, and was the first practical result of much careful work during recent years. It is a necessity of the case that the measures which have been taken in each Colony, as well for the organisation of the local forces as for the construction of local defensive works, are, to a great extent, not yet fully understood and appreciated in other parts of the Empire. The close and thorough examination of the whole subject of Imperial defence, which was completed by the Royal Commission presided over by the Earl of Carnarvon, has led to the execution of extensive and important defensive works in various parts of the Empire; and the cordial co-operation offered to Her Majesty's Government by the Colonies in carrying out this policy indicates their desire to arrive, so far as may at present be practicable, at a common basis of action. This work is still being actively pressed on with the assistance of a Standing Committee, which is continuously occupied with matters relating to Colonial defence.

4. Much yet remains to be done; and it is, of course, unavoidable that secrecy should continue to be observed with regard to many of the defensive measures in progress or in contemplation. The time has, however, now arrived when an attempt may fairly be made to attain to a better understanding as to the system of defence which may be established throughout the Empire. For this purpose an interchange of knowledge as to the state of preparation, or as to the capabilities of organisation in each Colony, would lead to a more thorough understanding of their wants and wishes; but whilst Her Majesty's Government would thus be prepared to recommend for the consideration of the Conference certain principles calculated to promote the general defence of the Empire, it is not our intention in calling the Conference to commit either the Imperial Government or any Colony to new projects entailing heavy expenditure, but rather to secure that the sums which may be devoted to this purpose may be utilised to the fullest extent, with complete knowledge of all the conditions of the problem.

5. Second only in importance to this great question is

one concerning in a special degree the interests of the Empire in time of peace. The promotion of commercial and social relations by the development of our postal and telegraphic communications could be considered with much advantage by the proposed Conference. It is a subject the conditions of which are constantly changing. New requirements come into existence, and new projects are formulated every year. It is obviously desirable that the question of Imperial intercommunication should be considered as a whole, in order that the needs of every part of the Empire may, as far as practicable, be provided for, and that suggestions may be obtained from all quarters as to the best means of establishing a complete system of communications without that increased expenditure which necessarily results from isolated action.

6. Two leading subjects for consideration have been referred to, but it is not impossible that there may be some other important questions, which in the general opinion of the Colonial Governments might properly and usefully be brought under consideration. But I should deprecate the discussion at the present time of any of the subjects falling within the range of what is known as Political Federation. There has been no expression of Colonial opinion in favour of any steps in that direction; and Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that there would be no advantage in the informal discussion of a very difficult problem before any basis has been accepted by the Governments concerned. It might, indeed, be detrimental to the ultimate attainment of a more developed system of united action if a question not yet ripe for practical decision were now to be brought to the test of a formal examination.

7. The Conference will necessarily be purely consultative, and it will therefore not be material that the Colonies should have equal or proportional representation upon it. The desire of Her Majesty's Government would rather be that its constitution should be sufficiently comprehensive to include, in addition to the Agent-General or other specially deputed representative of each Government, any leading public man who may be at liberty to come to England next year, and may be specially qualified to take a useful part in the deliberations. It will, I think, be convenient that I should preside at the Conference, and I need not say that I anticipate much advantage to myself and to Her Majesty's Government from the opportunities of acquiring information which will thus be afforded to me.

8. I will only add, in conclusion, that I am confident that your Government will, as I do, feel deep interest in this first attempt to bring all parts of Her Majesty's Empire into joint deliberation. However modest the commencement may be, results may grow out of it affecting, in a degree which it is at present difficult to appreciate, the interests of the Empire and of the civilised world.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) EDWARD STANHOPE.

P.S.—My own opinion is that the best time for meeting would be the month of April or May, but I should be glad in this matter to be guided by the general opinion of the Colonial Governments.

A SOUTH AUSTRALIAN OPINION OF VICTORIAN INDUSTRIES.

AN interesting report upon the factories of Victoria has recently been published by a Committee appointed by the South Australian Chamber of Manufactures to visit Melbourne for the purpose of collecting information on the subject. The roseate accounts of Colonial progress which reach this country are sometimes discounted, owing to a suspicion that they are influenced by a natural desire to present only the bright side for home consumption. But in this report Victoria appears seen as others see it, and we may be fairly sure that no exaggerated estimate has been formed. The facts are stated briefly, but they speak for themselves:—"There are about 3,000 factories in Victoria, turning out about 120 different kinds of productions, with a capital of nearly £11,000,000, employing 50,000 hands, paying over £5,000,000 per annum in wages, and giving an output of manufactured goods of £20,000,000 sterling—a total equal to the combined value of the agricultural, pastoral, and mining produce."

No doubt the term "factories" is somewhat elastic, but

we suspect the scale of these manufacturing operations will be a surprise to some of our readers. Then comes an inquiry into the cause of such remarkable activity. Here the Committee begin by quoting the explanations given to them before formulating an opinion of their own. But they are evidently attracted by the suggestion that a Protective tariff has an intimate connection with the development of Victoria, and cannot resist an expression of sympathy with it. "Such a policy as this," says the report, "has been advocated by this Chamber for years past—that so far as the public requirements are concerned the Government should seek to obtain, even though at slightly advanced rates over the British and foreign goods, their requirements supplied in the Colony." And again:—"It is the adoption of a policy like this which has built up many of the great manufacturing establishments in Victoria."

Now we hope that the people of South Australia will not allow themselves to acquiesce in the tenor of this report without a very careful consideration of the large and important questions raised by it. The *Adelaide Register* calls attention to one of the points in which undue nursing of local manufactures is highly detrimental to a Colony. "The curse," it says, "of too much of the Colonial work is the amateurishness which characterises it." This tendency is exemplified in the report under notice by the statement that, "in the profuse hospitality" shown to the Committee, "the wines presented were not Victorian or Australasian, but nearly always European;" and speaking of the hat trade in Victoria, it is admitted that the finish is not equal to that of the best French or German make.

This inferiority is not likely to be remedied, but rather will tend to be perpetuated so long as the local manufacturers have command of the market, and do not feel the pressure of competition with the best goods the world can produce. If they can sell Australian wines and Australian hats at a remunerative price they want nothing better.

But without laying too much stress upon the ominous substitution of European wines on what was obviously an occasion of exceptional festivity, it is clear that inferior workmanship can never permanently keep the first place in commercial circles. This has been proved again and again by positive and negative instances. It is enough to point to the case of English goods as an affirmation of the power which a first-rate national certificate of workmanship confers. Some day the Australian Colonies will want a similar certificate for their own goods; it can only be acquired by a long and arduous training in skilled labour, which is even said to become hereditary; but the way to encourage highly skilled labour is not by adopting a policy which perpetuates the fatal sentiment that "anything is good enough to sell."

SPEECHES AT A BANQUET TO THE HON. MALCOLM FRASER, C.M.G.

THE HON. MALCOLM FRASER, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary for Western Australia, was entertained at a complimentary banquet before leaving England. The chair was taken by MR. THOMAS SUTHERLAND, M.P. In proposing the health of their guest, he made the following encouraging remarks upon Imperial Federation:—

"A few years ago, there were men who conscientiously considered that the looser the ties between the Mother Country and the Colonies the better. Indeed, this was the opinion held by a few eminent men; but now things have entirely changed. (Applause.) I believe the opinion now generally prevailing is that we should all combine in the interests of one great Empire. (Applause.) This leads me to a consideration of the question of the Federation of the Empire. Yet this is far too great a matter for me to deal with here. Still I will make bold to say that a Federation is least likely to be accomplished by any legislative enactment or coercive organisation. It is to the interest of Great Britain and Australia to stand shoulder to shoulder. There is a mutual interest and a mutual connection between the two; but, beyond the material interests, there is another which causes the hearts of the two countries to vibrate and to unite in sentiments of honour, in sympathy, and in the bonds of brotherhood and good-fellowship. (Cheers.) It is, in fact, the touch of nature which makes all men kin!" (Cheers.)

In replying to the toast, MR. FRASER said:—

"With regard to the Federation of the Australian Colonies, I believe if we are to take up our proper position in the world, this must be accomplished. I have long been an advocate of this Federation; and, in the presence of Sir James Garrick, I have no hesitation in saying that Queensland will join in the movement. (Cheers.) The Australian communities must be federated; they must be one consolidated and compact whole, forming a bond of brotherhood, and an integral part of the Empire." (Cheers.)

UNDER WHICH FEDERATION?

BENEATH the heading, "Federation—Imperial or Republican?" a remarkable letter recently appeared in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*. The letter bore the name of "Daphitas," but we hope to see the pseudonym dropped, should the writer develop his views more fully at a future date. He begins by painting in sombre tints the present condition of New South Wales; he is somewhat of a pessimist, we suspect, and, like many pessimists, betakes himself with undue haste to the wilderness of the unknown as a refuge from the evils that be. Here is his gloomy picture:—

"At a time when Governments assume office without formulating any definite course of public policy, and new measures are hurried through Parliament without the discussion due to their importance; when malfeasance in office is constantly being alleged against those who, by virtue of their position, should stand highest in public confidence; when conflict of intercolonial interests is continually impending through want of that cordial sympathy between the Governments of the various Colonies, so necessary for the efficient and harmonious development of the resources of the country; when election pledges are things of naught, and an annual deficit is viewed with complacency—and the indebtedness of the Colony has increased to an amount higher in proportion than that of any other country in the world—it has become urgently necessary to inquire whether a form of Government under which abuse is so prevalent has not outgrown its usefulness, and whether or not the times are ripening for a radical and sweeping change of public policy, which shall substitute a system efficient, economical, and enlightened, capable of furthering the interests and well-being of all classes of the community."

If matters are, indeed, as black as "Daphitas" paints them, an efficient, economical, and enlightened system is an obvious desideratum. But when we come to the alternative plans for securing it, the conclusion does not follow so readily as "Daphitas" supposes. Federation is his panacea, but he divides the advocates of Federation into two hostile camps, of Republicans and Imperialists. We have in vain endeavoured to find his justification for this; his real intention is to distinguish a Federation of the Empire from an Intercolonial Australian Federation, and nothing could be more misleading than to adopt a nomenclature which is entirely beside the question.

Turning to his arguments in favour of Colonial Federation, what do we find? In the first place, "Daphitas" makes it clear that his proposal is intended to be a substitute for Imperial Federation, not as preliminary, in which many might agree with him, but directly antagonistic to the League's programme. The advantages which he claims for an Australian Federation pure and simple are, as far as we can discover, of the following nature. There would be no titles or decorations to tempt representatives from the path of duty; a vision is conjured up wherein Australian delegates to an Imperial Council are bribed right and left into acquiescence with the British view of things. "Daphitas" would probably laugh at the suggestion that such an estimate of their character, unsupported by a shred of evidence, was an unwarrantable insult to his own countrymen and to English politicians. But even suppose the temptation to be as severe as he personally feels it, are there not, by his own showing in the passage we have quoted, dangers quite as serious awaiting the Australian Federatist? If "malfeasance," disregard of election pledges, &c., are now as common as "Daphitas" asserts, and if they are to be still further emphasised in an Imperial Federation, what grounds has he for believing that the leopard's spots will vanish in the intermediate state he advocates?

He rightly says that, if it is to be more than a name, Imperial Federation implies the assumption by the Colonies of a proportion of the responsibilities imposed by the obligations of the Empire. But, while deprecating the lesser burden, he is prepared to undertake the far heavier responsibility of protecting Australia from external danger with the aid of "a purely volunteer military force," and apparently no navy at all. He fortifies himself with the fallacy, which we thought had long been dispelled, that Australia *per se* would never be exposed to invasion because "we assail no foreign interests." But foreign nations do not always wait to be assailed, and surely it will not be denied that both France and Germany have interests in the Pacific from which it would be impossible for Australia to disentangle herself were she to desert the British Empire to-morrow.

We cannot find any more serious counts than these in "Daphitas's" indictment of Imperial Federation. He calls them "a few of the many that present themselves," but

judiciously abstains from further specification. As we are not concerned to oppose any scheme of Colonial Federation that might possibly prove a stepping-stone to our own wider aims, we abstain from comment upon the suggestions for a "Federal City" or the declaration that "the Victorian tariff must go." But the most minute inspection of "Daphitas's" plan fails to reveal a single detail wherein Colonial Federation could be advantageously substituted for Imperial Federation, as the means of fostering the growth and prosperity of the rising communities in Australasia.

THE AUSTRALIAN MAIL SERVICE.

ANOTHER mail subsidy question will soon have to be decided. The existing contracts with the Orient and P. and O. Companies, for the conveyance of mails from Australia *via* Suez, terminate in January, 1888. Difficulties seem to have arisen very similar to those we have just been witnessing in the case of the American mails. Tenders were called for by the Postmaster-General of New South Wales, but neither of those sent in complied with the advertised conditions. The question remains, what is to be done? There is still a year available for negotiation, and in New South Wales at all events, public opinion seems fully alive to the importance of the issue, as involving considerations outside the range of postal economy. It is interesting to observe the patriotic spirit in which the *Sydney Herald* approaches the matter:—

"Calling for fresh tenders," says our contemporary, "is out of the question, not only because it is unlikely to produce any better result, but because it is undesirable that the mail service by the Suez route should pass out of the hands of the present contractors."

"There is one reason in particular for preserving the existing relations between the companies in question and the contracting Colonies, which is at all times deserving of consideration, but which has become more than usually prominent at the present day. The European complications arising out of the revolutionary proceedings in Bulgaria render it at least possible that hostilities might break out at any moment between some of the Great Powers; and in that event it would become necessary for these Colonies to see to their naval defences at once."

"The presence in these seas of the large mail steamers belonging to foreign companies, and subsidised by foreign Governments, is a highly suggestive fact which it would not be prudent to ignore, seeing that they might be converted at very short notice into armed cruisers. It has been said, indeed, that the Governments concerned have been largely influenced in their lavish expenditure on these subsidies—the Messageries line, for instance, receiving £10,000 for each round trip—by purely political considerations of this nature. It is therefore a matter of the highest moment that steamers of a similar class, flying the British flag, should not be driven out of the Australian seas by foreign competition."

"If there were nothing at stake beyond the carriage of mails and passengers, there is no reason why foreign vessels should not be employed for the purpose, nor would there be any reason for the payment of heavy subsidies a day longer than they could be dispensed with. But it is impossible nowadays to look at the matter from that point of view exclusively. There are much larger matters at stake than the conveyance of mails and passengers. The defence of the Colonies in time of war must be regarded as one of them; and for that purpose the mail steamers of the two contracting companies will necessarily continue to play an important part in the calculation of our naval resources."

With these sentiments we entirely agree, and we hope that the companies in question will remember that they have themselves a duty to their country as well as to their shareholders. Englishmen all over the world would prefer to conduct their business through British agencies, and are willing even to pay something for the privilege of doing so. They do not forget that the mercantile marine affords an excellent reserve of ships and men such as no other nation possesses, and are by no means anxious to yield this advantage to foreigners by unduly encouraging competition. At the same time, it is unwise, as has been recently shown, for private firms to presume too much upon their claims to favour, by endeavouring to drive a hard bargain with the State. Such a course compels the Government against its will to look further afield, with a result disastrous alike to the companies and the country. We hope therefore that in future negotiations the Government will act liberally and generously in its statement of conditions, and honestly endeavour to keep the mail service in British hands, so long as the steamship owners, on their part, are ready to

make reasonable offers, approximating as nearly as possible to the level of competition prices, against which no monopoly can be permanently sustained.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

THE reprint referred to in Lord Rosebery's Manifesto has been embodied in a pamphlet entitled, "Record of the Past and Promise of the Future," which is now being issued, price 1d., or 5s. per 100. Weight under 2 oz. Lord Rosebery's Manifesto has also been reprinted.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures, on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

A LIMITED number of copies of "Fifty Years' Progress," printed on special paper, as presented to her Majesty the Queen, can now be procured, handsomely bound in cloth boards, gold lettered, with marbled edges, price 2s., postage 6d. Early application to the Secretary is recommended.

ARRANGEMENTS are in progress with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION completed by the issue of this month. The Secretary will be glad to hear from members wishing to have their journals bound, and will give full particulars. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

BRANCH SECRETARIES or others who have spare copies of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of IMPERIAL FEDERATION will much oblige by sending them to the Secretary of the League.

LITERATURE.

The Naval Annual, 1886. By Lord Brassey, K.C.B. 1 Vol., 7s. 6d. Portsmouth: J. Griffin & Co.

THE heartiest thanks of the community or, what should be tantamount to the community, of every one who is interested in the naval position of this country and its dependencies, are due to Lord Brassey for the elaborate and painstaking compilation he has issued under the title of the "Naval Annual." No doubt the mass of varied information which the book contains was already in the hands of the Intelligence Department, as we must hope that the authorities, to whom is entrusted the management of what must always be our first line of defence, allow not the minutest detail concerning a matter of such vast importance as naval statistics to escape their notice. But what information the Department possessed it has kept very much to itself. Lord Brassey has freely acknowledged his indebtedness for a great part of the contents of his work to the newspaper press of this and other countries, and more especially to the Austrian Marine Almanac, a valuable publication, which has hitherto had no equivalent in England. Still less was the subject matter of the "Annual" accessible to the general public, unless in a form so fragmentary as to be almost worthless, and yet it is matter of which the public has the right to the fullest information. More and more in these days do people "want to know," and in partial response to this increasing demand, this book makes its first appearance at a time extremely opportune. During the last year or two, one of the periodic scares—but one of a particularly alarmist character—has been raised by reports of the shocking inefficiency of the Navy. Pessimists talked and wrote of the deposition of England from her proud position as mistress of the seas, and of the certain defeat which awaited her in a contest against any two, if not any one, of the great foreign naval Powers. In other quarters these disquieting rumours were pooh-poohed, and set down to an unhealthy liking for sensationalism. On both sides contradictory evidence was forthcoming, and the public was naturally anxious to be acquainted with the true state of affairs. Lord Brassey has supplied a fair and comprehensive statement of the actual facts of the case to all who care to possess themselves of it. He justly defends the Admiralty, but he does not hesitate to lay his finger on weak spots.

The "Naval Annual" is not an official publication, and it is better so. Official statements are not always received with the confidence they perhaps deserve, an objection which also applies to irresponsible compilations put forth by way of indictment, or as mere speculative ventures. A book which bears the name of Lord Brassey occupies a very different position. As a private individual he is free to criticise and suggest improvements in

the arrangements of the Admiralty; as an ex-official who is well and widely known for the keen interest taken by him in his subject—an interest dating, not as is often the case from the time of his appointment to office, but from many years past—his words carry the weight of an authority which could be claimed by few others; and as a practical seaman who has passed the naval examinations, he stands in a rank removed from that of mere doctrinaires and statisticians. The high expectations which might be formed of a book produced under such conditions are fully justified in the result, and it is a matter for very sincere congratulation and gratitude that Lord Brassey should have voluntarily undertaken this laborious task.

It is impossible, in the brief space at command, to give anything like an adequate account of all that is contained in the "Naval Annual," which, it should be understood, covers almost totally distinct ground from the "Navy List." Briefly, it is divided into three sections. The first is mainly historical, explanatory, and critical, and deals with the general policy—past, present, and future—of the Navy, its efficiency, and the comparative advantages of the various types of ships. The second consists of descriptive lists of all the war ships in all the countries in the world, with tables, giving the names and minutely detailed particulars of every several ship, the whole being most excellently arranged and classified. To this section is added a series of ninety-five plates, admirably executed, illustrating the principal British and foreign ships, to the number of some two hundred. The third section is devoted to armour and ordnance, and gives a full and very interesting description of every kind of gun now in use, and of the various sorts of armour as applied to both ships and forts. A lengthy appendix contains the Navy estimates for the current year of this country, and of the chief naval Powers abroad, together with a mass of miscellaneous detail. It may be stated that the book is sold for seven-and-sixpence, a sum which must be considerably below cost price, but which will render it accessible to many who could ill afford to give its full value for this most important publication.

It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to add that Lord Brassey has not neglected to include a chapter on naval preparation in the Colonies. He, as is well known, was one of the first to recognise the interdependence on one another of Great Britain and her children beyond the sea, and now gives honourable prominence to the plans of self-defence in progress in Australasia. Our Governments will not be slow to profit by Lord Brassey's work. It is to be hoped that, with the rest, they will take to heart this sentence: "It would be a handsome recognition of the Colonial navies by the Mother Country, if the privilege of flying the white ensign on their public vessels were conceded."

THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN JUBILEE ODE.

THE gold medal offered for the best ode in celebration of the Adelaide Jubilee year has been won by Mr. G. H. Cossins, of the South Australian Government Survey Office, with the following:—

Opening Solo.

Under the Southern Cross,
Girt by the Southern Sea,
Lieth our island home—
Our island free—
Australia!
Our island home,
Our island free,
Australia!

Duet.

Queenly and fair, with eager, earnest eyes,
Undimmed by sorrow, Young Australia stands
Set in the summer sea, 'neath summer skies;
And to the Mother Land holds outstretched hands—
Brown, sunburnt hands, all hardened o'er with toil;
Warm, loving hands—she holds across the sea—
Strong, kindly hands, that till her generous soil—
To her Queen-Mother on her Jubilee.

Chorus.

God bless them both, Old England and the New,
God keep them both for ever hand in hand;
Each helping each—each to the other true—
Old England and our fair Australian land.

Duet or Trio.

Full-grown and strong, yet still her mother's child,
As loving now as when, in childhood's days,
Her mother helped her with her judgment mild,
With kindly words, encouragement, and praise.
Stand out, fair land! and let the nations hear
Australia hail her Sovereign's Jubilee—
Australian men and women, far and near,
Send your God-speeds across the Southern Sea.

[Chorus repeated.]

AN IMPERIAL TARIFF.

THE present time is apparently so propitious for the advancement of Imperial Federation that its advocates are tempted to descend to particulars, and unfold each his practical scheme for accomplishing the unity of the Empire. So far as regards the discussion of Imperial penny postage, naval defence, currency, and even Imperial representation, we are, comparatively, on safe ground. But when the debate turns on Imperial revenue, when fair-trade meets free-trader, then comes the tug of argument. There have been frequent utterances in England to the effect, that the adoption of "Free Trade," whatever that may mean, by the Colonies must be the first step towards Imperial Federation. In the opinion of many ardent United Empire loyalists here no step would be so likely as this to defeat our object. Imperial Federation is regarded by some Canadians as bound to result in an interference with our system of incidental protection, and they, therefore, look upon the movement with disfavour. Such arguments as those of Mr. Bourne and Professor Leone Levi tend only to confirm this impression, and are damaging to the cause of union. But still the matter must be faced. A United Empire without an Imperial revenue would be a body politic without financial blood. Imperial Federation cannot be made to prevail without discussing the question present to the mind of every well-wisher of the cause, which is "How can we best raise a revenue for Imperial purposes?" It is useless to close our eyes and ears as regards ways and means. The best way to dissipate our difficulties is to face them manfully.

It has been suggested that an Imperial revenue might be got together by special contributions of money from each of the members of the Empire, but I contend that there is "a more excellent way," one which will accomplish the end with more beneficent results. I would urge the consideration of my proposal, published in No. 2 of IMPERIAL FEDERATION (page 51), and which looks towards the establishment of a *Revenue Tariff* throughout the Empire. In order to have a clear idea of what this means, and to show that such a thing has nothing in common with Protectionism, it may be well to enumerate and define the different sorts of tariffs which are now in operation among civilised nations, beginning at the Protectionist extreme.

I. *Protection with Export Bounties.*—It may be argued that Protectionism, pure and simple, is itself a system of bounty giving. When the manufacturers of any nation have exclusive control of their home market they are able to sell, and frequently do sell, the excess of their production to foreign nations at cost, or less than cost, or at lower rates than it would command at home. The extra profit they make on the home consumption is an indirect bounty. But, when positive payments in money are made upon the export of certain articles, that must surely be regarded as the most extreme development which Protectionism has yet reached. As the grossest infringement of their principles, it ought to rouse the indignation of all consistent free-traders, and inspire them to just retaliation. Of this policy, France and Germany, with their sugar bounties, afford the most flagrant examples, and even the United States allow to their sugar refiners such a drawback on their exports as amounts to an actual bounty.

II. *Protection, Pure and Simple.*—A Protective tariff is one imposed principally for favouring native industrial interests, and is not absolutely required for revenue. The best example is that of the United States, the plainly expressed object of which is to benefit the capital and labour of that country. It produces a large amount of revenue which is paying off the war debt rapidly. There is no pressing necessity for this, and were the Americans anxious to promote commerce with other nations they could easily lower their import duties. But the recent elections show that there is no hope of this, and that the nation has made up its mind to retain its Protective policy. It is quite just to say that this is for the purpose, and has the effect of enabling the manufacturer to pay his workmen higher wages. The consumer is willing to pay more for the goods he uses if thereby he can render work more plentiful among his countrymen. He simply prefers to pay his poor-rates in this way; to give higher rates for labour, rather than foster pauperism by distributing unearned money.

III. *Incidental Protection.*—This system raises revenue by imposing import duties, which are so arranged as to favour native industries. It was introduced in Canada by Sir A. T. Galt, and it is possible to maintain that we are still practising the same plan. Canadians do not raise more revenue than their public works, the extension of their railways, and the maintenance of their credit require. Raw materials are mostly free, and so are the provisions consumed by the labouring classes. Tea and coffee are not dutiable, because no duty, however high, could hurt or stimulate their cultivation in our northern climate, and because they are very generally consumed by our working classes. Under our system a "free breakfast-table" is more of a reality than in England. On the other hand, duties are levied on articles of luxury, because they can best afford to pay them, and because in this way their manufacture within the Dominion is stimulated.

IV. *Tariff for Revenue only.*—This I conceive to be the imposition of a uniform small rate of duty on all imports without

regard to their nature. From this sort of tariff the idea of favouring native industries is entirely excluded, and the duties are imposed simply to raise the money for paying the expenses of the Government. No materials are free, so that no industrial or commercial interest is favoured beyond another. The nearest approach to this ideal revenue tariff is that of Holland, which levies a duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on all manufactured goods. Belgium may also be considered as enjoying a revenue tariff, although the rate of duty imposed there on most imports is nearer 10 per cent. *ad valorem*.

V. *Free Trade.*—A Free-Trade tariff is the most difficult to define, because the name is a contradiction. It might be applied in a case where revenue is raised wholly by direct taxation, and trade entirely free from Customs duties. But there is no such case, and, if there were, such a nation could not be considered as enjoying Free Trade. For, as it takes two individuals to make a bargain, so it takes two nations to establish true Free Trade. If England were, to-morrow, to sweep away the last vestige of her import duties, Free Trade would, nevertheless, be a myth, and would remain such until her goods had free access to some foreign market. In spite of this, Great Britain is now credited with being a Free-Trade country, because she levies import duties only on a few articles of widespread consumption. This must stand, in the absence of a better, for the best practical instance of a so-called Free-Trade tariff.

VI. *Export Tariff.*—This system must be mentioned as standing at the opposite extreme from that of Protection with export bounties. It is practised in some of the West India Islands, one of whose means of raising revenue is by duties on the productions which they export. That such should be imposed at the present day is the strongest proof of the chaotic condition of tariff questions within the bounds of the British Empire.

The system of raising a revenue which, it seems to me, would be best suited to our circumstances, on the federation of Great Britain, her Colonies and India, is that defined under IV., and practised by Holland and its dependencies, namely, to impose a duty of 5 per cent. on the value of all foreign imports over and above existing local tariffs. This Dutch system would, by many people, be called an approach to Free Trade, but in trust it is neither Free Trade nor Protectionist in principle. At any rate, when imposed on raw material and manufactured goods alike, it cannot be said to partake in the slightest degree of Protectionism, and, therefore, could readily be adopted by all shades of liberal opinion in Great Britain. It is, further, the only system which could be adopted throughout the British Empire without interfering with any of the tariff systems established by either Mother Country or Colonies. It is the only system which would lend uniformity to the British possessions as against foreign traders. On entering a British port they would first have to pay the 5 per cent. Imperial duty on all their goods, and then such other duty as the local tariff called for. Each Home or Colonial authority could modify its own tariff as it saw fit, but would not be able to change the Imperial duty. The latter would, of course, not be chargeable on British or Colonial goods, and could not interfere with Inter-British trade. The result would be to make every British Colonist feel that he was paying a share of the expenses of maintaining the Empire, and the amount raised would be sufficient to meet the naval estimates, and to pay other expenses of a really Imperial character.

If this plan were adopted it would not place Great Britain at a disadvantage as compared with other manufacturing countries. Belgium has its imports hampered to a greater extent, and does not seem to suffer. Even if the raw material for some manufactures were, by the 5 per cent. import duty, increased in cost to the same extent, this would be fully balanced by relieving these same industries from a crushing load of direct taxation. The amount raised by the latter means would be reduced twelve millions sterling annually. There would be no increase in the price of grain and flour, seeing that India, Australia, and Canada would pour their products into Great Britain duty free. The demand for British goods and manufactures would at once revive in Indian and Colonial markets, seeing that goods from France, Germany, and the United States would have to pay 5 per cent. more duty than those from the Mother Country. The prospect which such a policy opens up expands and brightens on closer inspection, and fully justifies its adoption. It is a safe policy, could not possibly produce any bad consequences, and would cause the existing worthlessness and depression to disappear from among the inhabitants of the British Isles, while uniting them, by the strongest ties, with their brethren across the oceans.

THOMAS MACFARLANE,

Ottawa, Canada, November 29, 1886.

DECIMAL COINAGE.—At a recent meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Samuel Montagu, M.P., was carried with only one dissentient:—"That having regard to the fact that every foreign country possesses a decimal currency, with evident advantages to its commerce, this Council resolves that prompt endeavours should be made to secure the co-operation of other Chambers of Commerce in order to promote the introduction of a decimal coinage into this country."

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

JANUARY 1, 1887.

1886—A WONDERFUL YEAR!

ON the threshold of a new year a retrospect of the past twelve months forms a fitting prelude to the work which lies before us. Never were the prospects of the League so bright as they are to-day; never has the promise of the future stood so high. Already the record of the past is ample and brilliant; our efforts have been crowned with material success; our place in public esteem, our resources and supporters, have grown and multiplied; and we may confidently look forward to still greater triumphs in proportion to our increased influence.

A year ago who would have believed that a Representative Conference from all parts of the Empire to discuss Imperial responsibilities would by this time be practically an accomplished fact? Who would have believed that public opinion, so long dormant, would suddenly awake to an uncompromising recognition of the League's principles? The dangers which threaten the Empire are not new; for twenty years eminent naval and military officers have been calling attention to unprotected Colonies, defenceless coal-mining stations, and inadequate communications. But it seemed as if nothing could rouse the people of this country to a sense of insecurity, and the evils continued to grow, the *savants* continued to protest in vain.

But suddenly the scene changed and the sleepers awoke. The Empire became a living reality, and the "strong hearts of her sons" resolved that the day of ignorance and supineness was for ever at an end. With wonderful celerity the fire spread, permeated the constituencies, illumined the Government, and transmitted itself into energetic action, of which the fruits will presently appear, when the Imperial Conference meets.

What is the cause of this rapid march of events—this transformation from apathy to enthusiasm? The only reason assigned for it by some of our contemporaries is that "Imperial Federation is in the air!" But in the air Imperial Federation might have remained until the day of doom, and we should have "got no forrader." We prefer to trace the progress which has been made to a more

definite and tangible source. Why need we look further than to the exertions of the League? True, it has only been established for just two years; but when a body of earnest, enthusiastic, and business-like men band themselves together for the express purpose of obtaining a certain result, and determine to spare neither time nor money in achieving it, is there anything wonderful if they soon make their mark upon the popular mind, and compel public opinion to back them up?

Those who have watched the attitude of the Press cannot fail to have noticed how completely the general tone has changed of late. Each fresh move made by the League has gained for its principles a fresh batch of adherents. The battle has been fought, not so much against downright opposition, but against impalpable listlessness and apathy, taking refuge in irrational disbelief, and decrying our aims as visionary and impracticable. Thus it became the League's first object to show that it could enlist practical men, and propound practical methods of storming Giant Despair's bulwarks. The movement was aided probably more than people are aware by the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, which not only promoted enormously a knowledge of our Colonies among the population of these islands, but also confirmed the faith of Colonists themselves in the wealth, purchasing power, and goodwill of the Mother Country.

The conference of branches of the League and the banquet with which it was wound up, in July, showed that there was no lack of leaders, or determined men to follow their lead; showed, too, that the aims of the League were definite and well understood by its members, and that they intended to lose no time in carrying them into effect.

Little more than a month passed before the League took another step forward, and asserted its right to be considered as a distinct factor in the political situation. On August 11th a deputation waited upon the Prime Minister. Lord Salisbury was attended by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and listened with marked attention to the spokesmen of the League. It may be that the reception of this deputation will rank as a historic occasion when it is seen how fruitful was the petition conveyed to the Prime Minister that day. Every word in the resolution presented by Lord Brassey has proved prophetic, and has since been ratified by action on the part of the Government. The resolution of the Executive Council ran thus:—

"That a deputation of the League shall attend upon the Prime Minister or Colonial Secretary, urging him to call a Conference, or to appoint a Royal Commission, to be composed of accredited representatives of the United Kingdom and of each of the self-governing Colonies, for the purpose of suggesting some practical means whereby concerted action may be taken (1) for placing upon a satisfactory basis the defence of the ports and the commerce of the Empire in time of war; (2) for promoting direct intercourse, commercial, postal, and telegraphic, between the several countries of the Empire in time of peace, and any other means for securing the closer federation or union of all parts of the Empire."

Lord Salisbury replied to the deputation in cautious and guarded language. It was asserted in some quarters afterwards that the League received but cold comfort from the Prime Minister; but, even then, skilled interpreters of Ministerial oracles derived more hope from the terse statement that judgment was reserved, than from any complimentary froth. Now we see who was right. Let those laugh who win!

Six weeks afterwards Parliament was prorogued, and the work of the deputation from the League was seen to have leavened the mind of Government, and shown unmistakably that Imperial Federation must be reckoned with as a deep-rooted popular agitation, which would refuse to be ignored or withstood. Accordingly, the decision was formed which found expression in the famous paragraph of the Queen's Speech. We reproduce it, as another link in the chain of our achievements:—

"I have observed with much satisfaction the interest which in an increasing degree is evinced by the people of this country in the welfare of their Colonial and Indian fellow-subjects; and I am led to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire. I have authorised communications

to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest."

By this time it was clear that the Rubicon had been crossed, and the country stood committed to a noble and soul-stirring Imperial policy. Laudatory articles filled the columns of the Press; meetings were held all over the kingdom, where resolutions were carried almost invariably *nem. con.* in favour of Federation; the National Union of Conservative Associations adopted it as the first point in their programme; the Liberals at Leeds recognised it by advocating undivided attention to the affairs of the Empire as an escape from European complications. The League, needless to say, did not remain idle. Our chairman, the Earl of Rosebery, issued a manifesto, wherein he pointed out the rapid progress our principles had made, and urged all members to redouble their exertions, so as to utilise opportunity to the utmost, and strengthen the hands of Government in the execution of their Imperial policy.

Once more the efforts of the League were successful. Towards the end of November the Secretary of State for the Colonies (who had been our vice-chairman till he assumed the office) issued a circular despatch to the various Colonial Governments recommending that a Conference should be convened to pave the way for those practical reforms which had been definitely suggested and asked for by our deputation in July. And, thanks in no small degree to the perseverance of the League in keeping its principles aloof from party trammels, we believe that no Government has for many years found itself in possession of such universal support when embarking upon an important and far-reaching policy. Mr. Stanhope's despatch has commanded cordial assent from the day of its publication. Never, it may be safely said, will a Conference have met under more propitious circumstances, or for the discussion of more momentous affairs. The representatives will assemble in the greatest city of the world, in the Jubilee Year of a beloved Sovereign's reign, assured of the goodwill of millions at home and the blessing of nations from afar, potent to decide the fate of a world-wide Empire, almost of the habitable globe itself. What a heavy responsibility, what an inestimable privilege is theirs! May their deliberations be directed aright, to the safety, honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and her dominions!

We have recalled the principal events of the League's *annus mirabilis*, and we do not suppose it would be possible to show a more unbroken record of successful progress. But over all a solemn shadow has been cast by the irreparable loss of our late chairman, Mr. W. E. Forster. His was the hand that first gathered up the scattered threads of individual effort and organised them for united action in membership of this League. He saw clearly the lines upon which alone success was practicable, and it is by steering the course he set that we have achieved the results already recorded. He bequeathed to us a legacy of singleness of purpose, untiring patience, assiduous work, and generous magnanimity. By continuing to shape our counsels in the spirit with which he inspired them we shall not only perpetuate his memory in our midst, but take the wisest and surest means towards realising his grand ideal of Imperial Federation—*monimentum ære perennius*.

MR. STANHOPE'S DESPATCH.

THE remarkable chorus of approbation with which the proposal to hold a Conference of representatives from the Colonies and the United Kingdom has been greeted shows conclusively that public opinion is ripe for the first step to Federation. Elsewhere we give a number of extracts from the London and Provincial press, which leave no room for doubt as to the practical unanimity of the welcome accorded to Mr. Stanhope's despatch by men of all parties.

Events have long been conspiring to render such a Conference inevitable; time after time we have had painful experiences of the dangers and inconveniences resulting from the isolation of different parts of the Empire. At length the truth has dawned upon us that neither this country nor the Colonies can afford to stand alone any longer. In the matter of defences and communications which the Conference is especially met to consider, the amount of useless

and unnecessary expenditure, accompanied by regrettable friction and waste of energy, has been enormous.

We gather from the despatch that consultation on these questions will be followed by the institution of some permanent representative body to preside over the systematic arrangements which are contemplated. Knowledge of the state of preparation for defence of each Colony, and their capabilities of organisation, demand continuous study and revision; while Mr. Stanhope takes care to point out that the question of communications, tending to promote commercial and social relations, forms a subject "the conditions of which are constantly changing; new requirements come into existence, and new projects are formulated every year." It seems essential, therefore, that a regular council should be established, to carry on the work which the Conference can only inaugurate. How that council will be constituted is a question for the future; but possibly some indication may be found in a passage of the despatch, where it is stated that "The Conference will necessarily be purely consultative, and *it will therefore not be material* that the Colonies should have equal or proportional representation upon it." These words seem to suggest that a Council, possessing executive powers, would contain delegates from this country and the Colonies in some settled numerical ratio.

The exclusion of Political Federation from the programme meets with our hearty approval. When the requirements of the Empire are known thoroughly, it will follow that certain powers be assigned to certain functionaries for supplying them; to anticipate those requirements, or attempt the formation of a Council or Board of Control with indefinite functions and nominal duties, would be a piece of folly which no Government would sanction and no corner of the Empire would acquiesce in. But "the ultimate attainment of a more developed system of united action" is no less desirable than premature constitution-mongering would be disastrous. English-speaking nations have always been conspicuous for the ease with which they can be organised for purposes of Government, and we may feel confident that, if ever the Empire is felt to need it, a way will soon be found for the accomplishment of political unity.

There is one point upon which the approach of the Conference makes it important to lay peculiar stress. No remnant of jealousy must be allowed to lurk in the mind of any Englishman when he sees the Colonies assuming their rightful position. That they can no longer be looked upon as "dependencies" or "possessions" is a truism in everybody's mouth. But the idea of their representatives meeting and consulting with our own statesmen upon an equal footing is still somewhat novel, and the situation will doubtless make occasional demands upon our generosity. It will be useful to remember that the invitation has come from ourselves, and that we have formally taken the Colonies into partnership because we believed our best interests would be served by such a course. If, therefore, the new partners speak their minds freely, and do not look at everything from our standpoint, we must recollect that such an attitude is really our best justification for summoning them; for were they to keep silence, or simply confirm our insular opinions and prejudices, what possible advantage should we derive from their presence?

THROWING LIGHT UPON THE COLONIES.

TO-DAY the first revisions are issued of the circulars containing information for intending emigrants. The conditions of the Colonial Labour Market do not seem to have changed much, and still we read the same monotonous tale in page after page, "Free Passages—none. Assisted Passages—none." Perhaps it is kinder to crush hope at the outset than to allow the poor unemployed to taste by anticipation the sweets of work at 8s., 10s., or 12s. a day before revealing the impossibility of realising them. But although bitter disappointment and indignation no doubt frequently follow the perusal of these circulars, telling as they do of a workman's paradise in the Antipodes denied to those whose need is sorest, yet good seed is being sown which will presently bear fruit. It is as certain that the institution of State Aid would be disastrous while the present ignorance of the conditions of Colonial life prevails, as that to continue

spreading information unsupported by funds would be a cruel mockery, when once the applicants were capable of taking a reasonable view of emigration.

Knowledge cannot fail to be rapidly instilled by the work of this Office; the ten thousand letters which have passed through it during the last quarter, the tons of circulars, notices, and bills it has issued, the verbal information always obtainable—all these must have had their effect in illumining the darkness. In course of time the labouring classes will bring themselves to believe that Canada and Australia mean money, as they believe it of London now. Then the difficulty will be to stop the rush through the gap it has taken so long to open. The State will be compelled to help the exodus, and the taxpayers will perceive, at last, that it is cheaper to subsidise the formation of productive communities than to maintain unremunerative paupers. Then, too, will be seen the full extent of the folly which alienated our Colonial lands—when we have to buy back what we gave away; and blessings will be showered on the head of the statesman who may have been instrumental in securing in perpetuity for his countrymen any remnant of the heritage over sea which once belonged to them.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND THE TRADE OF WAKEFIELD.

FROM the presidential chair at a recent dinner of the Wakefield Chamber of Commerce Major Bolton made an important speech dealing with the commercial advantages of Imperial Federation. The speech was important not only for the arguments it contained but for the occasion of its delivery. The toast to which he was responding was that of "The Town and Trade of Wakefield," and we may be quite sure that the audience was influenced by the most practical and business-like sentiments, and that if they accorded a hearty reception to Major Bolton's remarks, it was because they genuinely believed in the truth of his statements.

Wakefield is a centre of great commercial activity; and Wakefield, as represented by the *élite* of its merchants and manufacturers, believes that Imperial Federation is essential to its continued prosperity.

For this was what Major Bolton said to his sympathetic hearers. He pointed out that the great hope of the future for England lay in her magnificent Colonies and dependencies; disintegration would be the only alternative to Imperial Federation, but what would be the position of this country, and what would happen to her commerce, if ever the day should come, when the Colonies asserted their independence and said, "We can stand by ourselves"? He then proceeded to indicate the means by which Federation might be accomplished, upon lines with which our readers are, we hope, more or less familiar already. But the importance of the proceedings lies in a nutshell. If we can induce associations of business men, such as the Wakefield Chamber of Commerce, to perceive that they will gain pecuniarily by Federation and suffer from the want of it, then we shall have made a successful appeal to an irresistible motive power, and our cause will march forward with that overwhelming force to which it is undoubtedly entitled, impelled by the incentive of self-interest.

THE EMIGRATION OFFICE COMMITTEE.

WE have been favoured with a list of the Committee by which the Emigrants' Information Office is managed. Our readers will recognise many of the names as those of gentlemen who have long been interested in the subject, and the official element is ably represented by Mr. Gill and Mr. Lucas of the Colonial Office. We understand that the Committee meet regularly every fortnight, and that their labours during the last three months have been thoroughly appreciated. The following are the gentlemen who compose the Committee:—

J. H. Tuke, Esq.	S. Rankin, Esq., M.P.
A. White, Esq.	S. Smith, Esq., M.P.
W. Hazell, Esq.	J. Burnett, Esq.
H. Hodgkin, Esq.	B. Jones, Esq.
J. J. Dent, Esq.	J. Martineau, Esq.
G. Tansley, Esq.	Hugh Egerton, Esq.
Walter B. Paton, Esq.	C. P. Lucas, Esq.
J. B. Gill, Esq.	

THE EMPIRE—FEEBLE OR FEDERAL?

CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, M.P., whom all our readers esteem as a pillar of the League, has written a striking article in the first number of *Murray's Magazine*, entitled "Cosmopolitan Theories and Colonial Facts." We have obtained permission to reproduce the following passages, which have an especial bearing upon our work:—

The Imperial Federation League was founded only two years ago. It was not anticipated by its originators that its aim would so rapidly command popular sympathy at home.

Many things have, however, combined to compel attention to the concerns of the outlying Empire. The visible swiftness of Russia's advance to India; the policy of Germany in Africa and New Guinea; of France in Madagascar, Tonkin, China, and the Pacific; the offers and despatch of Colonial forces for service in the Soudan; and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition have, in a very short period, concentrated public interest at home on matters hitherto often disregarded. The result has been to precipitate a reaction in public opinion in the Mother Country which other causes were already tending to produce.

A REVALUATION OF THE COLONIES.

It is now beginning to be recognised that the emigration of our people to a foreign flag means loss of trade and business to us and to the Empire generally, while emigration of fit and proper persons to our Colonies has the very opposite effect. We are finding out that abstract doctrines of political economy and practical politics are two very different things.

A retrospect also reminds us: that *our* coal, *our* iron, *our* machinery, *our* engineers, and *our* contractors revolutionised foreign countries as well as our own. Through their agency the vast European railway system originated, and now gives the product of inland resources, before shut out, that easy access to the sea which enables them to compete with ours in the markets of the world. In the United States the consequences have been still greater; for the same process has revealed, and given to the world's use, gigantic natural resources, undreamt of forty years ago, which almost dwarf those of Europe, and reduce those of Great Britain to comparative insignificance.

The theory of the cosmopolitan doctrinaires came to be doubted when we remembered that our Colonies and dependencies had never repudiated their debts, while scores of millions of our money had been lost by our loans to foreign States, over which our Government could exercise neither influence nor control.

Simple facts of this sort have only lately received their full recognition by the public at home. They naturally tended to weaken subordination to the teachings of the old Manchester school of political thought. These received a fatal shock when it came to be clearly seen that, after all, our own Colonists were our best customers.

As the action of the Colonies during our trouble in the Soudan vindicated the old faith that "blood is thicker than water," so trade adversity has taught us that "trade follows the flag." Both these short creeds were repudiated and scorned by that optimist popular belief in the universal adoption of Free Trade, which experience has belied, and in an era of universal peace, which time has proved to be a dream.

The action of France and Germany, far away from our shores, gave the final blow to the once popular theory that England's policy could be that of a self-contained island, not that of an Empire. The delusion that England can be in the world commercially, but not of it politically, has passed away. From the far West has come disturbance of our domestic peace, and in the far East we see Russia at the gates of India.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT PAVES THE WAY FOR FEDERATION.

When establishing responsible—or, as Earl Grey at the time termed it, "Parliamentary"—Government in the Colonies, we arranged no basis for co-operation for mutual security in war, or for the advancement of commercial or other interests in peace. It was essentially necessary that Colonies having reached a certain stage of progress should be charged with the entire management of their local affairs, and that all interference in them by the Mother Country should cease. But such practical recognition of their progress was in itself a proof of belief in their further advance. The Colonies viewed the establishment of responsible government as a common-sense step necessary to their local development, and so it certainly was.

Some Colonies have already reached, and others are approaching, a stage when they will not permit the Mother Country to bind them by provisions in commercial treaties with foreign Powers, of which they do not approve. In this negative way they have compelled us to abandon our policy of indifference towards them. Looking at the rapidity of Colonial developments, it is not reasonable to suppose that the exercise of this negative power will for any length of time be confined to commercial treaties only. The issues of peace and war involved in other treaties of a more general character are as vitally important to the Colonies as to the Mother

Country. It is not in the nature of things that British communities will long submit to be bound by treaties made by the Mother Country, the results of which may involve them in war, unless they share with her some voice in foreign policy. So long as the Mother Country in theory and in fact held herself solely responsible for the defence of self-governing Colonies, they could hardly claim any share in the direction of foreign affairs. This theory we have slipped out of, and, as a matter of fact which every one knows, the Mother Country is not prepared, nor likely to prepare, to undertake any such single-handed responsibility.

AN AUSTRALASIAN CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

We are now engaged in negotiations with Australasian Governments for a contribution annually to our fleet. It is to be sincerely hoped that they may be successful. If, however, arrangements of a joint nature are to work satisfactorily and to be durable, they must be placed beyond the region of party interests in this country. This can hardly be unless the Board of Admiralty be reconstituted.

If Australasian Governments agree to give any considerable annual subsidy, even for a fixed period and under certain conditions, the ultimate result has its dangers. There may be disputes hereafter as to the loyal fulfilment of conditions on one side or the other. In such a case, who is to arbitrate between the Mother Country and Australasia? How can we enforce our view on Australasia, and how can Australasian Governments keep us strictly to our bargains? Such disputes, if they arise, would not be without precedents in the previous history of the dealings of the Board of Admiralty since 1869 with certain Australian Colonies respecting joint action in supplying and maintaining war vessels for training and other purposes. They were small matters, but resulted in producing evils that have survived through many years. If arrangements for co-operation for naval defence on any considerable scale between Australasia and the Mother Country were tried for a time and then failed, it would be hard to measure the extent of the misfortune to the future of the Empire. Joint action can only be secured and maintained by joint councils. If, therefore, Australasian Governments agree to any considerable annual subsidy to our fleet, it may at least be hoped that an Australasian Civil Lord, independent of party changes in the Mother Country, may be added to a reconstituted Admiralty Board. He should be appointed by the Australasian Governments to represent them in Imperial naval policy. This would be a very small practical step in the direction of Colonial representation in Imperial affairs, which is the ultimate goal of the Imperial Federationist.

WHAT AN IMPERIAL CONFERENCE MAY EFFECT.

The Imperial Federation League, in pressing for a Conference to be convened by Her Majesty of representatives from the United Kingdom and self-governed Colonies, is advocating a very simple and common-sense step. It is for such representatives of these self-governing communities in consultation to determine what are to be the guiding principles of the measures necessary to promote common prosperity in peace, and secure common safety in war. It is for them to review the departmental administration of the common affairs of the Empire, and to formulate such improvements as the necessities of growth demand.

The territories which are not self-governed may in time, more or less remote according to circumstances, become so; but until they do, they are but indirectly concerned. Their administration by a Federal Government is a wholly different matter, and is a question which must follow considerations relating to the Federation of self-governed British communities.

THE PETITION GRANTED.

P.S.—Since the above article passed through the hands of the printer the Circular Despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governors of Colonies under responsible Governments has been published. This State paper leaves but little to be desired. . . . The Imperial Federation League, composed as it is of men of all shades of party politics, may well be congratulated upon attaining the official adoption of its first formulated proposal.

Those who know all that this great movement owes to the late Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster cannot but feel keen regret that he did not live but a few short months longer to see the triumph to which he contributed so much.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon.	Rowland Neale Dalton, Esq.
The Rt. Hon. Osborne Morgan, M.P.	R. G. Halliburton, Esq.
Colonel Maillard, 16th Lancers.	The Rev. C. Martyn.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor.	Zachariah Williams, Esq., Lagos.
The Hon. James Service.	J. J. Thomas, Esq., Lagos.
Sidney Buxton, Esq., M.P.	J. A. Payne, Esq., Registrar of the Supreme Court, Lagos.
Sidney Gedge, Esq., M.P.	Professor Tyndall.
A. Raymond Heath, Esq., M.P.	Rev. J. E. C. Weldon, Head Master, Harrow.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER'S NEW YEAR'S GREETING.

WE recently asked the High Commissioner for Canada if he would favour us with his views upon the question of Imperial Federation. His reply will be interesting to our readers, as, indeed, is everything that he writes or says:—

9, VICTORIA CHAMBERS, LONDON, S.W.
3rd December, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter, I beg to say that you are quite right in supposing that I take great interest in the cause advocated by the Federation League. I fear, however, that it will not be in my power to comply with your request that I should write an article on that subject for your January number. As the High Commissioner for Canada, I am unable to speak with any authority, except where I can do so with the sanction of my Government; and, as you are aware, it has not yet taken any action upon this subject for my guidance.

I have given this important question a great deal of consideration. It is beset with much difficulty, which, I hope, may not prove insuperable. I confess I do not see any probability of a Parliamentary Federation in our day, as it seems to involve the creation of a supreme Parliament over the present Houses of Lords and Commons, and, what would be almost equally impracticable, the cession of some portion of the powers of self-government by the autonomous Colonies.

The proposal to levy a tax upon the Colonies for the support of the army and navy, so popular in this country, is open to serious objections. The great Colonies of Australasia and the Dominion of Canada are doing more to strengthen the Empire by developing the great fields for colonisation that they possess, thus building up powerful British communities, and expanding the trade of this country, than any direct contribution to the support of the army or navy would effect. Nor must it be forgotten that we annually expend large sums of public money in training and equipping a large defensive force, which would be placed at the service of the Empire whenever and wherever the necessity should arise.

Canada has, in addition to an annual expenditure for this purpose of over a quarter of a million sterling, expended within the last nineteen years over £20,000,000 in providing a great inter-oceanic railway through British territory, extending nearly 4,000 miles from Halifax on the Atlantic to Vancouver on the Pacific Ocean. This road not only opens up for settlement 200,000,000 of acres of the finest wheat-growing land in the world, but also provides a great Imperial highway upon which England may to-morrow have to depend for the maintenance of her power in India, China, and Australasia. All will admit that had that money been expended in fortifications, or ships, and guns, it would not have strengthened the Empire to the same extent.

The most effectual way in which, in my opinion, the Federation of the Empire may be promoted, would be by the formation of a great Australasian Federation such as Canada possesses. The same course in South Africa would also be desirable. This done, although I regard the proposal to have one tariff as visionary, it would be quite possible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom to arrange with the Finance Ministers of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa a fiscal policy that would greatly promote the interests of all, and bind indissolubly the Mother Country and the Colonies together by the tie of mutual advantage. It might be arranged to have in this country, and in all the Colonies, a double column tariff, one rate of duties for all British countries, and another for foreign countries. These tariffs would not necessarily be the same in different Colonies, but framed upon a common policy, as a matter of treaty, in such a way as to promote the prosperity of all.

Representation in the Imperial Parliament in the usual way seems to conflict with our system of government, but the official representative of each group of the federated Provinces might have a seat in the Cabinet assigned to him so long as he enjoyed the confidence of the Government of the Dominion he represented. He would then be enabled to place before the whole Cabinet the views of his Government upon all questions affecting their interests.

In the earnest hope that means may be devised to unite still more closely all portions of our great Empire, and wishing every success to the Imperial Federation League in the important work in which they are engaged, I remain, yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

THE EDITOR, "IMPERIAL FEDERATION,"
43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.

THE Emigration Sub-Committee of the Charity Organisation Society, which has been recently appointed, consists of the following ladies and gentlemen:—Messrs. John Martineau (Chairman), L. E. Scarth, E. Peters, W. B. Paton, W. M. Acworth, J. H. Allen, C. L. Corkran, J. Tennant, D. F. Leahy, and E. Miall; Miss Barlee, Miss Davies, and the Rev. Canon W. H. Cooper. Lieutenant Haigh, R.N., has been appointed Secretary to the Committee.

HERE AND THERE.

IT is stated that when the Trans-Andine Railway is completed a new route to New Zealand, *via* Buenos Ayres, will be opened, occupying fourteen days less to traverse than the present ocean road.

THE armed forces of New South Wales are to undergo a considerable reduction. It is calculated that an annual saving of £60,000 will be effected.

SIR FREDERICK ABEL, C.B., has been appointed organising secretary of the Imperial Institute.

MR. WATTS, R.A., has presented the National Art Gallery of Canada with his valuable oil-painting "Life, Death, and Futurity."

A LARGE tract of 366 acres of Crown land has just been reserved at Western Port in connection with the scheme for the defence of Melbourne. It is proposed to establish a permanent military camp there on the model of Aldershot.

THE Harbour Trusts Committee of Victoria has rejected, almost without discussion, Sir John Coode's plan of dock construction in the West Melbourne Swamp.

CAPTAIN MARX, of H.M.S. *Swinger*, recently wrote to Admiral Tryon suggesting that a man-of-war should be sent to the Havannah Harbour of the New Hebrides till the French military post there was abandoned. The letter has been published in the Melbourne *Argus*.

IT has been proved that vessels of 4,000 tons can go up the river to Port Adelaide without the slightest difficulty. The steamer *Port Pirie* has accomplished the feat, and thereby saved over £300 in lighterage.

MR. FITZGERALD, of the Tasmanian Assembly, has carried a motion to the effect that the House should present an address to the Governor in favour of paying members at the rate of £100 per annum.

A LOAN of £16,000 was recently placed on the London Market in five per cent. debentures by the City of Newcastle, N.S.W.

CAPTAIN WYLIE, Commodore of the Allan fleet, and captain of the *Parisian*, has retired from active service. The great mail steamers play so important a part in keeping the Empire together, that we cannot resist claiming Captain Wylie as a Federationist in practice, though he is not yet a member of the League.

AT the National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland, held in Edinburgh on December 1st, when over 170 delegates were assembled, Mr. F. Faithful Begg moved a resolution in favour of Imperial Federation, which was carried unanimously.

MR. GEORGE BADEN POWELL, M.P., has in preparation a history of the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire.

WE understand that Sir George Campbell is also engaged upon a work dealing with different aspects of the same subject.

AT a conference of Colonial mayors in connection with the Municipal Jubilee festivities at Sydney, the resolution was carried unanimously, "That it is desirable to form a Municipal Union embracing as far as possible the whole of the Municipalities in the Australian Colonies." Another Federation!

A MOTION in the Tasmanian Legislative Council was recently carried whereby the Government was instructed to negotiate reciprocity treaties with Queensland, New South Wales, and South Australia.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA and Tasmania are this day admitted to participation in the advantages of the Parcel Post.

IT is said that a new fort is to be constructed at the Heads in connection with the defences of Melbourne.

SIR ROBERT HAMILTON, the new Governor of Tasmania, has arranged, we believe, to sail from Gravesend in the *Shaw, Savill, and Albion* Company's steamer *Doric* on the 27th inst.

MR. H. MORTIMER FRANKLYN is about to publish, through Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein, a work entitled "The Limit of Imperial Federation," in which he will show how a complete solution of the problem is to be found in the suggested Imperial Institute.

THE Legislative Council of Natal has been informed by Mr. Stanhope that it has no power to reduce the salary of the Governor of the Colony (Sir Arthur Havelock) during his tenure of office.

THE Government of Victoria has in view the formation of an "experimental irrigation colony."

SEVERAL young salmon have recently been caught in the Mersey (Tasmania) as a result of a large shipment of ova made in January, 1885, by Mr. Youl, at the request of the Tasmanian Government.

THE Melbourne Custom authorities have decided that Christmas and New Year cards are not manufactured stationery, and

may therefore be admitted duty free. Last year a contrary decision was arrived at.

LORD DUFFERIN, who on December 10th was entertained by the French officials at Pondicherry, is the first Viceroy who has ever visited the capital of French India.

THE new edition of the "Indian and Colonial Directory" will be issued by Messrs. Street early this month.

THE mail steamers belonging to the German subsidised line to Australia will in future call at Colombo instead of at the Islands of Chagos, owing to the dangerous state of the coast at the latter place.

MR. FROUDE believes that in the event of any crisis, it would be found that England existed over the whole surface of the globe as an "unsprung world."

THE Colonial College and Training Farm at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk, where young intending emigrants are to be taught farming, will make an active start this month.

NEW ZEALAND and South Australia are likely to prove serious rivals to Cape Colony in ostrich farming. A first consignment of 2,000 feathers from the first-named Colony has been received. The Cape Parliament has put an export duty of £100 on every ostrich, and of £5 on every egg, but all too late.

THERE have been 500 applicants for space at the Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition.

THE Victorian Government is considering a proposal to establish a military college.

A LARGE and influential meeting of the Colonial Club, Belize, Honduras, unanimously decided that it would be better to pay a subsidy to retain the Imperial troops rather than go to the expense of raising the constabulary force to 200 men.

SIR GEORGE STRAHAN, late Governor of Tasmania, has returned to England, after an absence of five years.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

AS we go to press, the following cablegram is received from Colonel Ronald Lane, Halifax, Nova Scotia:—

"Branch of League successfully started here to-day."

BIRMINGHAM.—On December 3rd Mr. J. W. Tonks addressed a large gathering of the St. Paul's Ward Working Men's Conservative Club on "Imperial Federation." He commenced by asking whether Federation was more than a phrase, and whether it was ever going to be an actual fact in British politics? and said what was really meant by Federation was a partnership between England and her Colonies and dependencies—England giving up something of her isolated power, and adding to herself the great strength of the young nations clustering round her in various parts of the world. He said that no doubt the Indian and Colonial Exhibition had brought the matter measurably nearer, because the idea of partnership of joint action had thereby been brought into practical operation, in a way which was likely to be of the greatest service. The idea of giving to the Colonies representation in the House of Lords, by life peerages or in some other way, was, he thought, also a sound suggestion. But, after all, it was commercial Federation to which they must look as the great means for uniting the nations together; that once obtained, other things would very soon follow. In conclusion, Mr. Tonks described the question as one of great urgency, since there was no choice between Federation and separation. A golden opportunity was now offered of drawing together the various parts of our great Empire into one united whole, and he earnestly hoped that it might be turned to advantage.

BRADFORD.—The Hallfield and Westgate Debating Societies held a joint meeting to discuss "Imperial Federation." On the question being put to the vote there was a majority of 28 to 6 in favour of Federation.

BRADFORD (YORKS).—On Thursday, December 16th, an interesting lecture on the subject of "Imperial Federation," was given before the Liberal Club by Mr. E. P. Arnold Forster. We understand that arrangements for establishing a branch of the League at Bradford are being rapidly completed, and that there is a prospect of the branch being opened very shortly.

CARDIFF.—At a meeting of the Cardiff Parliamentary Debating Society, a resolution was proposed to the effect that the time had arrived to take immediate steps in the direction of Imperial Federation, and that the best means of doing so was to be found in establishing a system of reciprocal trade between

Great Britain and her Colonies. Mr. Peace, who opened the debate, showed that the Empire was now competent to supply its own needs without drawing upon foreign countries, and argued that Imperial Federation must be commercial as well as political if it was to be accepted by the Colonies.

HALSTEAD.—At a meeting of the Halstead Mutual Improvement Society on December 1st, Mr. W. J. Evans, the author of "Old and New Halstead," read an able paper on Imperial Federation. After quoting the written opinions of some of the best-known supporters of the League, Mr. Evans went on to dwell upon the importance of Federation from the points of view of Colonial defence and trade. He pointed out that if England was able to trade on mutual terms with her Colonies, she need never look forward with dismay to the markets of other countries being closed against her. The concluding part of the lecture was devoted to demonstrating the error of the idea that the Colonies care nothing for Federation. A resolution in favour of a closer alliance between England and her dependencies was proposed, and carried unanimously.

HEREFORD.—At a meeting of the Hereford Debating Society on November 29th, Dr. T. A. Chapman, the President, in the chair, Mr. Owen Cook moved "That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of Federation is essential." The report of Mr. Cook's speech that has reached us is too fragmentary to allow of quotation.

HUDDERSFIELD, HILLHOUSE.—On December 1, a meeting assembled in the St. John's National Schoolroom, to hear a lecture from Mr. T. Austin Branchley on "Imperial Federation." Mr. W. J. Thornton presided. Mr. Branchley declared that this great question was closely connected with our policy throughout the world. The love of the inhabitants of the Colonies for their Mother Country was growing stronger, and of this we had lately had practical demonstration; and in the Colonies there was one universal wish to be more closely joined to the Mother Country both for mutual defence and mutual advantage. In mentioning the League and its aims, the speaker pointed out that it was no party organisation, and that the question was no party question. On the contrary, it was a national and Imperial question, and as such it ought to commend itself to all right-thinking Englishmen. It was a question, moreover, on which the future of the British Empire depended, for if the Colonies were to think that their interests were subordinated to those of Great Britain they could not be expected to tamely submit. In conclusion, Mr. Branchley spoke of the late Mr. W. E. Forster's able advocacy of Imperial Federation, who, he said, had done more than any other man to bring the question before the country, and who had started the League. The League had a great future before it, and the principle which it advocated was all-important to a commercial community. After some questions had been asked and answered by Mr. Branchley, Councillor E. A. Beaumont moved:—"That this meeting cordially approves of the principle of Imperial Federation, and appreciates the efforts of the Imperial Federation League towards the accomplishment of that principle." Mr. A. Gledhill seconded the motion, both gentlemen dwelling on the great importance of our Colonies to us. The motion, on being put to the meeting, was heartily carried.

LEYTON.—On November 26th, Mr. E. M. Merrill, of the Leyton Local Parliament, introduced a Bill to provide for the formation of a Federal Council. The Bill was thoughtfully drawn up, and proposed that the Council should consist of not more than 100 members, should meet in England, should be elected for seven years, and that its duties should be to advise the Sovereign in all matters relating to India, the Colonies, and Naval and Military Stations.

LONDON, Highbury.—At a meeting of the St. Augustine's Literary and Debating Society on November 22nd, a discussion on Imperial Federation was opened by Mr. Mitchell, who urged the adoption of these great schemes as the basis of union, viz., the unification of the Army and of the Navy and an Imperial Parliament. The debate was carried on by Mr. Heat, who was of opinion that Federation could only be approached through mutual defence; and by Mr. Sheffield, a Colonist, who said that though Australia had a good army and well-trained volunteers, she was quite unprepared to meet an emergency, in consequence of her want of an efficient naval service. Mr. Sharp, the Chairman, in bringing the discussion to a close, said that it was perfectly plain that some measure should be taken shortly in order to bind our Colonies more closely to ourselves. He thought we should have a fiscal policy in common, that there should be a unification of the Navy, and that some of the public men of the Colonies should be made members of the Privy Council. All our Colonies were so attached to the Mother Country, and were so deeply in love with her, that the question of separation from her, if ever it arose, would never be brought about by the Colonies. On Mr. Mitchell's motion in favour of Federation being put, it was carried by eight votes against two.

LONDON.—In a debate held by the Jewish Working Men's Club and Lads' Institute, Mr. C. Elias opened with a capital

speech in favour of Imperial Federation. The resolution was warmly supported by many speakers, and finally was carried by a large majority.

LONDON, CLAPHAM.—At a recent meeting of the Clapham "Parliament," Mr. A. C. Morton (the Prime Minister) proposed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that Imperial Federation should be fully considered by the Government of this country and the Colonial Governments, with a view to a practical solution of the question, and further, that the Federation of the Colonies should be promoted." In his speech in support of his motion, Mr. Morton said that though he himself thought Imperial Federation was very desirable, he was of opinion that the initiation should come from the Colonies themselves. The difficulties attendant on any scheme of Federation appeared in Mr. Morton's mind to considerably outweigh the advantages that might be derived from it; but this was not the feeling of the House, and on the conclusion of the opening speech Mr. Gray obtained leave to move the following amendment: "That in the opinion of this House the time has now arrived when her Majesty should be advised to take the necessary steps to call together in London a representative Conference of the Mother Country and the Colonies and dependencies of the British Crown to formulate a scheme of Imperial Federation." Mr. Gray spoke very strongly in favour of Imperial Federation, and pointed out the various benefits that might be expected from a well-devised scheme, laying especial stress on the equalisation of civil and criminal law, the cheaper transmission of letters, and the abolition of subsidies to shipping companies. A number of speakers who followed Mr. Gray supported the amendment, which was finally carried amid great cheering.

LONDON, FINSBURY.—At a meeting of the Finsbury Park Young Men's Christian Association Debating Society, on December 4th, the subject under discussion was Imperial Federation. Mr. R. Howard Henson moved a resolution to the effect that some form of Imperial Federation is essential for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, its defences, and its rights. Mr. Henson said that the choice lay between Federation and Disintegration; and that, as England's greatness lay bound up in her Colonies and Dependencies, Federation was an urgent necessity. Continuing, he severally dealt with the many advantages which would result from Federation, and showed that in every way the prowess and the safety of the Empire would be promoted if Imperial Federation were to become an accomplished fact. Mr. Virgole opposed the motion, and a long discussion followed, the resolution being eventually carried by seventeen votes against ten.

LONDON.—On November 25th Mr. H. R. Beeton gave an address on "Imperial Federation" before the Congregational Society of Little Portland Street Chapel. The Rev. P. H. Wickstead was in the chair. After explaining the meaning and scope of Imperial Federation, the lecturer said that the great fact of modern history was that in half a century Englishmen abroad would outnumber the Englishmen at home, and he regarded it as certain that by the time this happened the Colonies would either have obtained the Imperial Franchise or have asserted their independence. Mr. Beeton had no difficulty in showing that the former of these consummations to be preferable in every way, and very much to the advantage, both moral and material, of Great Britain and her Colonies. On the conclusion of the lecture an animated discussion ensued, and several of the audience announced their intention of enrolling themselves members of the League.

LONDON, LEWISHAM.—Mr. C. Towler recently delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation to the members of the Lewisham Conservative Club. Mr. Towler said that Confederation was now a household word, and that it would, he hoped, bring about a beneficial change in England's policy, since it was necessary for the proper protection of her trade interests. He concluded by giving some interesting details of the measures for mutual defence which might be taken in the event of Imperial Federation becoming a reality.

LONDON, ST. PANCRAS.—The debate on a motion in favour of Imperial Federation recently extended over three successive meetings of the St. Pancras Parliament. Mr. F. Powell, "Colonial Secretary," opened this long and important discussion by moving "That in the opinion of this House steps should be forthwith taken with a view of establishing a scheme of Imperial Federation." After expressing a hope that the great question of Federation would not be mutilated by party faction, Mr. Powell submitted that the present time was ripe for Federation, that there was necessity for it, and that benefits in the shape of increased strength and trade would be derived from it both by Great Britain and her Colonies. Mr. Sinclair Cox said that Federation would afford an outlet for surplus labour, an uninterrupted food supply, and an unlimited field for commercial enterprise. Mr. Davis, in warmly supporting the motion, took occasion to dispute the right of Mr. John Norton to speak in behalf of the people of Australia. On the resumption of the debate a week later, among many speakers who spoke in favour

of the resolution, Mr. C. B. Bartlett, after deprecating the efforts of some members to make the question of Federation a party question, asked the House to believe that Consolidation was the key to England's greatness. Mr. Campbell pointed out the error of the contention that Federation would entail additional burdens on the taxpayer by the necessity for increased naval armaments, and said that by Federation trade would be increased and the Colonies would more quickly reach a higher stage of development; and Mr. G. W. Turner argued that by Federation the wants of the Colonies would be more easily made known, and their broad lands would be speedily populated. On the third evening, Mr. W. F. Wilson resumed the debate, in a long and interesting speech. He carefully reviewed and confuted the objections that had been raised by various speakers against Federation, and expressed his firm belief that Federation would be largely instrumental in securing peace, and that the Colonies would be strongly in favour of a Customs Union, since they knew that London was the best market for their productions. Mr. Creed, who followed, was of opinion that Imperial Federation must be regarded as a far-off ideal, and other speakers rose to oppose the motion. In fact, the speeches against Federation were on this evening, unlike the others, more in number than those in favour of it; but, on a division being taken, it was clearly shown what was the true feeling of the House, 102 voting for the motion and 52 opposing it.

LONDON.—The West End Debating Society lately met at the Great Western Hotel, Paddington, to discuss a motion proposed by Mr. Ernest Hepburn, "That it is desirable that some scheme for the Federation of the Colonies with Great Britain should be adopted without delay." There was no real opposition to the motion, which, after being strongly supported by a large majority of speakers, was carried almost unanimously.

LONG WITTENHAM, BERKSHIRE.—A lecture on the "British Empire" was delivered in the Schoolroom, on November 29th, by J. F. Heyes, Esq., M.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford. Mr. Heyes opened with a descriptive account of the several Colonies and Dependencies, and proceeded to explain the importance of each one, from both a military and naval point of view. He concluded by setting forth the objects of the Imperial Federation League. The lecture was illustrated by a map lent by the League, and by diagrams prepared by Mr. Heyes himself. In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Heyes, the Chairman (the Rev. E. O. Hodgson, M.A.) took occasion to express his sympathy with the aims of the League, the importance of whose work had, he said, been strongly forced upon him by his long residence in New South Wales.

MASBRO'.—In an address on Imperial Federation, delivered to the Masbro' and Kimberwork Working Men's Conservative Club, Mr. Jefferies, of Sheffield, quoted statistics to show how rapid was the advance of trade in the Colonies in comparison with other countries, and urged the importance of an uniform customs tariff throughout the Empire.

NEWINGTON.—On December 7th, Mr. John Mills, of Oldham, gave a lecture in the Somerset Board Schools, on "Our Indian and Colonial Empire." He began by stating that in his opinion the subject of his address should be engaging every one's interest and attention, because they would find that "Imperial Federation" was the question of the future. After giving an exhaustive account of the relative positions of the Colonies and India, Mr. Mills concluded by maintaining that Great Britain was bound, for her own sake, to preserve a close connection with her dependencies.

NEWTON.—On December 10th the members of the Newton Constitutional Club assembled to hear a lecture by Mr. W. Graham on Imperial Federation. The Rev. G. T. Warner presided, and, in introducing the lecturer, remarked that the subject of the evening was one very much to the front at present, and it was fully important enough to deserve that prominence. Mr. Graham traced the history of colonisation, and dwelt at length on the necessity of unity between Great Britain and her Colonies.

NORWICH.—On December 8th a lecture on "The British Empire: Past, Present, and Future," was delivered by Mr. E. B. Newman, in the King's Arms Assembly Rooms. In the course of his interesting remarks on a variety of subjects, Mr. Newman dealt with Imperial Federation, and stated his belief that it would be the question of the future.

OXFORD.—At a recent meeting of the Devorguilla Society, the old-established Debating Club of Balliol College, Mr. J. Ogilvie moved, "That Imperial Federation is necessary for the safety of the Empire." The motion was carried by twelve votes to one.

OXFORD.—Mr. R. B. Clayton gave a lecture, entitled "Twenty-five Years in Queensland," in the Schoolroom of St. Mary Magdalene. After entertaining his audience with an amusing description of life in Queensland, Mr. Clayton quoted from the article on Queensland in the last number of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, and concluded by speaking strongly in favour of emigration and Federation. "Federation," he said, "was the true bundle of sticks."

REDRUTH.—Mr. Silvanus Trevail, of the Truro City Council, lectured before the Redruth Institution in the Druids' Hall not long ago on the subject of Local Government. After going at some length into the details of his scheme, the lecturer said that when we had proceeded so far in our national development as to give to each of the three great natural divisions of the British Isles a Parliament to regulate its own strictly domestic concerns, it was self-evident that there must be an authority above these three National Parliaments, in which would be vested the supreme "Imperial" power upon all Federal matters, such as army, navy, navigation, Post-office, Customs, Colonial and other questions of an Imperial character, and in the consideration of which our Colonies and the outlying portions of the Empire should be consulted, as well as be asked to contribute to funds required for Imperial purposes, particularly for those of diplomacy, defence, and communication. The home of such authority or power should be located in the old historical centre of the Anglo-Saxon race at Westminster, the grand old hall there marking the focal point, as the Abbey contained the bones and monuments of those who had been the greatest in such matters in the past. Whether this idea could be best accomplished by our present so-called Imperial Parliament expanding itself so as to embrace the Greater Britain, or by an entirely newly-constructed Federal or Imperial Congress, he would leave to wiser heads than his own to determine. With a properly federated system, while each section of the Empire would still be united to the remainder for all defensive purposes, and such other objects as were considered to be essential to their collective welfare, full liberty and freedom would be given to the several parts to develop their resources in accordance with local surroundings, as the genius of their best and most practical intellects might determine, down to the smallest detail.

RUGBY SCHOOL.—Mr. A. C. Stephens, at a recent meeting of the Debating Society, moved "that some system of Imperial Federation is not only desirable but possible." The proposer, who had no difficulty in maintaining both parts of his motion, received very able support from the Rev. F. B. Westcott (hon. member). Mr. Westcott said that the question of Imperial Federation was the greatest question of the century, and pointed out how English Colonies differ from Greek, Roman, and Spanish Colonies in being really a part of the Mother Country. Only two members were found to vote against the motion.

RYTON.—The Ryton Literary and Debating Society recently met to hear a lecture on "Imperial Federation" by Mr. A. L. Armstrong. While insisting on the many advantages of Federation, the speaker laid especial stress on the fact that Imperial Federation would be a guarantee of peace.

SHEFFIELD, ECCLESHALL.—An address was delivered by Mr. Hugh F. Boyd, on November 29th, on "Home Rule in the Colonies." After sketching the history of Canadian Federation, Mr. Boyd expressed himself hopeful of seeing in the near future the Australian Colonies federated on the same principle as the Dominion of Canada, which, however, he should only regard as a step towards the one great Federation of Great Britain and all the Colonies. The speaker went on to point out the error of supposing that there must necessarily be friction between the Home and Colonial Governments, and advised that concessions should always, where possible, be granted by the former.

STOURHOUSE.—Mr. R. S. Smith, in an address delivered to the East Stourhouse Liberal Association, ascribed the origin of the movement in favour of Imperial Federation to the great competition to which our merchants were subjected in trading with the Colonies. He thought that it was well for this competition to continue, and expressed his opinion that if Great Britain and the Colonies joined together for self-defence only, that would be as much as was necessary.

FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT SELBY, YORKSHIRE.

A PRELIMINARY meeting of gentlemen interested in the subject of Imperial Federation was held in the Mechanics' Institute of Selby on December 1st. The invitations were issued by Mr. Basil Worsfold, of Haddlesey, who delivered an interesting address in explanation of the object for which the meeting had been convened. The chair was taken by Mr. W. H. Nicholson, J.P., and there were also present the Rev. H. Greeves, Mr. Clement B. Worsfold, Dr. Todd, Mr. M. Scott, Mr. Jno. Todd, jun., Mr. Turner, Mr. Bellerby, Mr. E. T. Clarke, and Mr. Sherburn, of Snaith, &c. At the conclusion of his address Mr. Worsfold proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting is of opinion that it is desirable to form in Selby an Association, inviting the support of men of all political parties, for the purpose of furthering the Federation movement." This was seconded by Mr. John Todd and carried. Mr. M. Scott proposed, and Mr. C. Turner seconded, the following:—"That the subscription for admitting members be fixed at half-a-crown for each member, but that members be requested to contribute in

addition at their own discretion." This was also carried. Another resolution, moved by the Rev. H. Greeves, seconded by Mr. Sherburn, and carried, was to the effect "That this meeting desires the Association now formed to be affiliated to the Imperial Federation League under the name of the Selby Branch of the Imperial Federation League." The last resolution, proposed by Mr. E. T. Clarke, seconded by Mr. J. Todd, and carried, was as follows:—"That the following gentlemen be asked to form a committee for carrying on the business of the Association: Mr. W. H. Nicholson, J.P., Rev. Canon Barnes-Lawrence, Rev. H. Greeves, Mr. T. W. Tew, J.P., Mr. C. Weddall, J.P., Mr. Mark Scott, Mr. E. T. Clarke, Mr. J. Todd, Mr. G. Todd, Mr. Turner, and Mr. Worsfold, the last-named gentleman to act as hon. sec. *pro tem.*" It was then decided to hold a public meeting as early in the new year as could be arranged. Votes of thanks to the chairman and Mr. Worsfold concluded the meeting.

REPORT OF MEETING OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY BRANCH OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

THE terminal meeting of the Branch was held on Saturday last (December 4th) in the Common Room of New College. There was a moderate attendance of members and their friends. The first, perhaps the most important business, of the evening was the formal ratification by the Branch of the choice of the Committee of Professor Bryce, M.P. (Oriel College), as first President of the Branch. Professor Bryce, whose election was proposed by Professor Napier and seconded by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, was warmly received by the members present on taking the chair.

Mr. Marriott, on presenting the terminal report on behalf of the Executive Committee, assumed, perhaps unnecessarily, a somewhat apologetic tone. They had been rather longer, owing to a variety of causes, in getting on their legs than they had anticipated, and the Committee much regretted that they had been obliged to advise the postponement of the public meeting, till the Lent term. Still something had been done. The Committee were disposed to regard it as a matter of no slight importance that they had been able to secure the services of Professor Bryce as their President. There was no man in the University equally fitted for the position. Secondly, they had almost completed a symmetrical College organisation, by which there would be some one regular representative of the Branch in each College, and from which they hoped great things. Lastly, they had drafted a code of rules which Mr. Marriott then submitted *seriatim* for the approval of the meeting.

After a prolonged discussion, which occupied the greater part of the evening, the rules were, with some alterations, adopted.

Professor Bryce brought the meeting to a close by a few remarks on the position of the League, conceived in a broad, temperate, and statesmanlike spirit.

The enrolment of members continues to progress steadily, though not nearly so rapidly as it is expected will be the case after what Mr. Marriott termed the "advertisement" meeting has been held.

It is hoped that the meeting in question will take place in the latter part of February.

Any old Oxford men who are willing to join the Branch are requested to send their names to Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, New College, Oxford, as soon as possible.

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION BY THE PRESS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF THE PROPOSALS FOR AN IMPERIAL REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE.

TIMES (Dec. 7).

MR. STANHOPE prescribes two branches of the inquiry on which the Conference will be engaged—the defence of the Colonies, and the means of improved communication between themselves and the Mother Country. These things are certainly in a fit state for discussion, and we may expect that a thoroughly practical Conference, like that contemplated by Mr. Stanhope, will come to the consideration of them furnished with the means for really useful conclusions. . . . What is important is that the Conference shall be made as representative as possible. The Agents-General have a recognised official position, and if they are supported by men of authority coming fresh from the Colonies, and prepared to speak with the full weight of their respective Colonies, the resolutions of the Conference will have a force and validity that the world in general will recognise. . . . It is right and wise that political Federation is not to be discussed. . . . With Colonial Defence the case is very different. It is pressing, it is not a new question, it has been under examination by Lord Carnarvon's Committee, and already not a little has been done towards the solution of it both by the Mother Country and the Colonies. . . . Mr. Stanhope states that he will be prepared with suggestions on the whole question of Colonial Defence; and, indeed, it is quite time that some measured and systematic scheme should be adopted. . . . We hope and believe that a serious and business-like discussion, such as is sure to take place when these experienced Colonists come together in London, will lead to the best results in respect to this question of Colonial Defence. . . . Scarcely less important is the second head of Mr. Stanhope's programme. The means of communication between all portions of the Empire are very faulty. We want more cables—it is said that a new one is just about to be laid from Australia and New Zealand across the Pacific—and we want a cheaper post. Mr. Henniker Heaton will rejoice when he sees the Colonial Secretary hinting in so

broad a way at his own pet scheme of an intercolonial penny postage. No one denies that such a postage is eminently desirable, or that it would do a very great deal towards the "drawing closer of the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire." It is not for us at this moment to suggest the means by which it might be carried out without great loss—perhaps without any loss—to the revenue. It is enough to recall Mr. Heaton's calculations, which would show that the estimated increase in the number of letters and the alteration in the mode of carrying them would probably raise rather than lower the Post Office receipts. This is a matter for the impartial investigation of the Conference, and we trust that such an investigation would lead to the adoption of a scheme of penny postage throughout the Empire. No celebration of the Jubilee year could be more appropriate than the holding of the first Conference of the representatives of the British Empire—of that Empire which has grown during the fifty years of the Queen's reign from a scale so comparatively humble to a scale so gigantic. To show that the Empire, instead of becoming unwieldy with all this growth, has grown in force and in the power of concentration, will be a work of incalculable importance from the point of view of our international position.

DAILY NEWS (Dec. 8).

The circular letter issued from the Colonial Office last Thursday week to the Governors of the self-ruling British Colonies is the most important step yet taken towards Imperial Federation. . . . If the Conference leads to a system of common defence in which all parts of the Empire are interested, and to which all contribute in proportion to their importance, it will bring about a kind of Federation. . . . The true motive for a Political Federation, should it ever seem possible, will be common interests; and everything which promotes those interests and draws the Colonies closer to each other, and nearer to the Mother Country, will lead on towards it. We therefore regard the proposed Conference as a happy suggestion for the Jubilee year of the Queen's reign.

MORNING POST (Dec. 7).

The despatch sent by the Colonial Secretary to the Governors of British Colonies in all parts of the world, which appears in our columns to-day, is invested with an importance which it is scarcely possible to realise. . . . In other words, the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria's reign will be marked by an event unique and unparalleled in the annals of the Empire. From all points of the compass, from all quarters of the globe, from the most distant lands owing allegiance to the British Crown, representatives will be sent to the capital of England, there to meet in conclave and to lay the basis of some well-organised system by which all these distant lands may be the more securely welded together for common protection in time of war, and for the advancement of their common interests in time of peace.

PALL MALL GAZETTE (Dec. 7).

The Colonial Conference to which the Secretary of State has just summoned the representatives of all our Colonies beyond the seas will be a memorable meeting. The issue of the invitation marks the extinction of the pernicious old Cobdenic heresy that separation was the natural and normal goal of all our Colonies, and the opening of the Conference will mark in history the first conscious effort of the English race after unity on a wider basis than that supplied by this small island in the Northern seas. . . . Nothing is more certain than that the more interest the Colonies are induced to take in Imperial defence, the more sacrifices they are induced to make for the military and naval strength of the Empire, the more imperative will be their demand to have a voice in the direction of Imperial policy. Co-operation in defence implies co-operation in counsel. If Ministers are not prepared to federalise the Empire they had better cancel the invitations to the Conference, and abandon all attempt to stimulate Colonial interest in the Imperial system of defence.

DAILY TELEGRAPH (Dec. 7).

This is the first attempt to bring all parts of Her Majesty's Empire into joint deliberation. No doubt it is a "modest commencement;" but in such matters the beginning is everything. The scheme, in fact, is one which is to be commended because of its essentially practical character. It aims at the realisation of objects which are practicable now, not in a distant future. Nobody can pretend that the defence of our possessions from hostile attack, or the increase of postal facilities, does not affect the present interests of the British Empire; these are, on the contrary, just the subjects which a joint Senate of Colonists and Englishmen will know how to discuss in a business-like manner, likely to yield most excellent results. The Government is distinctly to be congratulated on the "happy thought" of making a quiet move in the direction of Federation, and in this way providing the Colonies with yet another means by which they may celebrate the approaching Jubilee in concert with ourselves. We shall be surprised if the proposal of the Colonial Secretary, just mooted, does not meet with cordial approval when its tenor is known to our fellow-subjects in lands beyond the sea.

MORNING ADVERTISER (Dec. 7).

Mr. Stanhope's communication marks a period in the progress which the British race is making towards the realisation of the grand ideal of Imperial Federation; it is the beginning of those tentative measures which shall prove the feasibility of a closer union of our name wherever it may be, scattered over every zone in dominions which acknowledge as their battle-flag the Union Jack.

GUARDIAN (Dec. 8).

Mr. Stanhope has done a wise thing in inviting the Colonies to send representatives to a Conference to meet in London next year to consider the two questions of Colonial defence and of rapid communication with one another and with the Mother Country. By the side of schemes for Imperial Federation these may seem but small matters. But they have two advantages over those schemes—one that they relate to

measures which can be taken in hand at once; the other, that they afford a useful test of the sincerity of the wishes so often expressed, both in England and in the Colonies, to see the ties between the two drawn closer. All plans of Imperial Federation rest on an assumed readiness to make reciprocal sacrifices. In the debates on Colonial defence all uncertainty as to the existence of this readiness will be set at rest, and each side will know what the other is willing to do.

ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE (Dec. 7).

We are all agreed that what is called "Imperial Federation" is in the abstract a very fascinating political ideal. A working Federation for Imperial purposes of the great group of States now growing by leaps and bounds to power beneath our flag would constitute an Empire of matchless opulence and strength. We all feel how immeasurable are the services such a World-Empire might render to good government and freedom, to science, arts, and commerce—to everything that contributes to the peaceful progress of mankind. Most of us in our inmost hearts cling to the hope that at some distant day some such noble dream may be realised, some such mighty and beneficent Federation may group itself round the old United Kingdom.

ECHO (Dec. 7).

The questions to which the Conference is to direct its attention are in themselves sufficiently large and complex. If they are settled to common satisfaction the result cannot fail to be beneficial to all concerned, and whatever be the result, the Jubilee Year will be an appropriate time for a first attempt to weld together into closer union the scattered dependencies that make up our Empire.

GLOBE (Dec. 7).

Apart from the programme of work laid before it, the Conference will be of high moment and historic interest as being, by its very nature, a sort of pioneer Imperial Parliament. Should success crown the effort, another important step will be taken towards bringing Imperial Federation within the domain of practical politics. That conception includes the establishment of an Imperial Council at London, partly composed of the Agents-General, partly of special delegates, with the Home Government adequately represented by *ex officio* members. This is to be the constitution of the Conference, and its assembly may therefore be regarded as an experiment to test the question whether a representative Grand Council of the Empire for deliberative purposes be merely an empty dream or a practicable possibility.

EVENING NEWS (Dec. 7).

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has just shown himself to be in touch with the best instincts of our time. . . . A Conference upon such subjects as Mr. Stanhope here puts forth must surely come to definite conclusions; and States in close and constant communication with each other, who agree upon the advisability of mutual defence in time of war, already form a Federation in all but the name. There can be no doubt, we think, from the terms of Mr. Stanhope's letter, that he believes in the possibility of penny postage between all parts of the British Empire.

SPECTATOR (Dec. 11)

The merit of Mr. Stanhope's administration of his office is that he is ready to do what he can to strengthen the ties between England and her Colonies, though he sees beforehand that what he can do may look insignificant by the side of larger measures. There are two points which are even now capable of useful consideration, and though undoubtedly these two points would be included in any scheme of a larger kind, yet, as they quite admit of being taken in hand independently of it, the Secretary of State is quite right in suggesting a Conference to discuss them. One is the question of organisation for military defence. It is a question which nearly concerns both the Colonies and England. An attack upon the Colonies, or some of them, would be the almost certain accompaniment of a war between Great Britain and a European Power; and the more defenceless the Colonies are, the larger would be the demands made on our resources for their protection, and the greater the local suffering if those resources proved in any way inadequate.

NEWCASTLE CHRONICLE (Dec. 7).

An Imperial Parliament, in the most comprehensive sense of the phrase, is going to meet in London early next year. The despatch sent out by the Colonial Secretary to the Colonial Governments points to nothing less than that, although the contemplated meeting is to go by the humbler name of Conference, Imperial Federation is, in so far as the phrase goes, to be left out of the programme; but the very fact of bringing Colonial representatives together is to promote Imperial Federation; the first step of which is common action for defence; and the second, common action for facilitating commerce among all the branches of the English-speaking race.

MANCHESTER EXAMINER (Dec. 8).

The programme is a modest one. But it is always wise to take the first step before trying to take the second. Experience will be the best justification or condemnation of Mr. Stanhope's scheme. But in the event of its failure to lead to any practical results, it is difficult to believe that the relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country can be prejudiced or impaired by so cautious and tentative a proceeding.

GLASGOW HERALD (Dec. 7).

By the proposals made in the despatch of the Colonial Secretary, Imperial Federation has made a most distinct advance. . . . For one thing, the Conference will show exactly where we stand at present. On the matters suggested for discussion by it, the public of Britain know neither what is needed nor what has been done by the Colonies, nor has any of the Colonies an idea of what is needed and what has been done by the rest. Without a common basis of action, costly effort may be useless; with it, the results are certain to be better and the expense less. The time may come when the Empire will be attacked, and will have to be defended at all points. This is, of course, improbable, or

we must faintly hope it is so, but provision ought, in spite of Sir Robert Peel's famous saying to the contrary, to be made against that which is possible. At any rate, the most ardent upholders of the doctrine that some risk must be run will admit that if money is to be spent, as it is being spent, it should not be wasted. Nothing can be clearer than that if common danger is to be guarded against, the precautions must be based on a general plan. There is nothing of that kind at present, and the Conference will be useful in furnishing the materials for one. The same is the case with regard to communications between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and between each Colony and the rest. It is not two points only that have to be considered but many, and effective results cannot be attained without considering the necessities and the conditions of all.

SHIELDS DAILY GAZETTE (Dec. 7).

The circular which Mr. Stanhope has addressed to the Governors of all the British Colonies enjoying responsible government must meet with the approval of men of all parties. . . . The Government will probably suggest that there shall be a navy for the whole Empire. At present the Colonies maintain ironclads of their own, at great expense, and with as little utility as possible. There is no question that if the Colonies can be induced to contribute their fair quota to the costs of an Imperial navy it would be much better for all parties concerned.

DUNDEE ADVERTISER (Dec. 7).

The modesty of the programme drawn up by the Colonial Secretary for the consideration of the Conference is a good omen of the success of the meeting. It is a prudent thing not to encourage talk about political federation at the present time. Much has to be done before Federation can become feasible. Political organisation is a result, not a cause. Its growth must be gradual, and to formulate a system of Federation just now would tend to check growth. In seeking to promote interests which are common the Mother Country and the Colonies will draw closer together. The first condition of national life is resistance to external pressure. The fact may not be creditable to human nature, but it is the fact, and in our present stage of development we must recognise it. Where people are united in resisting something there is the beginning of a corporate life. Thus the first step to an Imperial Federation is the organisation of an Imperial defence.

NORFOLK DAILY STAR (Dec. 7).

We may safely prophesy that, when the Colonies have become dependent upon one another through a mutual system of defence and a common service of communication, they will be ready and willing to federate, not merely socially but politically. Until then Federation will not be complete; the steps foreshadowed by Mr. Stanhope will only be the groundwork of a more stately structure.

HULL DAILY NEWS (Dec. 8).

It cannot fail to be gratifying to every patriotic Englishman, not only in Great Britain, but in the Greater Britain beyond the seas, that the question of Imperial Federation has at length been taken up by the Government in a manner which cannot fail to aid in elucidating the difficulties which unquestionably beset a question so large and important. We are glad to notice that many eminent men in the Liberal ranks are heartily in favour of Imperial Federation, and we trust that there is not a Liberal politician from one end of the land to the other who will hold aloof simply because of the fact that this measure has to be initiated by a Conservative Government. Hitherto there have not been many questions regarding which Liberals of all shades of opinion could join heartily with and assist a Conservative Government. This is, however, one of the few measures in which the most thorough-paced Liberal or Radical can assist and encourage a Tory Government without doing the slightest violence to his political conscience.

BRISTOL TIMES (Dec. 8).

Imperial Federation may not come next year; indeed, Mr. Stanhope is no doubt right in his suggestion that the time is hardly ripe for its discussion, but there is no doubt that this is the first step towards it, and that officials of both political parties have been surprised at the strength of the Imperial movement among any of those who realise what it means. The probable result of Mr. Stanhope's despatch will be the assembly in London next May of a representative Conference of all the Colonies, at which not only will the questions suggested by the Secretary of State be discussed, but at which, in spite of himself, so much will be said and done that the Government will be compelled to take up the question of Imperial Federation. Mr. Stanhope's circular will set on foot the biggest movement which for ages any statesman has had to deal with.

NOTTINGHAM GUARDIAN (Dec. 8).

Although this first attempt to bring all parts of the dominion of Queen Victoria into joint deliberation may be modest at the commencement, results may grow out of it affecting in a degree, which it is at present difficult to appreciate, the interests of the Empire and of the civilised world.

SUSSEX DAILY NEWS (Dec. 8).

The present Government are to be congratulated upon Mr. Stanhope's circular calling a Colonial Conference, for both the choice of subjects and the exclusion of subjects in it are judicious, and there is no fault to be found with either its principles or the language in which it lays them down. As regards intercolonial communication, there is a little hypocrisy about the Government action, for it hardly needs a Conference of all the Colonies to tell us that we are not making very serious efforts to draw the various parts of the Empire together while it costs only 2½d. to send a letter from Calais to Calcutta or Mandalay, and 5d. to send a letter there from London.

NEWCASTLE JOURNAL (Dec. 8).

It will be long probably before either Colonial and Imperial Federation is arranged as a complete scheme perfect in every detail. The

proposed Conference, therefore, must be necessarily to some extent of an indefinite character. The question is not yet among *les situations nettes*, and it will have to be treated in a large and liberal spirit at home and abroad. But the ideal of a Federal Constitution, embracing the Mother Country and all its dependencies of every kind, may be steadily kept in view, though the friends of either English and Colonial or Imperial and Colonial Federation cannot precisely define it in all its bearings. To further promote and develop such a general movement is the aim of the Conference to be held in next April or May.

CHRISTIAN WORLD (Dec. 9).

A despatch, which may prove the commencement of a great and historic movement, and which is certainly in accord with a very prevailing sentiment, has been issued by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. . . . The consultation of experienced Colonists with the Home authorities cannot fail to suggest further means of placing the Empire in a greater state of security. . . . Preparation against possible enemies is not, however, to solely engross the attention of the Conference. It will be asked to consider how commercial and social relations can be promoted by the development of our postal and telegraphic communications with the Colonies. Here there is a wide field for deliberation, and one in which almost every English household will be interested. If the Conference should lead to the establishment of an ocean penny postage, it will be a worthy commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee.

GREENOCK TELEGRAPH (Dec. 7).

There can be no two opinions on this important subject. The Conservative and Liberal Parties are agreed that Great Britain should keep her Colonies, that the Colonists should be encouraged not only to sympathise with and strengthen the Mother Country in times of danger, but to look to her for help if their interests are imperilled by any "foreign tinkler loons."

SCOTTISH NEWS (Dec. 7).

The deliberations and decisions of the Conference will be anticipated with curiosity not only by ourselves, but by foreign nations, who are well aware that one of the strongest weapons in our country's armoury is the loyalty and devotion of her Colonies.

COURT AND SOCIETY REVIEW (Dec. 9).

Seldom in our island's history has a more important State paper been published than that which was given to the world on Tuesday last, its subjects Imperial Federation and Defence. "Given to the world," we say advisedly, for the scope of this august document is even more than Imperial; it is universal. It reaches out across the Continents, its frontiers marching with those of every land, its circumference that of the globe itself.

ABERDEEN FREE PRESS (Dec. 7).

The first official step towards the realisation of the idea of "Imperial Federation" has been taken by Mr. Stanhope, the Secretary for the Colonies. . . . The step taken by the Government in summoning the Conference, and the substance of Mr. Stanhope's despatch, will, we imagine, be generally approved. It would be easy to say, and in a way to prove, that little but talk will result from the proposed discussion of the subjects named in the present condition of home and colonial opinion; but the general disposition will rather be to welcome the proposal as at least an indication of a growing sense of common interest, if not of active friendliness, between different parts of the Empire.

LIVERPOOL COURIER (Dec. 7).

Though "political Federation" is considered by Mr. Stanhope as outside the range of practical politics at the present time, and will consequently be excluded from the deliberations of the Conference of British and Colonial representatives to be convoked next spring, the gathering of deputies from all parts of the Queen's vast dominions even for "purely consultative" purposes, must exercise a very appreciable influence in further knitting together the component parts of the Empire. The invitations issued by the Secretary of State to the various Colonial Governments will be viewed everywhere as conclusive evidence of a desire to bring about relations that will prove quite as effective a bond of union as any method of political Federation that could be devised. At the same time, the prospective closer relations may be really considered as constituting a very long stride in the direction of that Imperial Federation which is so strongly advocated by many patriotic Britons at home and in the Colonies.

NORTH-EASTERN DAILY GAZETTE (Dec. 7).

Any step that is taken in this direction should be regarded as a national, not a party, movement; and should be, and will be, welcomed by both of the great parties in the State. It will, however, inflict a distinct harm to the progress of the movement if either party pretends to claim a monopoly of interest or action in the question. . . . There need be no hesitation in saying that the proposed Conference should meet with general approval.

HUDDERSFIELD CHRONICLE (Dec. 9).

The question of the defences of the Empire is not bound up in that of Imperial Federation, although it is largely connected with the same. It is clear that Federation without defence would be useless, while an organised system of Colonial defence would be one of the stepping-stones to that Federation which the Colonists desire. . . . Another subject which the Conference will be invited to consider is that relating to the postal and telegraphic facilities between Great Britain and her dependencies, with a view to augmenting them in such a manner as will promote the general interests. These subjects will alone provide plenty of work for the Conference, while their settlement will pave the way to that much larger question of Imperial Federation, which cannot for long remain without the domain of practical politics.

LEEDS MERCURY (Dec. 7).

A step of great importance has been taken by Her Majesty's Government in furtherance of that aspiration for a stronger and closer Imperial unity which has gained of late so powerful a hold upon the minds of the subjects of the Queen at home and in the Colonies. . . . Those who have paid the most attention to the great subject of Imperial Federation will, we think, all agree that the Queen's Ministers have been well-advised in the policy embodied in Mr. Stanhope's despatch.

STANDARD (Dec. 7).

It is possible that the aspirations cherished on all hands may be disappointed, and that Imperial Unity may never take the form of Imperial Federation; but if the end for which so many able and sagacious men are labouring with hope—nay, with confidence—be ever achieved, the passage we have quoted will be a household word with future generations of the Greater Britain.

MONTREAL DAILY STAR (Dec. 8).

It is not proposed that the Conference should occupy itself with the question of Imperial Federation; the friends of that movement would make a fatal blunder were they to make a premature attempt to realise their aims. The principal subjects for discussion are the questions of organising a system of defence, and of simplifying the postal telegraph system. These are practical questions of immediate and growing interest. Canada seems destined to enjoy such a share of the world's commerce that it cannot long afford to ignore the question of defence. A great strengthening of England's naval power in the Pacific is essential to the protection of Canadian interests even now. In the matter of defence the interests of all parts of the Empire are united. Each Colony can accomplish more by assisting in a comprehensive scheme for the defence of the Empire and its commerce, the world over, than it can by merely independent action.

GRAPHIC (Dec. 11).

It was decidedly a happy thought of the Colonial Secretary to invite representatives of Greater Britain to discuss with him certain matters bearing on Imperial Federation. Even if no direct results attend the Conference, a precedent will have been established for calling together the collective wisdom of the Empire to debate matters of common concern to all parts. And what is that but the embryo of a Parliament in the undeveloped stage before it becomes a legislating machine? The matters in hand on the present occasion are two, each of a distinctly Imperial character, closely touching the interests of all subjects of the British Crown.

BROAD ARROW (Dec. 11).

It is very satisfactory indeed to hear there is some prospect of an organised meeting in England of the representatives selected by our Colonial Empire to consider the vital question of defence. It seems absurd that Australia, with its enormous wealth, for instance, should be almost at the mercy of any nation who could collect ships enough to crush the few vessels of war at present stationed there or that could be spared.

SWANSEA JOURNAL (Dec. 11).

All true Britons will hope that from the suggested Conference an Imperial defence may be built up which will keep every enemy at bay, and lead on to that larger federation which will make England and her Colonies one in every interest, commercial as well as Imperial.

YORKSHIRE POST (Dec. 7).

The circular of Mr. Edward Stanhope to the Colonial Governments will cause general satisfaction in the countries to which it is sent, and will be approved by every patriotic and right-minded Englishman. . . . The principal end and aim of this happily-designed Conference is to bring about such an incorporation of the British Empire that when one member is attacked all the members shall resist the enemy; and in these troublous times it is well that the world should know that the British Empire is such a cord as is not easily broken.

DAILY CHRONICLE (Dec. 7).

It is not on military lines that Federation can be promoted. To establish such a military system as the Government are hankering after is the best way to promote, not the Federation, but the disruption of the Empire. The proposed Conference may do some good, however, by discussing another question which is to be submitted to it, namely, that of the best means of promoting social and commercial relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies by the development of postal and telegraphic communications.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (Dec. 7).

Mr. Stanhope's circular to the Colonial Governments will be read with very general approval and satisfaction. It is in effect an invitation to the Colonies to come and take counsel together with the Mother Country in London about certain important matters of common Imperial concern. The meeting is to be held next spring, and will, as is right and fitting, be presided over by Mr. Stanhope himself. It is suggested that not only should the Colonies appoint regular representatives, but that any Colonial statesmen who could make it convenient to be in England next year should take the opportunity of being present at the meeting. It will be a kind of informal Council of the Empire, and if the Colonies will take up the scheme with the cordiality which may not unreasonably be expected it will be of the greatest interest and value. The Government have done wisely in choosing the right moment for bringing this great Council together; and if, as we have no doubt, they will keep it free of party politics, we have no doubt that they will receive much hearty Liberal support.

CHURCH REVIEW (Dec. 10).

This wise proceeding on Mr. Stanhope's part will be very acceptable to the Colonies, which have not in the past been sufficiently consulted on matters in which they are most nearly concerned.

UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE (Dec. 11).

The meeting proposed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies will pave the way for welding into one homogeneous compound many elements—by no means discordant—all actuated by the same sentiment—loyalty to the Crown and pride in belonging to the British Empire.

LLOYD'S WEEKLY NEWSPAPER (Dec. 12).

Mr. Stanhope will evoke universal assent when he remarks that the time has arrived for acquiring a better understanding as to the system of defence which may be established throughout the Empire. Whenever we are called upon to face the dire calamity of war—may the day be far distant!—our foes might be expected to strike a blow at some distant portion of our dominions, and doubtless the Colony least protected would be singled out for assault. In view of this danger, as well as from other considerations, both local and Imperial, it behoves England to consult with her Colonies on the general defence of the Empire.

BOLTON CHRONICLE (Dec. 7).

Our Colonies have too long been left out in the cold, and though this has not arisen from lack of friendship, it is palpable that the longer it continues the greater the danger of estrangement. Mr. Stanhope does not think it would be wise to approach the subject of Imperial Federation "until some basis has been accepted by the Governments concerned," but we cannot help thinking that a Conference of this kind would present just the opportunity for securing such an interchange of opinion as would lead to the formation of the basis without which it is impossible to proceed. Whether Federation be discussed or not, however, the Conference must be productive of good, and we hope it will be held, and be thoroughly representative.

ENGLAND (Dec. 11).

Imperial Confederation will not form one of the topics proposed for discussion, but the meeting of the Conference will do much to bring that question into the realm of practical politics. . . . The Conference will be the first meeting with any claim to be considered representative of the British Empire, and will, we hope, contain the embryo of a Federal Council.

NORTHAMPTON HERALD (Dec. 11).

The gathering into one common centre of those domains upon which the sun never sets is a truly Imperial undertaking, and, although the Colonial Secretary, in inviting the representatives of the Colonies to a general Conference next spring, expressly excludes the idea of suggesting Political Federation, he is evidently himself sensible of the vast possibilities of the future in that respect. Results, he admits, may grow out of this modest commencement which shall affect, in a degree at present difficult to appreciate, the interests of the Empire and of the civilised world.

NEWCASTLE WEEKLY CHRONICLE (Dec. 11).

A significant reference is made to the desirability of establishing a "complete system of communications without the increased expenditure which necessarily results from isolated action." If this be not Imperial Federation, what is?

OXFORD CHRONICLE (Dec. 11).

Whatever may be the result, every one is delighted that the Government have summoned a Conference of Colonial representatives, to consider the means by which the younger branches of the Empire may be drawn into closer union with the Mother Country. A few years ago the Liberal scheme of Imperial Federation was laughed at as chimerical; now we find it boldly adopted by the Chief Apostle of Tory Democracy.

RECORD (Dec. 11).

It would be idle to pretend not to see that the Conference paves the way for a deliberative assembly which shall be in very truth an Imperial Parliament.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation, to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

THE VALUE OF TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION IN TIME OF WAR.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—In your Editorial remarks in the December issue upon my letter about Cables, Colonies, and Commerce, you suppose me to mean that the two latter may be "shelled and smashed" if the cables are cut.

It is, I admit, not a pleasant thing to say, but if it is the truth it had far better be said, and I think it cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that it is folly to depend upon submarine lines, laid in time of peace, and projected as they all are upon the charts of all nations, remaining intact in time of war.

It is reasonable enough to rely upon such conditions until war is about to be declared; but whenever that time seems near then I do assert very positively that a dozen Alabama-like craft can be very quickly made ready to cut as many cables as may be desired.

For cutting purposes it is not necessary to think of vast distances or employ large vessels. The ships destined to cut can select their own place and time, and it is just as easy to go to a given latitude and longitude, out of sight of land, where a cable is known to be lying, and find it, as it is to go to any distant headland or lighthouse.

You say you are quite content to have the issue raised upon the question of the "time when" other cables should be laid, and you "advocate having two strings to our bow at once, so as to be ready when war is imminent."

My contention is that laying cables from Vancouver to Sydney, or

the Cape to Australia, is more accurately described as a fifth wheel to the coach than as two strings to the bow. When laid their position will be known, and they can be found and cut by any one so disposed.

I have, in a paper read before the Delegates of the Chambers of Commerce, at the Colonial Exhibition, given my views of the only conditions which offer any alternative to this statement, and I do not believe any one familiar with the subject will gainsay what I have advanced. Briefly, I put it thus:—

The enemy must realise that it is no use cutting cables, because there are so many other routes through neutral countries by which telegrams can be sent, that to interrupt the communication would only create an unimportant inconvenience, and would not affect the result of a campaign. There may also be cables owned by nations who are no parties to the quarrel, and who are strong enough to demand that their cables shall not be cut; and all nations may now feel assured that strategic cables laid, when required, in a position not known to the enemy, will form part of the equipment of any naval power engaged in hostile operations. I should be very glad if I could think of any protection for cables other than I have already defined in this and in my letter in your December issue.

At the risk of presuming too much on your space, I should like to state what I believe will be the position of our commerce, coaling stations, and Colonies, when war is about to be declared between this country and any other possessing a fleet or cruisers.

Our shipowners will insure if they can—paying for war risks.

All sailing ships must either sail under neutral flags, or be laid up in dock in the safest port they can reach. All steamships continuing under the national flag will be informed by the Admiralty of the track they must follow, and the given latitude and longitude where they will find our cruisers or other war ships.

An inevitable feature of every plan for the protection of our commerce will be the restriction of our commercial marine to our fastest steamers, and the concentration of our warships and cruisers—and I pray the latter may be belted, for such craft as the *Iris* or *Mercury*, *Etruria* or *Alaska*, have only one chance if struck by a shell—which is, that the shell may go through both sides and into the water before it explodes, or the gun deck will be a shambles. I can suppose such craft acting as eyes to the fleet, and we may hope that their superior speed will enable them to return to our fighting squadron before they are attacked by an enemy's warship; and they may lure the foe to a position in the open sea where a battle can be fought with perhaps some advantage to our fleet.

It may be supposed also that they would count for a good deal with an enemy who had few or none so good; but it is for keeping open communication, for the transport of troops and stores, that they will be chiefly valuable.

I do not believe in merchant steamers being reliable warships, and I am as disappointed when I see such ideas advanced as I am delighted when I read of the launch of another belted cruiser.

I cannot believe those responsible for the defence of our Empire are not prepared to provide all coaling stations with such means of defence and weapons for offensive warfare as will ensure the flying squadron of the enemy a warm reception. It would be an insult to our Admiralty and War Office to suppose that they are relying upon either our warships or cruisers to be in sufficient force at more than a few of our principal coaling stations at one time to meet any considerable enemy. To follow an enemy is to exhaust the coal supply, and to concentrate a number of ships by telegraph is certain to bring some of them to the desired spot with their coals exhausted; then, if they cannot get a fresh supply because of the strength of the enemy, they will easily be "nursed" and captured.

We shall probably know where to look for the enemy, and especially we will seek him at his coal-supply rendezvous, and endeavour to keep him there or capture him; but to do this effectually our own coaling stations must be in a position to guard themselves against a surprise.

The same must be said of all our Colonies, and I feel I am only writing what is well understood by those who are responsible, but I cannot help seeing how very imperfectly the position is recognised by the public. The concentration of our fighting power upon a well-matured plan, with as little necessity as possible for spreading out in distant oceans, must be the very essence of any arrangement. Coal-supply and coal endurance will be the test of naval supremacy.

Then as to commerce, it goes without saying that from the moment war apprehensions are in the air, all engaged in financial transactions will restrict their engagements to the utmost. They will not trust to cables, but prepare beforehand for the worst.

Very little will then depend upon the Mediterranean cables. We can get to the shores of that sea through Spain, France, Italy, Austria, Greece, and Turkey, and if we cannot with our naval resources keep fast cruisers to cross the Mediterranean to Egypt, then indeed we shall be engaged in a terrible and calamitous war, and what commerce there is will be carried to and fro under other flags—but I for one do not think that day is very near.

At all events the long submarine cables proposed will do nothing at all to diminish the danger (which is the only point of difference between us, in my opinion).

I maintain then that the "time when an alternate line should be laid to meet the exigencies of war" is only when we have determined with whom we are going to war, and where we are going to fight him. Much, very much, can then, and in anticipation, be done to ensure communication, but the very worst plan of all is to lay long, expensive submarine cables in the deepest oceans, in which it is almost impossible, and always tedious and costly, to effect repairs when the cables are old, or have been cut or broken.

Better far use the money to reduce the tariffs, thereby increasing our commerce, and adding to the wealth of the whole Empire, which is one of the best preparations for war, and will do more for Federation than any other scheme which has yet been or I believe can be formulated.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES ANDERSON.

Winchester House, 50, Old Broad Street,
London, 4th December, 1886.

Imperial Federation.

FEBRUARY 1, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

IN our last number we were only able to announce the bare fact that a Nova Scotian Branch of the League had been established at Halifax. The meeting at which the Branch was organised was attended by representative men of all parties, and it is no vain boast to say that this new offshoot of the League has every promise of a successful and honourable career. The General Committee is composed of ARCHBISHOP O'BRIEN, SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD, and COLONELS LANE and BLACK—a very strong combination. An interesting point was noted by SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD in his speech at the preliminary meeting, when he pointed out that the idea of Imperial Federation took its origin in the brain of the late MR. JOSEPH HOWE, who in a speech made in the Nova Scotian Legislature early in the fifties, spoke strongly in favour of the scheme and foretold its ultimate triumph. Possibly it is not every one who will allow this claim to the distinction of having originated the grandest notion of the age to go unchallenged, but after all the important point is that the scheme now has an existence, and a very lively one, too.

THE formation of this new Branch of the League is important not only as supplying the nucleus of a powerful addition to our forces, but also as giving an effective answer to the persons who for one reason or another make it their business to insist that Nova Scotia is anxious for separation. For further proof of the absurdity of their contention we would call our readers' especial attention to an extract from a private letter on this subject which appears in another column. The writer, who is so placed as to have unusually excellent opportunities for forming an opinion, shows that after a close investigation he has no hesitation in declaring the separatist agitation to be merely political and based on grounds which are neither patriotic, national, or Imperial.

THERE is no need to dwell on the paramount necessity of adequately fortifying the various coaling-stations scattered over the Empire. The eyes of the public have been fully opened concerning that necessity, and it now remains the duty of every patriotic citizen to actively insist, as far as in him lies, that proper attention be paid by the responsible authorities to the protection of those isolated and often otherwise insignificant ports, which are the very backbone of British naval supremacy. LORD CARNARVON, who was for three years chairman of the Commission for the Defence of British Possessions and Commerce Abroad, and who is entitled to speak on the subject on other grounds also, in a letter to the *Times* of January 6th, gave a very clear and interesting statement of his views on this most important question, and expressed his too justifiable fears that the steps, if any, which are being taken towards further defence of the coaling-stations are dilatory, and not such as the times demand. The Commission over which LORD CARNARVON presided sat, as is well known, with closed doors, and its report was confidential. But such privacy in a matter vitally affecting Imperial interests is only permissible when remedies are immediately applied to any defects that may be disclosed. In this case it is acknowledged that there were defects, but there is every ground for supposing that the necessary steps were not taken, and the only inference that can be drawn is that successive Governments have abstained from the

performance of an imperative duty, while they shielded themselves with the secrecy placed on the proceedings of a Royal Commission.

To know the exact truth in matters of this description is of the first importance. Assertions and contradictions confuse the mind of the public; and the doubt which so ensues naturally results in indifference. Fortunately we have now every prospect of learning the correct state of the case with regard to our coaling-stations. LORD BRASSEY, with that patriotic spirit of inquiry which has more than once actuated him in his country's service, is now travelling round the world on a tour of personal inspection of the various British ports. There is no fear that LORD BRASSEY will not speak his mind if the results of his observation seem to him to make it necessary that he should, and it is to be hoped that the unbiassed opinion of so considerable an authority may serve our rulers as a principle of real, earnest, and immediate action. In the meantime the gratitude of all is due to LORD CARNARVON for his endeavour to fix public attention on an end which must be ever kept in sight.

THE proposed elevation of the Bishopric of New South Wales to an Archiepiscopal See is a compliment well deserved both by BISHOP BARRY and the Colony. The other Colonies will have no cause to be jealous of the honour conferred on their eldest sister, for the BISHOP of NEW SOUTH WALES has always taken precedence as Primate of Australia, and there is no reason why his position should not be recognised in name as well as in fact. It is small things like this, which cost nothing and give no trouble, that help to draw closer together Churchmen all the world over, and that, as in this case, will bring into yet closer sympathy the Colonists and their friends at home. A point of additional interest in the suggested change is that the Archbishopric of New South Wales will be the first Anglican Archbishopric created.

NOR the least striking effect of the League's work is to be seen in the revived interest which some prominent Americans are showing in the relations of their country with Canada. They begin to think that the Dominion may have some claims on consideration, and, though her position will not change geographically, there is more than a possibility of her uniting her forces with those of another nation, which will not be the United States. In 1892 it is proposed to open a "Permanent Exposition of the Three Americas"—North, Central, and South—and a convention for promoting the scheme has met at Washington, to which Canada was not invited. At a banquet given to the delegates, one of the principal speeches was made by the HON. S. J. RITCHIE, of Akron, Ohio, who devoted the whole of his remarks to the growing wealth and importance of Canada, and the persistent neglect with which she has been treated by her nearest neighbour. It is very true that the States have constantly disregarded Canada's appeals for more friendly relations, and it is never too late to repent. But still repentance may easily come too late to be of any practical use; and it is not uncharitable, as it is certainly not unreasonable, to hope that when next negotiations are opened between the two countries, it may be Canada's turn to offer a deaf ear, or to politely intimate that she has other plans in view.

AN interesting debate on an untried constitutional point lately occupied six hours in the Melbourne Legislative Assembly. In 1879 the office of Lieut.-Governor was created by letters patent, but remained unfilled until

towards the close of last year, when SIR WILLIAM STAWELL, ex-Chief Justice, was appointed to the post by the Crown. Some members of the Opposition took exception to the appointment, and a motion was brought forward to the effect that the conduct of the Government in the matter had been unsatisfactory. The principal ground on which the discontents took their stand was that the appointment was unconstitutional since, although the Crown's right to impose a governor was unquestioned, the Victorian Cabinet should have been consulted in the selection of a Lieut.-Governor. Some four or five members supported the motion, but in the end the good sense of the House asserted itself, and no division was taken. The matter was not, of course, open to any doubt at all. The action of the opposition was simply the result of the well-established precedent which holds that the duty of an opposition is to oppose.

THAT there is at any rate no sentiment of disloyalty at work in the Victorian Assembly is shown by the following suggestive fragment of the debate on the occasion :

MR. BENT.—The other night the hon. member for Ararat, and he believed the Premier, said that there were some persons who would like to "cut the painter."

MR. GAUNSON.—Who are they? Lunatics in the Ararat Asylum?

MR. M'LELLAN.—No; some of them are not so far from here. (Laughter.)

MR. BENT.—It was necessary to protest against the inference that those who objected to the appointment of Sir William Stawell as Lieut.-Governor could be charged with a desire to "cut the painter." (Hear, hear.)

MR. PATTERSON.—And yet that was suggested. (Hear, hear.)

MR. BENT.—Such a suggestion is an insult to the Colony which bears the name of the illustrious Queen of England. (Hear, hear.)

MR. WOODS.—It's an insult to anybody's intelligence.

MR. BENT.—To use the Premier's phrase, it was "too thin." The people of the Colony were loyal to the core.

MR. BENT was the gentleman who brought forward the want of confidence motion.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON and his supporters, who must include all the inhabitants of Great and Greater Britain outside of Government Offices, are at last reaping a part of their reward in the interest which is beginning to be evinced in Australia on the Imperial Penny Postage scheme. The *Albany Mail* speaks very strongly in its favour, justly regarding it as "one of the first steps to bring about the Imperial Federation which most thinkers amongst us wish so earnestly to see established." If the Colonies are apathetic, it is because they are waiting upon the Mother Country and recognise that it is for her to take the initiative. It is a matter on which the House of Commons, irrespective of party, may well unite against an over-timorous Treasury. That is how we got our sixpenny telegrams, and that is how we may communicate with our friends and relations at the Antipodes at a modest and non-prohibitive cost.

BUT it is not only in Australia that the Colonies are manifesting interest in the cheap postage question. A Postal Committee of the Durban Chamber of Commerce has been sitting with very practical ends in view, and as a result has issued a report advising that tenders be invited for the carriage of mails between England and Natal, with the object of securing to the Colony a direct mail service. It is believed by the Committee that by throwing open the contract to public tender the subsidy will be so reduced as to enable Natal to considerably lower its postal rates without any increased expense. It is mainly by independent actions of this description that the matter of an Imperial Postage will be brought to a head, and it is to

be hoped that we soon shall see other Colonies taking active steps for themselves. Queensland, by due calculation of ways and means, has found it can afford to send letters to Britain for two-thirds the price that Britain charges for carrying a letter to Queensland, and it is but reasonable to expect that the older and more flourishing Australasian Colonies should at least give their most careful consideration to the possibility of their being able to follow the lead of their gallant younger sister.

WHEN the fact is borne in mind that the British Empire is in the fullest sense self-sufficing, and is able from its own resources to supply every want that has ever yet been felt by man, it must be the wish of every Imperialist (in the true meaning of the word) that all its various portions may learn to look to one another for the satisfaction of their several requirements. For this reason we gladly welcome the news that the Canadian Board of Trade is exerting itself with the view of fostering the trade relations of the Dominion with Australia. At the Board's request, the Government will, it is hoped, institute inquiries into the bounty system which is now maintained in the United States with regard to American trade by sea with Australia, with the view of granting similar aid from Canada. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of encouraging such action as this that is now being taken in the North-West. That the immediate object of the parties concerned is to increase business to their mutual advantage, is in no way against such agreements. Many of the firmest friendships have had their beginning in relations which were at first purely commercial.

A CHARACTERISTIC of the French which is very strange in so clever a people, is their inability not merely to properly appreciate, but even to form anything like a cool and sensible judgment on matters with which they as a nation can have no immediate concern. *Le Temps* is usually acknowledged to be the best and ablest of the French newspapers. Yet, if an opinion of its merits were to be taken on the strength of an article on Imperial Federation with which it recently favoured its readers, it would be difficult to endorse the general commendation. Imperial Federation, according to *Le Temps*, is one of a species of fads to which the English, and particularly their politicians, are very much addicted, and which quickly vanish into thin air by virtue of their own ethereal nature. No idea, it thinks, could possibly be more plausible on paper, or more fascinating, than that of a great Empire comprising all the nations which have sprung from British soil; but, on the other hand, could there be anything more difficult to put into practice? It is not necessary to inform English readers that the difficulties of a scheme are not among the things likely to cause the defection of its supporters, and we may pass on to call attention to the nature of these insuperable difficulties which the French writer foresees. Briefly, they consist in the supposition that the Colonies will never consent to go to the expense of uniting with the Mother Country in a system of mutual defence. That is all. We could wish, indeed, that it were all in reality. If such were the case, there would be every chance of the present year witnessing an all-powerful Federation of the Greatest Empire the world has yet seen.

THERE will be an unusually large number of calls on the generosity of those who have something to spare in this Jubilee year. Not only is the Imperial Institute to be paid for, but every little town has its own particular plan for a local celebration, the success of which must altogether depend on the subscriptions of patriotic citizens. Among

the appeals for funds will be heard a voice from Halifax, Nova Scotia, which is proposing to at once commemorate the centenary of its own episcopacy and the QUEEN'S Jubilee by the erection of a cathedral, and which is sending delegates to this country to ask for assistance. It is much to be hoped that something may be spared for this really excellent object, which, if it may be said without offence, is immeasurably more worthy of support than certain schemes that in a vain effort after originality have been propounded at home. The Church is certainly not the least of the ties that bind the *disjecta membra* of the Empire, and a time will come when Englishmen will be glad to think that they have contributed to the cost of a cathedral worthy of Canada.

LADY MACDONALD is to be congratulated on her success in effecting a change in the Canadian women's Jubilee Celebration, and Canada, too, no less. The original proposal, it may be remembered, was to erect a Titanic statue of HER MAJESTY somewhat on the scale of the New York "Liberty." The statue might very possibly have been beautiful, but, at the same time, in commemorations of this sort, the choice is to be given rather to works of permanent utility than of mere formal beauty, and hence few will be sorry that the statue has been superseded by LADY MACDONALD'S alternative proposition to establish a Victoria Art Museum and Industrial College, for the purpose of giving technical instruction to artisans. The whole cost of building and endowment, which is estimated at 100,000 dols., is to be borne by the women of Canada, and that it will be no small section of them is provided for by limiting subscriptions to 5 dols. Twenty thousand women might long look for a more profitable manner of spending a sovereign apiece.

At the recent meeting in St. James's Palace when H.R.H. the PRINCE of WALES spoke at considerable length upon the plan for the Imperial Institute, one thing must have given peculiar gratification to all members of the League who were present. We mean the strenuous applause which followed every reference to the Unity of the Empire. The audience marked its approbation constantly while the PRINCE was speaking, but it seemed to us only to become enthusiastic when allusions were made which could be construed into sympathy with the League's principles.

WE can see no objection to allowing the Colonies to print and publish the one Book to which no man has more right than another, and which is a household possession wherever the English language is spoken. At present Bibles are the monopoly of the Crown, and the two Universities alone have the right of publishing them. If due precautions were taken against unauthorised printers tampering with the sacred text, the restrictions might very well be loosened in Great Britain, and certainly should be in the Colonies, where English Bibles are naturally more expensive than those produced on the spot would be. Only a month ago a consignment of very beautifully got up Bibles sent from the Nation Publishing Company of New South Wales to Melbourne (whether in ignorance or not, we cannot say) were seized by the Customs as being an infringement of copyright, and the existing law directed that these costly and finely-illustrated books must be burnt. For piracy of new works such a sentence would be well deserved, but Bibles, we cannot help thinking, should hold a different footing. To grant the privilege of publishing their own Bibles to the Colonies would be a just and graceful compliment, which would be fully repaid in gratitude and closer union.

It is perhaps a small thing; but it is the case that the stage reflects, to a certain extent, the thoughts that are "in the air." Especially is this so in those entertainments which occupy the boards of some theatres only at the season of the year from which we are now emerging. Everything which is at all before the public is dragged into song or dialogue. And this year it is interesting to note that no pantomime seems to be considered complete that has not some marked reference to the mutual love and union of the Colonies and their Mother-Home, and, what is more, no other scenes or allusions are greeted with such hearty applause. To some extent this may be accounted for by its being Jubilee year, but after all there is no necessary connection between the Colonies and the Jubilee, and therefore we must base the popularity of the mere word "Colonies" upon a general growth in Imperial sentiments.

IN his first speech at Liverpool, on January 18th, MR. GOSCHEN announced himself to be in thorough sympathy with the League's principles. "We are Unionists," he said, "as regards the Empire at large." Loud cheers from the vast assemblage greeted these words, showing how unanimous was the feeling on our side. What is this but the toast of the "Unity of the Empire" proposed at every Federation banquet, the resolution passed at every Federation meeting, the sentiment that inspires all the League's work? To our long list of supporters among the Powers that be, we are proud to add the name of the new CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.

NOT content with generalisations, MR. GOSCHEN did not let the evening pass without speaking his mind upon the subject of Imperial Defence:—"I need not impress upon you how a country, depending as we depend upon the food supplies from other countries for our very existence, and on the importation of the raw material for our very prosperity—I need not impress upon you the duty of looking to it that our defences shall be safe." And again:—"But one thing is necessary, and you all know it. The till must be made safe. We must take care that our position is so strong, that our defences are so strong, that our national safe is so strong that the riches of the country may not be at the mercy of plunderers." (Loud cheers.) But where are the riches of the country? In Australia, in New Zealand, in Canada, at the Cape. MR. GOSCHEN knows this well enough, and that is why we feel confident that when he speaks of our defences, he means an Imperial Navy and the Defence of the whole Empire.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, has entered upon his duties in the spirit which might be expected from a member of the Executive Council of the League. One of his first official acts was to receive the Agents-General at the Colonial Office, when he took occasion to allude to "the closer union of the Colonies with the Mother Country" as being a "result desired by all." Ministers do not speak so freely without weighing their words, and what SIR HENRY HOLLAND said he means, and will use his powerful influence to promote.

A WELL-INFORMED Canadian correspondent sends us the following:—"I may call your attention to one of many gratifying signs of the times in our favour. The *Montreal Star*, which has always been the organ of that section of our people who look first to independence, and ultimately to annexation with the United States as the destiny of this country, has recently had a number of articles showing quite a change of tone, and I have hopes of its

becoming a supporter of our cause. The articles are significant to those who know the paper, as showing the way the wind blows. This paper has the largest circulation of any in Canada. Even GOLDWIN SMITH seems to begin to think there may be something in co-operation for the defence of the Empire."

WE are exceedingly glad to announce that MR. STANHOPE's transfer from the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies to that of Secretary of State for War, has set him at liberty to resume the Vice-chairmanship of the League. We may congratulate ourselves now upon the vacancy having remained open; for MR. STANHOPE's temporary retirement was sincerely regretted by all our members, and there is no one who will not heartily rejoice at his return, and at the prospect of regaining his valuable advice and assistance in the counsels of the League.

AMONG the numerous refutations of MR. BRIGHT's statement that England will not be "in any degree influenced in her policy by Canada, Australia, or the Cape," that of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for War should be noticed. In dealing with MR. BRIGHT's letter in another column, we have given the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, so that our contemporary the *Echo*, which asks, concerning MR. BRIGHT's dictum—"Is that true? Who can doubt it?" need no longer be at a loss for a denial of the first and an authoritative answer to the second of its questions. The opinion of two Secretaries of State surely outweighs the irresponsible utterance of a single ex-Minister.

THIS is what MR. STANHOPE said, when taking leave of the Agents-General, upon assuming his post at the War Office:—"It is a matter of satisfaction to me that I am able to enter upon my duties with a knowledge of the wants and aspirations of the Colonies, and with a strong conviction that, *in the political problems which come before us for solution*, IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY MINISTER OF THE CROWN NEVER TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE INTERESTS AND FEELINGS OF GREATER BRITAIN."

AT the inaugural banquet of the National Union Club the other day, we were glad to observe that all the speakers had present in their minds the idea of that Imperial unity which it is our function to advocate. Thus Colonel the HON. F. C. BRIDGEMAN, M.P., expressed his hope that the Club would "tend to promote the unity of the Empire," and SIR ARTHUR BLVTH spoke enthusiastically of the loyalty of the Colonies, and declared that in no time of danger or difficulty would they be appealed to in vain. He assured the company that England could do nothing for the Colonies which they would not try to return. That is the true spirit in which to approach discussion on Imperial Federation, and if it actuates all the other representatives at the forthcoming Conference in the same measure, the result cannot fail to be fraught with blessings to the Empire.

WE have, from the first day of its announcement, referred to the "Imperial" Conference. But most of our contemporaries insisted upon calling it the "Colonial" Conference. It is even said that this misnomer was at one time sanctioned by the Colonial Office. However, the universal feeling that the Conference would be, in the fullest sense, Imperial, has prevailed. MR. FREDERICK YOUNG's letter to the *Daily News* doubtless contributed to the beneficial change, and now Reuter's Agency and the press generally, are careful to give the proper style and title of the "Imperial Conference."

WE do not know whether SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN will allow us to reckon him as a supporter of Imperial Federation; but we must be permitted to thank him for a passage in his speech at Hawick the other day, which might supply an admirable text for a discourse upon the subject. "As the nation becomes larger and larger," he said, "and the Empire more and more enormous, it is more important than ever that the necessary changes should be prompt and thorough; and change can never be prompt and thorough unless it is taken in hand by men who have the spirit of advance about them." As to what the necessary changes should be, our opinion is well known. We wish them to be both prompt and thorough, and, for the attainment of that end, let members of the League put on the "spirit of advance," and so take their work in hand, confident of ultimate victory.

WITH what success could Canada hope to urge her views in the Fisheries dispute with the United States, unless she had the support of Great Britain? The Canadian fisheries are worth about £3,000,000 a year; they are preserved by the power of the Mother Country to protect her children's rights. Is not this a strong argument in favour of maintaining the Imperial connection? When the dispute becomes the subject of negotiation, why not propose a rectification of the Ashburton Treaty as the condition of concession in the Fisheries matter? Continue the United States boundary along the 45th parallel to the sea, and Canada could afford to be generous with her fishing-grounds. These she has the power to keep in her own hands; let her ask, as the price of sharing them, that strip of territory which never ought to have been alienated. The exchange would also give the Maine fishermen free access to the valuable waters they so much covet.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE—WHERE AND HOW?

So long ago as November we were enabled to inform our readers that the South Kensington site would be utilised for the erection of the Imperial Institute. Since then our statement has been frequently contradicted, but the event has proved that we were correct, and we are in a position to confirm to-day the intelligence we published at a time when few were ready to believe it. We understand that it has been arranged for the South Kensington site to be handed over by the Royal Commissioners, free of charge, to the Trustees of the Imperial Institute, which will thus be provided from the outset with a magnificent endowment of immense value.

It is not without considerable regret that we announce this decision in favour of South Kensington, although the arguments in support of it are certainly strong. If some more central position were chosen, the cost of a site would swallow up so large a portion of the available funds that there would be great risk of the Institute being starved for want of income when its capital account was closed. Looking a gift-horse in the mouth is not a process likely to find much favour in any quarter, and the chance of obtaining so great a prize as is offered for nothing at South Kensington naturally overrides almost every other consideration. In fact we think it is a conclusive argument, unless some means can be found of *utilising the South Kensington site without building the Institute there*.

We have not seen the suggestion made as yet that the Royal Commissioners should be empowered to exchange their land at South Kensington for an equivalent value at Westminster. This seems to us quite practicable and consistent with the original intention of the donor. Provided that the gift is appropriated to a proper object, it cannot surely be maintained that a national memorial at Westminster would be less worthy than at South Kensington. There is no peculiar virtue, no historical tradition attached to the ground behind the Albert Hall, no sentiment that

would be outraged by using it for building land. The character of the neighbourhood would ensure the erection of substantial residences, and it is well known that the demand for good houses in that choice situation is so great that no shops or public-houses would be erected, easy though it would be, if thought necessary, to insert a clause to this effect in all title-deeds. Granted the power to make the exchange, there would be no need to force a sale. Sufficient money could be raised on mortgage to purchase ground at Westminster and commence building the Institute; the South Kensington site could be disposed of as opportunities offered, and we do not think they would be long in coming. We hope sincerely that no effort will be spared by the authorities to promote, even at the last moment, so desirable a transfer, and that the Prince of Wales will not allow the usefulness and success of the Institute to be hampered by letting knots of red-tape obstruct an exchange of so much mutual convenience. Westminster is the place for a public institution; South Kensington is where every one who can afford it likes to live: why put the round man in the square hole, by an arrangement that will please nobody? As to the fate of the Institute at South Kensington, Professor Huxley sounds a note of warning when he reminds us of the starved, neglected condition of the City and Guilds Institute there, for all its handsome externals.

We do not anticipate that any difficulty will be experienced in raising any reasonable amount of funds. We believe that enough will be forthcoming from this country alone to render feasible a favourite scheme of our own, whereby the Colonies should be asked to endow the Institute with land instead of contributing in money. Australia is ready to contribute £35,000; let her give 35,000 acres of good land; so, too, let Canada and the Cape give what they can most easily spare. Every sovereign is worth more in the Colonies than it is in England, but in most of them land is at a discount; therefore, let them give freely of their abundance, and keep their cash for developing industries and opening up new territory. It does not need any vast exercise of foresight to perceive that before many years have passed the land grants of the Institute will have increased in value on a scale far outweighing any temporary diminution of its present resources. The precarious nature of voluntary subscriptions is proverbial; but how fatal a blow would be struck at the success of the Institute if its capacity were ever impaired, through lack of funds, of performing the excellent but costly work which has been marked out for it. Possessed of landed estate in every quarter of the globe, the stability of the Institute would be assured; as it grew in years it would grow also in wealth, and with mature experience, pointing to fresh avenues of usefulness, there would come an enhanced power of assuming new functions.

In conclusion, we hope that too much prominence will not be given to purely commercial matters in arranging the scheme. At the St. James's Palace meeting the Mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne spoke very strongly of the advantages he and his friends expected to derive from the Institute in their business relations, and similar views find frequent expression elsewhere. But business men and those engaged in commercial enterprises cannot fairly ask the people of this great Empire to subscribe an enormous sum of money for the purpose of presenting them with a convenient, commercial exchange and sample-rooms for produce. The proposed Institute is to be the free gift of her subjects to the Queen; Her Majesty has willed that it shall take the form of a public building for Imperial purposes, and with that lofty and dignified aspiration the work must proceed. If once there should ever arise a suspicion that any single class or section of the population were to profit by the scheme, it would be doomed to certain failure. But if, on the contrary, the Imperial Institute is appropriated to the service of the British people all over the world, if it becomes the "hub of the British Empire," and is looked upon as the natural seat of Imperial business, then a grand career lies before it, *in sæcula sæculorum*.

THE REVENUE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The revenue of South Australia for the quarter ending Dec. 31st amounted to £420,000, and for the half-year to £830,000. The decrease in taxation during the past quarter was £167,000, and in the customs £47,000.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER INTERVIEWED UPON IMPERIAL FEDERATION

If it be true that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, we may thank the *Daily News* for a graceful compliment. Our readers will recollect that we were enabled last month to present them with a few words of New Year's greeting from Sir Charles Tupper, when the High Commissioner for Canada gave his fellow-members of the League his views as to the immediate prospects of Imperial Federation. A few days after our January issue had appeared, Sir Charles Tupper was interviewed on the same subject by the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News*. Of course he could do little more than repeat what he had said to us, but he was doubtless glad, as an ardent supporter of the League, to avail himself of an opportunity for promulgating its principles among the enormous body of subscribers to an important daily newspaper. We commend the precedent to other prominent members of the League, for we are not too proud to admit that our tenets may be more widely spread abroad through the columns of the daily Press than even in this journal! We hope, therefore, that the correspondents of the *Times*, the *Standard*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Morning Post*, will hasten to follow the good example which has been set them; there are plenty of distinguished men who can supply them with interesting materials.

It would not have been consistent with Sir Charles Tupper's invariable courtesy had he merely referred his interviewer to the letter in our columns; and we are glad that he answered so freely, because he had thus an opportunity of amplifying his ideas in some very interesting words. He said that—

"What he was for was the development of union, and steam communication was, in a marvellous way, doing that. Asked what he would suggest in addition, he replied that it had occurred to him to propose the ex-officio admission of Colonial commissioners into the British Cabinet for the discussion of questions relating to the Colonies, but not for the affairs of the Mother Country."

Now everybody knows that although the Cabinet has no constitutional existence, legally speaking, it is nevertheless in practice the fountain-head of all administrative and legislative action, and forms, so to speak, an Executive Committee of Parliament. In effect then Sir Charles Tupper's proposal would amount to the institution of an Imperial Cabinet: the "local" affairs of the Mother Country would be excluded from its deliberations, just as the local affairs of the Colonies are unnoticed by the present Cabinet. Imperial affairs alone remain to be discussed by an Imperial Cabinet. But how is an Imperial Cabinet to discuss, arrange, or propose a programme of Imperial legislation, how is it to carry on the administrative business, for the proper conduct of which it is in the last resort responsible, unless it has certain executive officers to do its bidding, and a Parliament to pass its measures into law? No one would suggest the formation of an Imperial Cabinet for mere talk; but whatever body might be entrusted with the execution of its plans would obviously be an Imperial Parliament, that is to say, it would be a Parliament possessing authority to carry out designs of an essentially Imperial nature, initiated by a Cabinet from which all local affairs were expressly excluded. The logical outcome of an Imperial Cabinet is an Imperial Parliament; and we think an error must have crept in somewhere in reporting Sir Charles Tupper's words, for he is said to have advocated this Imperial Cabinet, and in the next breath to have spoken of a "Federal Parliament" as a "chimerical" idea. There is but one solution of the dilemma—that the Imperial Cabinet should connect itself with the British Parliament alone; under these circumstances a Federal Parliament would certainly be unnecessary, but only so long as Colonial Governments were content to see the British House of Commons arranging the affairs of the Empire, and levying the taxes necessary for the service of the Empire. How long such a state of thing would last is a problem which we sincerely hope may never come up for solution.

At a later stage of the interview, Sir Charles Tupper was questioned as to the possibility of fusion between Canada and the United States. This is a matter of such vital

concern to every citizen of the British Empire that we must be excused for quoting the reply in full :—

"Unquestionably the Americans would like to have the whole continent to themselves, but the time has gone by for getting it. We have become a very big morsel to eat. We cannot any longer be taken like the artichoke, leaf by leaf, or province by province. We have now got the union placed on a firm basis, and we are intensely loyal to our institutions, and to the Queen. We are also solid to a man in standing by general as opposed to party interests. Party politics are as keen, maybe keener, than in England, but all without exception unite on any matter that affects the Dominion. We have in this a decided advantage over the United States, where party politics often blind people to general interests. On a recent occasion the Republican majority in the Senate in Washington threw out a Government measure of the highest importance, because, if accepted, it would have secured a great advantage to the Democrats."

How well the inhabitants of the United States know that "the time has gone by" for fusion was exemplified recently when a convention, referred to elsewhere, on a matter of general interest to "the three Americas" was proposed, the members to consist of representatives from the United States of America, Central America, and South America, *Canada being excluded!*

Sir Charles Tupper was not allowed to escape an expression of opinion upon the burning question of Imperial commerce. He said "he thought perhaps the time was ripe for what he called an intercolonial and British family tariff, and a tariff for the rest of the world." There is sufficient food for reflection in this utterance of the veteran statesman, and evidently so thought the interviewer, for he did not ask him anything further.

COLONISTS AT ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

AMONG the mass of suggestion and criticism which the subject of the Imperial Institute has called forth, especial interest attaches to a letter from Mr. John X. Merriman, a member of the Cape of Good Hope House of Assembly, which appeared in the *Times* at the close of December, too late for notice in our last issue. The letter is interesting in two ways: first, as coming from a prominent citizen in one of our most important Colonies, and secondly, because it breaks new ground in a matter which was before somewhat circumscribed and well worn.

Mr. Merriman objects to the Imperial Institute scheme *in toto*, and he adds that very little confidence in it is felt in his Colony. This is, of course, regrettable, but the matter is now settled, and it can only be hoped that the plans as finally arranged may cause Mr. Merriman and the Cape Colonists to change their views, or that experience may show them that their fears were groundless. But Mr. Merriman has an alternative proposal which he brings forward as a substitute for the Institute scheme, and which he considers more likely to attain the two objects to be aimed at in a Jubilee celebration of national and Imperial proportions—namely, the worthy commemoration of the sentiments of loyal subjects towards their sovereign, and the furtherance of feelings of unity among the various constituents of the Empire. Now the mere fact that the original scheme is to be carried out, as far as the central idea is concerned at any rate, is no reason in itself why Mr. Merriman's proposed substitute, though it cannot take its place, should not concurrently be brought to maturity. Whether in a Jubilee year or any other, there cannot be too many means of promoting unity between the Colonies one with another and with the Mother Country, and any proposal which is directed to this end is deserving of consideration, and should be gladly welcomed if it prove to meet the requirements of the case.

But Mr. Merriman, as it seems to us, has failed to hit the mark. He suggests that a fitting way in which to celebrate the Jubilee would be the foundation and endowment by the Colonies and those interested in them of a college at Oxford or Cambridge. The college would be open only to students from the various Colonies, and would be called by the name of the Queen. It may be granted, perhaps, that such a foundation at one of our old universities would be a worthy memorial of the occasion which called it into existence—we are not discussing that side of the question; but it is a matter of grave doubt whether

it would serve in any way at all to foster the feeling of unity between the Colonies and this country. We may agree with Mr. Merriman that "union for a common object, like the endowment of a college, and still more the contact of successive generations of students in University life, would be at any rate, if a small, still a distinct step towards creating a feeling of common culture and common aims which would be a national element of great value." We may also agree that if such a college were to be founded there could be no better place for it than at Oxford or Cambridge, which together occupy an unique position in the view of the whole British race. But further than this with Mr. Merriman we cannot go. His plan, as it appears to us, is based on a wrong principle, and has been formulated without due regard to the possible results.

To take the second point first. It is unnecessary to point out that failure in the advancement of the cause which Mr. Merriman and we ourselves have at heart is disastrous, not only as all failures are disastrous, but as strongly tending to damp enthusiasm in a young and promising movement. If a Victoria College were founded it could only be done on a reasonable supposition that students could be induced to make use of it. But there is room for considerable doubt whether young men from the Colonies, who came "home" in the pursuit of learning, would be willing to enter themselves at a College, the very existence of which would mark them out as in some way different from University men. Nor would they be greatly to blame if this were the case. For reasons which can be very readily understood in a country rich in associations of a splendid past, there hangs about the older colleges at the universities a halo of romance which possesses, as it is fitting that it should, a strong attraction for the mind or sentiment of youth. It would be but natural that an enthusiastic student who had looked forward through his schooldays in the Colony to the time when he should take his first personal impressions of the Mother Country through the means of those old educational institutions which have helped to make her what she is, and which are at once amongst her proudest boasts and fairest gems—it would be only natural if he should prefer to join himself to one of those ancient foundations which together form the Oxford and Cambridge of our history and our love.

But even if we suppose that the younger generation from beyond the seas would be actuated by no such motives, and would be willing to mass themselves together in one college, can it be said that it would be a good thing that they should? We have granted that it might possibly be a small step towards greater unity between the Colonies, but the step would be very small, and would certainly be not worth gaining if the Mother Country were excluded from the reckoning. And yet that would almost of necessity be the case. As things are now, Colonial students are scattered through the various colleges of either University, and they form an inseparable part of the whole, and the sons of the several Colonies unite their interests and aims through the one tie which is common to them all—their affection for England. But although colleges make up the University, every college is a distinct entity, and has a life of its own, and there is every reason to believe that while the Colonial students would be banding themselves and their homes together by the interchange of ideas which a common existence would make possible, they would be losing the advantages which it is in the power of England to bestow on all her children alike, and she in her turn would be in a fair way to lose her hold upon that portion of her children which has migrated to distant lands. An instance which is, in many respects, parallel, is to be found in the Jew's house at Harrow. There is probably not a boy who is entered at that house who does not spend his schooldays in wishing that his parents had placed him anywhere but in such a position when he belongs to the school, and yet does not belong to it, and where his difference from other boys is so marked as to necessarily make it felt by both that he is a thing apart. And as at the school so in great measure would it be at the University. If the Colonists were all gathered together in one college, Colonists they would remain, instead of being, as is much more desirable, mere units in a mass wherein all differences are merged. And not only would they themselves be under

a disadvantage in this respect ; it would be shared, though in a different way, by the students at other colleges. There used to be only too great a tendency in England to look upon Colonials as strange animals of different habits and ways of life from ourselves. Its cause was ignorance, and is rapidly diminishing, and it is, above all things, to be wished that nothing shall be done which might have the same effect in the future as ignorance has had in the past. But it is precisely that effect which would follow the institution of a new college set up in an old University for the use of Colonials only. For these reasons Mr. Merriman's proposal, it seems to us, cannot command assent.

But at the same time we would say, in conclusion, that we are heartily glad that Mr. Merriman has seen fit to ventilate his plan. It is a sign of happy augury when voices are heard from the Colonies suggesting methods for binding more closely together the several parts of the Empire. All such methods may not commend themselves, but of silence nothing can come. The end before us is to be hastened, if not indeed achieved, by means which must have their origin in the minds of individuals.

THE "IMPERIAL FEDERATION" PRIZE ESSAY COMPETITION.

THE remarkable success of the Prize Essay Competition upon the subject of Imperial Federation, instituted by the London Chamber of Commerce, is very gratifying. We frequently have occasion to point out, as we did only last month in the case of the important town of Wakefield, that men of business, who after all form the backbone of the Empire's prosperity, have a lively sense of the advantages to be derived from Federation. The London Chamber of Commerce is probably the most powerful association of the kind in the world, and its proceedings are always carefully watched by those who take note of the drift of commercial opinion in public affairs. When, therefore, we see the Chamber attaching so much importance to a right understanding of the problems connected with Imperial Federation that they freely expend money from their funds upon procuring the desired information, we shall only give expression to the universal opinion in confidently asserting that this one fact alone marks a fresh stage in the progress of the movement.

But even more significant than the offer of this valuable prize has been the spirit with which the competition was received. The large number of one hundred and six essays were submitted to the judges ; and a perusal of the list of competitors shows that many of them were gentlemen to whom the actual prize can have presented no attractions, but that they were induced to record their views simply from a belief in the overwhelming importance of the subject. Further examination shows how widespread has been the interest awakened ; there is, apparently, no portion of the British Empire which has not supplied its quota of essayists, proving that able and enthusiastic advocates of Imperial Federation are to be found in every portion of the Queen's Dominions. Among the half-dozen essays singled out for especial commendation are representatives of England, Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

What clearer evidence could be adduced of the certainty with which our principles are permeating the Empire ? The leading Commercial Association, whose ramifications are co-extensive with the Imperial boundaries, has taken up our cause. It has, so to speak, tentatively unfolded the banner of Federation, to see who would rally round it, and it has met with an immediate response from Britons all the world over—a response marked by the display of conspicuous intelligence, unanimous loyalty, and enthusiastic adherence to the principles of Imperial Federation.

We annex the report of the judges (two of whom are members of the League) to the London Chamber of Commerce in making their award :—

"GENTLEMEN,—We have the honour to lay before you the following report. There have been submitted to us 106 essays. We call attention to the number, partly in order to explain any delay which may seem to have occurred in our award, and partly in order to congratulate you upon the great and wide interest which your offer has excited. The quality no less than the number of the essays submitted seems a matter for congratulation.

They have come to us from all parts of the Empire, apparently in larger number from the Colonies than from the Mother Country ; and when we remember the nature of the problem proposed for solution, we are much impressed by the grasp and practical knowledge of the subject which many of them display. We are agreed in awarding the prize to the essay which has the motto, 'Auspiciū melioris ævi' (to be carefully distinguished from another essay which has the same motto, but coupled with another, viz., 'E pluribus unum'). By making this announcement, we acquit ourselves, strictly speaking, of the commission with which you have honoured us. We cannot, however, refrain from adding the following suggestion, founded upon your published statement, that you reserve to yourselves the right of publishing the successful, or any, or all of the essays. Considering the magnitude, difficulty, and delicacy of the question, we are of opinion that more than one view of it should be presented to the public. We take the liberty, therefore, of naming five essays, which, either as containing noteworthy suggestions or information, or as representing lines of thought, or methods of procedure, which appear in many, if not in the majority, of the essays submitted to us, we consider worthy of publication. These are the essays which have the following mottoes :—Quotation from Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' 'Auspiciū melioris ævi—E pluribus unum' (omitting pp. 60—68), 'Civis Romanus sum,' 'Vincit amor patriæ,' and 'Causa non præmia.' We desire it to be understood that we by no means intend to endorse all the suggestions contained in these essays, or indeed in the essay to which we adjudge the prize. Finally, we desire to express our opinion that many valuable suggestions and intelligent reflections are to be found scattered through the large number of essays which we do not venture to recommend for publication.—We have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient servants, J. A. FROUDE, RAWSON W. RAWSON, J. R. SEELEY."

An examination of the envelopes containing the real names of the competitors showed that the mottoes above referred to were adopted by William Greswell,* late Professor of Classics, Cape University, Stavey Court, Bridgwater, Somerset (Auspiciū melioris ævi), winner of the prize ; P. V. Smith,* barrister, late Fellow of King's College, Cambs. (quotation from Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations") ; the Rev. Canon Dalton,* the Cloisters, Windsor (Auspiciū melioris ævi—E pluribus unum) ; F. H. Turnock, Winnipeg, Canada (Civis Romanus sum) ; W. J. Bradshaw, Richmond, Melbourne, Australia (Vincit amor patriæ) ; and J. C. Fitzgerald, Wellington, New Zealand (Causa non præmia).

* The asterisk denotes a Member of the Imperial Federation League.

SIR ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD, G.C.M.G.

SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD, who presided at the important gathering in Halifax, Nova Scotia, to inaugurate a Branch of the Imperial Federation League, is an ex-Governor of Manitoba, an ex-Governor of his native Province, a cousin of the late Baron Archibald of the English Bench, and also of the late Sir Edward Archibald. He was for twenty-five years Her Majesty's Consul-General in New York, and has now retired from active politics. He spends his time in literary pursuits, &c. No stronger man in Nova Scotia could take the initiative in forming a League and extending principles of Imperial Federation than he.

REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

THE following appointments are already announced of Colonial Representatives to attend the Imperial Conference in April :—

- NEW SOUTH WALES.—Sir Saul Samuel (Agent General).
- QUEENSLAND.—Hon. Samuel Griffith (Premier).
- SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Sir Arthur Blyth (Agent-General).
- Hon. J. W. Downer (Premier).
- TASMANIA.—Hon. John Stokell Dodds (Attorney-General).
- VICTORIA.—Sir Graham Berry (Agent-General).
- Hon. Alfred Deakin (Chief Secretary).
- Hon. James Lorimer (Minister of Colonial Defence).
- Hon. James Service.
- WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Hon. John Forrest (Commissioner of Crown Lands and Surveyor-General).
- NEW ZEALAND.—Sir Francis Dillon Bell (Agent-General).

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

THE Executive Committee has decided that the Annual General Meeting of the League shall be held in London early in March.

A NEW pamphlet, entitled "The Formation and Conduct of Branches," will be ready for issue early this month. Price 1d. Under 2 oz.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

A LIMITED number of copies of "Fifty Years' Progress," printed on special paper as presented to Her Majesty the Queen, can now be procured, handsomely bound in cloth boards, gold lettered, with marbled edges, price 2s., postage 6d. Early application to the Secretary is recommended.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

BRANCH SECRETARIES or others who have spare copies of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of IMPERIAL FEDERATION will much oblige by sending them to the Secretary of the League.

KILKENNY CATS IN LONDON.

WHEN we expressed our belief, a couple of months ago, that Mr. John Norton and Mr. Buchanan "had as little in common as the famous cats of Kilkenny," we did not expect such a very literal verification of our remark as has since occurred. On January 7th Mr. Buchanan gave a lecture in St. James's Hall, on the "Working Man in Australia," at which Mr. John Norton seems to have undertaken the task of representing "the opposition." A conflagration was the natural result of bringing together such combustible materials, and accordingly after Mr. Buchanan, who was frequently interrupted, had finished speaking, and Mr. Norton had replied in his usual style, we were not surprised to learn that "an exciting scene followed Mr. Norton's remarks, a person, who was described as one of the working men of Sydney, making a determined attempt to thrust himself upon the platform against the ruling of the chairman. After a violent struggle he was overpowered, but for five minutes there was the utmost confusion, noisy altercations taking place between various persons on and near the platform." Several persons present are reported to have also "taken part in the proceedings, which closed in great disorder, several working men who had been in Australia mounting the platform, and shouting indignant protests against Mr. Buchanan's statements. Equally noisy rejoinders were delivered at the same moment, and there appeared a strong probability of another disturbance, when the turning out of the gas caused the room to be rapidly cleared."

We hoped that any week-kneed people who may even have been disposed to lend credence to Mr. Norton and Mr. Buchanan in their attacks upon Imperial Federation will lay the lesson of these "disorderly proceedings" to heart, and attach henceforward the proper value to the utterances of men who have been connected with such an ignominious scene of brawling at a public meeting.

THE VICTORIAN REVENUE.—Official returns have been issued, according to which the Victorian Revenue for the last six months amounted to £3,239,000, showing an increase for the year of £413,000. During the last quarter of 1886 there was an increase of £132,000 over the corresponding period of the previous year. In the increase realised the Customs figure for £51,000, the Excise for £15,000, the territorial revenue for £8,000, and the railways for £15,000. The total railway earnings amounted to £632,000.

FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT CÆLUM!

No one can accuse either the *Pall Mall Gazette* or the *Newcastle Chronicle* of want of independence, or want of sympathy with the cause formerly identified with the name of Mr. Bright. But neither of them can refrain from giving vent to their honest indignation at the views he has thought fit to adopt on the question of Imperial Federation. We might have multiplied extracts expressing similar disapproval from other sources indefinitely, but we subjoin these two because they represent organs well known for saying exactly what they think, come what may. Conversely, a cause that has their support may be congratulated on the favour of critics who are by no means prone to indiscriminate "puffing."

From the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 14th, 1887.

Mr. Bright's arguments against Federation are trite and threadbare. The difficulties to which he points exist, but they no more justify a despairing abandonment of the attempt to overcome them than the difficulties in the way of the maintenance of the American Union would have justified the North in acquiescing in the secession of the slave-owning States. Mr. Bright says that a war would "strain to the uttermost the Federation cord," our Colonies having no interest in most of our wars, but *a fortiori* the Empire would go to pieces on such a war if there were no cord at all. The Federation cord may be too weak, but that is no argument in favour of having no cord at all. And why does Mr. Bright ignore the fact that we can have no better check upon a "mad foreign policy" than by giving our Colonies a right to overrule the Jingo lunacies of Cockneydom? He is in the position of a man who denounces equally the evil and the only remedy which can be devised for its removal.

From the *Newcastle Chronicle*, January 15th, 1887.

Mr. John Bright is dead against Imperial Federation; but it is not to be concluded, on that account, that Imperial Federation would be a bad thing. "The Federation cord," in Mr. Bright's opinion, has for its component threads only material interests; nor does he seem to see the possibility of the friendship that is bred of kith and kin, and of a common tongue used for the mutual advancement of greater wisdom, more intelligence, and better morals, being woven into the bond. From Imperial Federation we look not only for material advantages, but for advantages of a still higher character.

DOES NOVA SCOTIA WANT INDEPENDENCE?

A GOOD deal has been heard lately of an idea that Nova Scotia desires to sever herself from the Dominion of Canada, and leave the Confederation. As bearing on the subject, we are enabled to publish some extracts from a private letter from a thoroughly reliable informant, who writes from Halifax as follows:—

Since your last letter I have been picking everybody's brains on the subject of why Nova Scotia wants to leave the Confederation. I had gone into it before, but I have worked it up more thoroughly, and you may rely upon what I give you.

First, there is an unanimous opinion prevailing that those politicians who call for separation loudest do not wish it, but use the cry as a party one, and one likely to get them votes from the masses.

Secondly, there is no doubt that the mass of the people do not want separation, and certainly not annexation to the States; but they want certain privileges from the Dominion Government, and they find that the cry of secession is a powerful lever in getting them.

Things are not any better here in the way of trade than elsewhere in the Old Country, and a change of some sort is looked for.

THE CRY FOR SEPARATION A PARTY WEAPON.

On the first point:—The handful of men who call for separation are all Liberals and looking for power. No one now in office advocates it.

The state of Nova Scotia is really satisfactory. The members who stump the country say that the farmers have their pianos and harmoniums, which their daughters have learnt to play well, and that clean linen and house-furniture are the invariable rule. The very people who try to show that separation would improve the country belong to immigration unions, which publish statistics to induce settlers to come here, and in these publications there is nothing but praise of the country and satisfaction with its state. Daly, one of our members, in a speech to his constituents last week, described the cry as "political entirely." This is true in the sense I have pointed

out, that it is done to catch votes. Liberal speakers in other Provinces are all against the idea. Edward Blake, the head of the Opposition, declares "he will give the remaining years of his life to opposing secession." A Liberal member from Ottawa, speaking here last night, said the idea of separation astonished them all up there, and he went on at once to say what sops were to be offered to stifle the cry, showing clearly (though his words were carefully chosen) that Ottawa believes the cry to be nothing but a lever for gaining certain privileges and concessions, *i.e.* additional roads, railways, &c., out of public moneys, and a smaller contribution towards public works 3,000 or 4,000 miles off, the direct benefit of which is nil to Nova Scotia.

ENGLAND THE NOVA SCOTIAN'S "HOME."

There are a few, very few, genuine non-politicians whose relations are all in New York and Boston, and who do business entirely there, who believe in annexation. But they are loyal to England all the same! They want an impossibility—commercial annexation with national separation.

I know one of these households well. The sons are at school in Ottawa, and when home for the holidays last time said to me, "they wished they were going home;" for a moment I hardly realised that they meant England, but I found they always talked of it, not of Halifax, as home.

Trade statistics show that Nova Scotia manufacturers go to Upper Canada; and manufacturers say openly that separation would close their shops.

PUTTING THE SCREW ON GOVERNMENT.

As to the second point, people of all shades of opinion see that the cry of separation has frightened Ottawa. It is commonly said that the new railway in Cape Breton was obtained in consequence, and more will be gained by the same means. If the Government are not careful, it will become louder in order to exert pressure on several issues, and there is no reason whatever why the Conservative members should not join. Daly himself said, "If I saw any advantage whatever for Nova Scotia in leaving the Dominion I would urge it myself as your representative."

The following remarks upon another subject are also interesting, and afford a means of comparison between the military academies of Canada and the United States. Especially noteworthy is the increased popularity of the Canadian Academy since commissions in the Queen's army have been obtainable there. Does not this one fact prove what an enormous accession to our strength will ensue as soon as we have created a genuine Imperial army and navy? There is latent in Canada and other Colonies the same *esprit de corps* and military ardour that have for centuries distinguished the British services, if we will only direct and organise the raw material.

You also ask about Westpoint and Kingston as compared with Sandhurst. The principal point of difference is, they both of them give a four-year course of education and combine Woolwich and Sandhurst in one. They try to teach every cavalryman to be an R.E. or R.A., or *vice versa*. The consequence is they work their men much harder. The course at Westpoint is so severe and continuous that only 49 per cent. pass out who pass in; the remaining 51 are expelled for breach of rules and inefficiency.

Kingston also tries to fit men for civil employment, teaching them civil engineering. Till lately there was little or no competition there, and as the standard of education on admission was low, the men when they passed out were not up to much. The commissions in the Imperial service have altered this greatly, and I was told the standard on admission was much higher owing to competition. The course is framed so as to make the men useful citizens and soldiers.

At Westpoint they teach them to be soldiers altogether, but they try too much. I also found that, owing to their teaching the officers *everything*, the distinction between the different branches of the service was also broken down. The Royal Artillery were employed doing Royal Engineer work. "Unless an Engineer has friends amongst the officers, he will never be employed at his trade, but will be on fatigue always," said a cavalry soldier, who was orderly at the Observatory. The barracks were kept in order by that branch of the service that occupied them.

Coming down to details in the management of Westpoint, punishment drill is only possible on Saturday afternoons, and you might have so many drills to do that they would be carried over to the next Saturday. You might *always* have arrears in hand, and leave in debt! The discipline is severe, and would not be tolerated in England.

THE REVENUE OF TASMANIA.—The revenue of Tasmania for the year 1886 amounted to £575,000, being £25,000 below the estimate.

ACTIVITY OF THE MELBOURNE BRANCH.

A PRIZE ESSAY COMPETITION INSTITUTED.

WE hear from Melbourne that renewed interest is being shown in the question of Imperial Federation, and that the branch of the League established there looks forward to a season of great activity this year. The Mayor of Melbourne is one of its prominent supporters, and a strong body of earnest sympathisers are acting with him. This information has reached us privately, but the *Melbourne Argus* has a report of a meeting on December 10th, which our readers will like to see. The condition of the branch seems very flourishing, and the funds show some very satisfactory subscriptions. It is a genuine benefit to the League when a branch can not only pay its own way, regularly, but has also the means of propagating its principles by such unflinching methods as the offer of prizes for essays upon Federation. This, we are heartily glad to see, the Melbourne branch has determined to do, and all members of the League at home will applaud its public spirit, and recognise the liberality of those who by subscriptions and donations have contributed to its power for good.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF THE MELBOURNE BRANCH.

(From the *Melbourne Argus*, December 11th, 1886.)

A meeting of the council of the Imperial Federation League was held yesterday afternoon in the library of the Town Hall, Mr. Carter, M.L.A., in the chair. The chairman announced that an offer had been made by Messrs. Forrest & Co., agents for Messrs. Pears & Co., of London, to supplement the previous offers of prizes for the best essay on Imperial Federation by the sum of £10 10s. It was resolved unanimously to accept the offer with thanks. The following prizes have been already promised:—£10 10s. by the Imperial Federation League, and £5 5s. each by Mr. Carter and Mr. Davies, the two latter amounts to be competed for by the State scholars as follows, viz.:—For the best essay on "Imperial Federation," £5 5s.; second prize, £3 3s.; third, £2 2s.

On the discussion of a suggestion made by the parent League in London as to the advisability of appointing a delegate to represent the Victorian branch in any transactions of the League in London, it was unanimously resolved that the Bishop of Manchester be requested to act as the branch's delegate in London. It was announced that for the ensuing year the following renewals of subscriptions had been promised:—Mr. R. G. Benson, £5 5s.; Mr. G. D. Carter, £5 5s.; Mr. M. Lang, £5 5s.; Professor Morris, £5 5s.; Mr. E. G. Fitzgibbon, £5 5s.; Mr. J. Blyth, £5; Mr. Justice Holroyd, £5 5s.; Mr. Jas. McDougall, £5 5s.; Mr. T. L. Parker, £2 2s.; Mr. A. G. McIntire, £2 2s.; Mr. W. E. Murphy, £1 1s. The League has established an office at 72, Temple Court, where the secretary, Mr. F. Illingworth, attends. A roll of members is kept, and subscriptions and donations will be received on Tuesdays from 2 till 4 p.m., and Fridays from 10 till 12 a.m. Mr. J. V. Morgan's name was added to the council on the proposition of Mr. Carter, seconded by Mr. Lang. The meeting was adjourned until Friday, the 17th inst.

MEETING OF THE CRADOCK (SOUTH AFRICA) BRANCH.

AT a meeting held in December last, Dr. Ireland in the chair, it was announced that the branch numbered 74 members, with 15 subscribers to IMPERIAL FEDERATION, and has distributed a large number of pamphlets and papers during the past year.

The Rev. W. C. Wallis addressed the meeting, and Mr. Hinwood proposed and Mr. Davie seconded that the Secretary be requested, when acknowledging the letter, to express the gratification it had given members of this Branch to see the reference to Federation in the Queen's Speech and to hear of the important step which the Imperial Government was taking in consulting with the various Colonial Governments. Carried.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Secretary for his services during the past year, and the election of officers for the year 1887 proceeded with, Dr. A. Ireland being elected President, Mr. C. J. C. Baker, Secretary and Treasurer, and the following gentlemen members of Committee:—Rev. W. Wallis, Rev. C. Denyer, Messrs. C. W. Southey, A. Metcalf, J. S. Distin, A. Rankin, R. Lester, A. Grant, S. J. Wilkes, H. Hinwood, R. Coldrey, and W. C. Ogilvie.

Mr. Denyer proposed and Mr. Davie seconded that the Committee be requested to arrange for a special meeting on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee. Carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. H. E. Turkington (Editor of the *Register*) for the services rendered by him to the League in publishing reports of the meetings and articles from IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

[We hope to be favoured by the *Register* with copies of the issues containing any references to the League's work from time to time.—ED.]

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Our Readers will notice that the JOURNAL is being printed this year upon somewhat thinner paper than hitherto. This has become necessary owing to the large number of Subscribers at home and abroad to whom the JOURNAL is sent through the post; the JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

FEBRUARY 1, 1887.

ON BRANCHES.

DURING the year 1886 ten new Branches of the Imperial Federation League were formed. This is a good record, but from information that has reached us there can be no doubt that an even larger number will be inaugurated in the present year. It is with genuine satisfaction that we recognise this encouraging proof of the propagation of our principles. The assertion is sometimes made that Federation is not popular in the Colonies, but the evidence in our possession points in the opposite direction, no greater activity being apparent anywhere in promulgating Federal principles than is to be found in the most distant extremities of Her Majesty's dominions. It is a curious comment upon the cosmopolitan nature of our organisation that the first Branch of the League established last year was at Cradock, in South Africa; the last at Halifax, Nova Scotia!

Of all the Branches, old and young, from which reports have been received, there is not a single instance of a decrease in the number of members during the past year, while on the contrary we find that the totals upon January 1, 1887, show an increase of more than a hundred per cent. as compared with the same date in 1886. This increase of course results to a considerable extent from the formation of new Branches during the year; but that is in itself a subject for congratulation. We confess that the rapidity of this progress has been surprising even to ourselves; we should not have ventured a year ago to prophesy that the number of members in the Branches would have doubled itself in a twelvemonth. But that such is the fact is a more powerful testimony than any words of ours to the popularity which the movement in favour of Federation has achieved throughout the length and breadth of the Empire.

The attention of the Executive Committee of the League has naturally been drawn to the growing importance of our Branches, with the aim of doing whatever is possible to stimulate yet greater activity in the same direction. No one is afraid to embark additional capital in a prosperous and improving business; and in this spirit the Executive Committee have taken the matter in hand, and resolved to offer even larger facilities than formerly for the creation of fresh Branches. We publish in another column extracts from a new pamphlet just issued on the subject, wherein almost all questions touching the formation and conduct of Branches are referred to. Perhaps the most practical portion of the contents is that giving suggestions for a code of rules suitable for the internal conduct of a Branch. This contains an outline which may be filled in at discretion; it is elastic, comprehensive, and yet brief. The varying circumstances of each Branch render any hard and fast set of rules for one and all impossible; nor, indeed, does the central Executive desire for a moment to hamper or dictate the course of subsidiary bodies. But it is none the less desirable that the business of the League should be conducted with a certain amount of uniformity throughout the whole of its organisation; for statistical and financial purposes alone this is a matter of the first importance. Moreover, in propounding the new code, the Executive is acting upon suggestions already received from several quarters; for not a few applications have been made by Branches for some rules to guide and define their proceedings. Any one who knows the difficulty of framing satisfactory regulations for a club or society will appreciate this desire to be saved so great an addition to their labours on the part of people who have enough to do in working up their Branches. We feel confident, indeed, that the knowledge of possessing a firm basis on which to proceed will reassure many who would otherwise shrink from the chaotic uncertainty attendant upon forming a Branch without settled principles for its conduct, and that this code of rules, *suggestions* though they be, will meet with general adoption, subject to such changes as may in each case be requisite.

Another important step has been taken in the shape of a resolution granting to every Branch of more than fifty members the right to elect a representative to serve on the Executive Committee of the League. Hitherto the Branches have had no official status at headquarters, and all communications emanating from them have passed through the hands of the Secretary, involving a mass of correspondence. Fortunately there has been no demand for representation on the score of grievances to be redressed, for none have as yet made themselves apparent. But it is right and proper that the Branches, which are springing up all over the country, and contributing to the funds of the League, should have some recognised position upon the governing body. That they have so long been content without it shows their entire confidence and satisfaction in the management of the organisation, and affords an additional argument for their admission to a share in authority, if it be true that those who do not seek power are often fittest to exercise it.

We have not space to allude in greater detail to changes which have either been made or are in contemplation; it will appear from what we have said that there exists a strong desire to forward by every possible means the institution of local centres whence the principles of the League can be diffused broadcast. In no other way can the latent enthusiasm of every town and village be awakened, or the advantages of Federation be brought home to every elector in the kingdom. A central body can do and does much, but house-to-house canvassing is out of its reach, and only by the diligent work of local organisations can that intimate acquaintance with our principles be instilled which has rarely failed to result in adherence to the League and devotion to the cause of Federation. Experience shows that ignorance is the strongest foe we have to contend with; people frequently come to the office of the League primed with some objection to Federation they believe to be unanswerable, but which melts away before facts and figures furnished by the Secretary, so that they end by becoming members instead of opponents. But the number of those who can have their errors confuted or their faith strengthened in Victoria Street is necessarily limited.

We want to extend the privilege by mapping out the whole country into districts, each with its branch office containing a supply of pamphlets, journals, and League literature, and furnishing a rallying-point for the advocates of Imperial Federation in the neighbourhood. The work is already progressing rapidly, and by the end of this year we hope it may be well-nigh completed.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT ANSWERED.

THE task of replying to remarks which come with all the weight and authority due to Mr. Bright's great experience is not one to be lightly undertaken, but the magnitude of our cause gives us encouragement, and our duty leaves us no alternative. The Imperial Federation League was early made aware that it could not expect any sympathy with its objects from Mr. Bright. Within a few weeks of its formation—at the end of 1884—its objects were declared by Mr. Bright to be "*childish and absurd*." Mr. Bright, when he says in the letter published in the *Times* of the 14th January, that the "project" of Imperial Federation is founded upon ignorance of history, reverts to the argument which he used at Birmingham on that occasion to the effect that history does not show us an Empire which has lasted for ever, that, therefore, the British Empire cannot last for ever, and that it is accordingly useless to try to have a British Empire.

The Chairman of the League, the Earl of Rosebery, showed how inapplicable was this deduction from history, in a speech at Epsom shortly afterwards, in which he said, "In this argument Mr. Bright is no doubt guided by precedent, and that is the difference between us. Now, I am not guided by precedent. I say there is no precedent for the British Empire, and you cannot find one for it." We may also remind our readers that Professor Seeley, the Chairman of the Cambridge University Branch of the League, who is not unknown as an historian, in his "*Expansion of England*" in no way arrives at the conclusion that the future of the British Empire must be in accordance with the histories of the Empires of the past.

Mr. Bright lays it down that "*England will not be in any degree influenced in her policy*" by any of our great self-governing Colonies. We should be much astonished to hear that this was the reply given at the Colonial Office to Sir Charles Tupper when he made representations on behalf of Canada with regard to the Fishery Question, or to Mr. Murray Smith or Sir Graham Berry when they communicated the views of Victoria upon the occupation of the New Hebrides. Indeed, Mr. Bright's statement was proved to be false only three days after his letter appeared. On January 18th, the Agents-General for the Colonies, as if for the very purpose of exposing Mr. Bright, officially asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies to "place as favourable a construction as possible upon any communication they might make to him in connection with the Colonies they respectively represented." And this was the answer made by the English statesman to the representatives of our great self-governing Colonies—"I can confidently promise to carry out the desire expressed on your part in regard to the consideration of Colonial matters." We should like to know how Mr. Bright would propose to reconcile these words with his own!

And if our Colonies exercise now, as they undoubtedly do, a perceptible influence on our foreign policy, why should it be supposed that when they are prepared to take their share in the responsibilities and the defence of the Empire, England would refuse to allow them a voice in the direction of its policy?

The second article in the constitution of the League provides "That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs." It cannot, therefore, be maintained, as suggested by Mr. Bright, that there is any intention on the part of the League of "*interference by England with the law and tariffs of the Colonies*."

Mr. Bright's prophecy as to what the nature of the settlement of the Fisheries dispute would have been but for the, to him, unfortunate relation of Canada to England, is a strong statement of the advantage to Canada of that con-

nection. In this instance, at least, the "interference" of England with Canada will have secured a just regard for her treaty rights, which, according to Mr. Bright, must have been abandoned before the "*argument of her powerful neighbour*," had she been either independent or a Crown Colony. Mr. Bright's argument on this head amounts to saying that the Empire had much better be disintegrated, as then its hitherto component parts will perforce have to give up this foolish notion of preserving their rights; whereas, if it is a consolidated Empire, there is no knowing how long it may be encouraged to persist in such obstinacy.

Mr. Bright makes much of the "*burdens and sufferings*" which the connection of the Colonies with a European nation will, in his opinion, impose upon them. Has he not considered, and would he have them forget, the freedom from the burdens of taxation and the immunity from danger which that connection has hitherto conferred upon them, by defending them without charge, by keeping up for them, also, without cost an expensive Foreign Office and Consular system, by which they enjoy representation throughout the civilised world? And would he have them throw over the Old Country at a time when she was most sorely in need of their assistance and support, without regard to the fact that she nourished them, protected them, and gave them their life?

We do not believe that the man would be found—in the Colonies, at any rate—to propose it when the time came. Moreover, the advantages of the Defence and Foreign Office systems of England will still be continued to the Colonies when they become partners in the British Empire; for the immense economy to them of taking a share in the established Navy and Foreign Office, instead of setting up for each Colony a new one on its own account, cannot for a moment be doubted.

The despatch of Her Majesty's Government summoning the Imperial Conference evidently refers to the advantages of a common system of Defence, when it says that one of the objects of the Conference will be "to secure that the sums which may be devoted to this purpose may be utilised to the fullest extent, with complete knowledge of all the conditions of the problem." Of course, if England were to refuse the Colonies a voice in the affairs of the Empire, as Mr. Bright suggests that she would do, they would establish their own defence, and take other means for making their voice heard in the world. They cannot be expected to remain in a dependent state for ever, or even for much longer. Mr. Bright says that "*England's blind foreign policy*" would involve us in wars in which the Colonies would have no concern. Then let us have the additional light of Colonial influence in the councils of the Empire, and its policy will be less blind, and the war may be avoided.

The Imperial Federation League does not propose, as Mr. Bright appears to think, to bind the Colonies by chains of Federation to the triumphal car of "*Jingoism*," and to drag them through "*wars and suffering*" in the "*mad progress of England's blind policy*." It proposes in its constitution to "combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights."

If it is possible for Mr. Bright cheerfully to look forward to separation from our Colonies, and to hope that it will be done "*in peace and with a general concurrence*," is it absurd for us to hope that a Federation may be brought about, also with a general concurrence, and that "*the English name and fame will receive an added glory from the greatness, the prosperity, and the wisdom of the*" Empire which she has founded and consolidated?

PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO MR. FORSTER.

A PROPOSAL has been set on foot for a public memorial of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, late chairman of the Imperial Federation League, and an influential committee has been formed for the purpose of carrying it into effect. It is understood that the memorial will take the form of a statue, and full particulars will be announced and subscriptions invited as soon as the preliminary arrangements are completed.

The honorary secretary to the committee is Mr. A. H. Loring, and the offices are at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.

THE MUTUAL TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

ON the 7th of June last MR. HOWARD VINCENT, M.P., asked the then President of the Board of Trade in the House of Commons whether details could be furnished to Parliament in a concise and tabular form of the value and general character of the interchange of commerce between the sixty-five dominions of the British people, in order to illustrate the commercial importance of each integral portion of the Empire to the whole. The answer was that the information was comprised in the statistics periodically issued by the Department. It no doubt was obtainable by the fortunate, but rare, individual with sufficient leisure and perseverance to wade through volumes of figures and deduce from his studies the information it is all important for every British subject to have ready to his hand to apply, if he wish it—a commercial test to the maintenance of the absolute integrity of the Empire, and to the present and prospective advantage of securing its permanent unity by Federation. With the assistance of MR. STEPHEN BOURNE, the well-known statistician, MR. HOWARD VINCENT has prepared from the best authorities such a table as he sought from the Board of Trade, and in submitting it for the consideration of his countrymen we feel sure that he will find them duly appreciative of its value.

Table showing in round numbers the Mutual Trade between the Principal Possessions of the British People, and demonstrating the Commercial Value of the several portions of the Empire to the whole:—

Name of Possession.	IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.		Total Inter-British Imperial Trade.
	From United Kingdom.	From other British Possessions.	To United Kingdom.	To other British Possessions.	
	£	£	£	£	£
Aden	210,000	—	220,000	—	430,000
Ascension	2,000	—	3,000	—	5,000
Bahamas	37,000	—	36,000	—	73,000
Barbadoes	460,000	200,000	480,000	440,000	1,580,000
Bermudas	75,000	—	6,000	—	81,000
Canada... ..	9,100,000	600,000	10,390,000	860,000	20,950,000
Cape Colony	4,020,000	730,000	5,300,000	100,000	10,150,000
Ceylon	1,320,000	3,260,000	2,370,000	560,000	7,510,000
Falkland Islands ...	61,000	—	100,000	—	161,000
Fiji	130,000	300,000	40,000	230,000	700,000
Gibraltar	800,000	—	23,000	—	823,000
Gold Coast	600,000	—	840,000	—	1,440,000
Guiana... ..	1,100,000	490,000	2,380,000	140,000	4,110,000
Honduras	130,000	—	280,000	—	410,000
Hong-Kong	3,590,000	—	1,050,000	—	4,640,000
India	42,930,000	5,380,000	36,970,000	17,720,000	103,000,000
Jamaica	910,000	210,000	640,000	250,000	2,010,000
Lagos	340,000	1,000	250,000	2,000	593,000
Malta	1,150,000	—	180,000	—	1,330,000
Mauritius	690,000	1,340,000	510,000	3,050,000	5,590,000
Natal	1,310,000	200,000	720,000	200,000	2,430,000
Newfoundland... ..	640,000	520,000	650,000	120,000	1,930,000
New South Wales ...	11,420,000	7,030,000	9,000,000	4,670,000	32,120,000
New Zealand	4,930,000	1,880,000	6,000,000	1,600,000	14,410,000
Queensland	2,520,000	3,300,000	1,720,000	2,450,000	9,990,000
St. Helena	28,000	—	1,000	—	29,000
Sierra Leone	410,000	—	260,000	—	670,000
South Australia ...	2,980,000	2,240,000	4,080,000	2,360,000	11,660,000
Straits Settlements ...	4,280,000	4,910,000	4,610,000	2,460,000	16,260,000
Tasmania	640,000	990,000	370,000	1,120,000	3,120,000
Trinidad	890,000	250,000	860,000	90,000	2,090,000
Victoria	9,150,000	7,840,000	7,750,000	6,860,000	31,600,000
Western Australia ...	220,000	280,000	280,000	90,000	870,000
Other West Indian Islands	420,000	—	470,000	—	890,000
	£107,493,000	£41,951,000	£98,839,000	£45,372,000	£293,655,000
	Purchases of the Colonial and Indian Peoples from the Mother Country.	External purchases of the Colonial and Indian Peoples under separate local governments with each other.	Purchases of the Mother Country from the Colonial and Indian Peoples.	External sales of the Colonial and Indian peoples under separate local governments to each other.	Total mutual external trade between the subjects of the British Empire.

NOTE 1.—The mutual trade between the Possessions of the British People embraces every single article required for food, clothing, education, commerce, manufacture, or agriculture, and for all the pursuits, avocations, and pleasures of every class of the people; and is capable of such limitless expansion, by reason of the diversities of climates and geological conditions, as to make the British Empire—with a due commercial understanding between its local governments—absolutely independent of the productions of every other country in the world.

NOTE 2.—The foregoing Table is compiled from the various Official Annual Statements issued in this country, and the values are in almost all cases those at which the articles are appraised on importation, which include the freight and cost of transport. These statements are deficient in many of the particulars needed for full information, as may be seen by the many *blanks*, and the absence of many Possessions, denoting that there are no available returns. It must be taken, therefore, as but an approximation, though a close one, to complete accuracy. So far as the intercolonial trade is concerned, most of the figures which make up the second column as imports *into* the one Possession are again included in column 4 as exports *from* another. The grand total, therefore, in column 5 is swollen through this duplication by about £43,000,000, but it falls short by many smaller amounts, of which there are no returns. It may be approximately stated that the whole mutual trade of the Empire is to the value of between £250,000,000 and £300,000,000.

AN IMPERIAL CENSUS.

WE desire to draw the attention of our readers to a Memorandum prepared by Dr. Grimshaw, the Registrar-General for Ireland, wherein he points out the opportunity that presents itself of taking the Census of the whole British Empire in 1891 upon an uniform system, so far as may be practicable.

Everything which either exhibits or promotes the unity of the Empire deserves our advocacy, and in the case of the Census there can be no doubt as to the practical advantages of uniformity. Let the same time, the same forms and methods of collecting and abstracting the information be everywhere adopted, and the work of comparing the position and progress of various portions of the Empire will be rendered simple and easy, while the general Census of the whole will be for the first time founded upon a basis of equal returns.

At present a compilation from the Colonial Census is published in the statistical tables of the Board of Trade, mixed up with commercial and other statistics. But although the main facts collected by the different Colonies are the same, there is an embarrassing variety in their classification which renders comparison almost impossible. For instance, while all the Colonies collect statistics of age, they adopt nine several methods of classifying them.

It will be apparent to everybody that the labour and cost of taking the Census would not be increased in the least, and that the genuine advantages of uniformity could be attained by a very simple administrative change. It is wise to insist upon this change betimes; if the necessary steps are taken soon we may look forward to possessing, in 1891, for the first time in history, a full and accurate statistical record of the Empire with its 320 millions of people. No such gigantic Census will have been taken since the world began—even by the United States! And as a step towards Imperial Federation, it is surely of the utmost importance that we should first know exactly what the Empire is, and how its population is divided.

MEMORANDUM

Of Suggestions for the Taking of an Imperial Census of the United Kingdom and Dependencies of the British Crown.

The attention which is at present directed to questions connected with the Governmental relations between the United Kingdom and the Dependencies of the British Crown in other parts of the world, seem to make it advisable that every means should be taken of ascertaining as far as possible, and at as early a period as convenient, the *relative* statistical facts connected with these various portions of the British Empire, in such a form that they may be easily collated, digested, and compared with one another, and thus form the basis for any arrangement which may be entered into for Federation or other new relations between the Home, Indian, and Colonial Governments. In fact, it would appear to be essential, before any scheme of Federation could be properly discussed, that a complete *Census*, carried out on uniform principles, should be made of all the Dependencies of the British Crown.

At present there is not any official report containing what may be termed the *Census Statistics* of the British Empire in a convenient and available form. The only arrangements of these statistics which exist are contained in the English Census Report and in the tables issued by the Board of Trade, entitled, "Statistical Tables relating to the Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom." Neither of these publications fulfil the conditions of complete Census abstracts for the British Empire. The former report contains a very interesting *résumé* of the population statistics of the Dependencies of the United Kingdom; the latter contains many miscellaneous statistics, and is arranged more with the view to its serving as a book of reference concerning each Dependency than as a comprehensive review of the whole. It is not, however, possible to compile from either of these reports a series of tables which might be fairly considered as a Census abstract, or upon which a General Census Report of the British Empire could be founded.

It cannot be anticipated that the first attempt to compile a Census of the British Empire on an uniform basis will be attended with that degree of success which could be desired, but it is necessary that if any measure of success is to be attained at the approaching Census period of 1891 the question should be considered at once, so that if an Imperial Census be determined on, arrangements for carrying it out could be commenced as soon as possible.

It is suggested that the experience of the method of collecting and compiling the Census of Ireland at each of the *four* last decennial Census periods, namely 1851-61-71-81, point to a

method which with some modifications might be made applicable to an Imperial Census.

In Ireland the statistics for each County are in the first instance compiled and arranged separately in a complete set of tables, which, when printed, with an introduction containing a summary of the results, constitute a complete Census report for each particular county. Each series of county tables is issued as a separate publication, so pagged that they can be bound into Provincial volumes. Thus each county has a miniature Census report for itself, containing all the particulars for that area in a form suitable for local use.

The County tables are summarised by Provinces, and there is thus again a complete Census report for each of the four Provinces of Ireland.

The Provincial tables are again summarised, and a complete series of abstracts for the whole of Ireland are produced, upon which is based the "General Report of the Census of Ireland."

The tables in each County-book are numbered uniformly, so that when it is desired to refer to any particular subject the statistics relating to that subject will be found tabulated under the same number in each book.

Now, if an uniform system such as that just now described were adopted for each part of the British Empire, a series of tables would be produced which could be all brought into juxtaposition, added together, summarised, and compared with one another, so as to constitute the basis of a General Census Report for the whole Empire.

In the case of a great country like India a large number of local books would be necessary; in the Dominion of Canada, Australia, &c., a smaller number; and in very small Colonies single books would be sufficient.

In order to carry out such a proposal as the foregoing, it would be necessary to obtain the co-operation of the authorities in each Dependency, under whose statistical departments the special work for each country should be carried out.

In order to collate and arrange the reports for Imperial purposes, an Imperial Census Commission might be appointed, with a central office in London. This Commission might consist of the three Registrars-General of the United Kingdom, representatives from the Indian Office, and the Agents-General of the various Colonies. It would be the duty of this Commission to determine upon the subjects concerning which statistics should be collected, the form in which the returns should be made, how the statistics should be tabulated, &c. The Commissioners should, as quickly as possible after the taking of the Census, be furnished with abstracts from each country, to be arranged by them in a preliminary Report, as the Home Census are at present. The Commission should, at a later period, furnish fuller tables, and a more detailed report regarding the principal points upon which they may have obtained information by the Census enumeration.

It would require some three or four years prior to the date of the Census to make the necessary arrangements for an Imperial Census. It has been found that a year is necessary for making the arrangements for a Home Census. It may be fairly assumed that a much longer time would be necessary in the remote and in the larger Dependencies. It would take a year to make the necessary preliminary arrangements for co-operation between the Governments of the various Dependencies, and a further period to obtain the necessary powers from the Imperial and Colonial Legislatures.

Dublin, 1886.

THOMAS W. GRIMSHAW.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION ON THE
"ROSLIN CASTLE."

MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P.'s, LECTURE ON BOARD.

IN our last number we announced that Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., was about to take advantage of his voyage to South Africa to enlighten his fellow-passengers on board the *Roslin Castle* upon the subject of Imperial Federation. The lecture was given on December 13th. The League will feel the benefit, we hope, in an accession of members from those who listened to and took part in the discussion, for Mr. Morgan spared no pains to acquaint his hearers with the principles of our constitution and the lines upon which we are working. Mr. Morgan brought his remarks to a close with the following words:—"We are the possessors of a proud heritage. Do not let us, by want of wisdom and foresight, lose that heritage. Do not let the possibility arise for our sons and daughters to be able to say that their parents inherited a great Empire, and, through narrow-minded ignorance and selfishness, allowed it to slip out of their hands." The address was listened to with great interest, and was followed by a discussion, in which Sir W. C. Brooks, M.P., Captain Robinson, Mr. Schroeder, Mr. Knox, Mr. Butler, and Mr. Wilson took part. Commenting upon this address, the *Cape Argus* speaks of it as

a new departure in the mode of entertaining the company on board ship, "which was greatly appreciated." "This is the way," says our contemporary, "to make a 'live' question!" Undoubtedly it is; and, perhaps, Captain Robinson, of the *Roslin Castle*, will permit us—better late than never—to add our vote to the cordial expression of thanks which his passengers unanimously passed, for we feel genuinely indebted to him as a friend of our cause.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT MANCHESTER.

ADDRESS BY MR. HOWARD VINCENT, C.B., M.P., TO THE MANCHESTER STATISTICAL SOCIETY.

ON January 21st Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., lectured before a large meeting of the Statistical Society in the Memorial Hall, Manchester. Mr. T. B. Moxon, President of the Society, occupied the chair, and there was an attendance of about 200 members and their friends. Mr. Vincent was very cordially received, and delivered a very valuable address, from which we quote the following passages:—

There can be no doubt that Imperial Federation is one of the most important subjects of the day. Little more than two years ago it was generally declared to be far beyond the range of practical politics. But if any proof were needed, which it certainly is not, of the rashness of any assertion regarding the actual range of politics, it is assuredly found in the fact that the Federation of the British Empire is to-day the goal toward which all patriotic subjects of the Queen are shaping their public action and directing their individual influence. It is felt, indeed, even by the most enthusiastic workers in the cause of Imperial Federation, that it would be unwise to go too much in advance of public opinion, or to endeavour to obtain support of this or that particular scheme of Federation. The task of those who are convinced not only that Imperial Federation is feasible, but that it is essential to the long-continued union, stability, prosperity, and might of the Empire, is as yet confined to the strengthening by all possible means of the ties connecting the Mother Country and the Colonies. This is the single article of the policy of the Imperial Federation League in Great Britain. It is the purpose for which it has been established in many Colonies. You, gentlemen, who know and are proud of the influence of Manchester throughout the world, who rejoice in her reputation throughout the British Empire, can well believe that it is to the Central Committee, and to its many branches, a source of infinite regret that Manchester has not yet come actively forward in support of our principles. It is not, I am sure, for want of sympathy; but whatever the cause, I venture to express a hope that the gap in our ranks may not be long left open, and that there may be some citizens of Manchester here present who will undertake the formation of a local association to promote Imperial Federation. There is no city in the Empire which will derive greater advantages—commercial, political, social—from this closer union of the Mother Country and the Colonies. Let us look on

THE EMPIRE AS A HOUSE OF BUSINESS.

If you are so good as to acquiesce in the proposal, we may consider the British possessions in the world under the following heads:—1. Area. 2. Population. 3. Wealth. 4. Commerce. 5. Defence. 6. Administration. We shall then be able carefully to consider the advantages of an amalgamation between the parent house and the flourishing and powerful branch establishments which have been founded by our sons, peopled by our blood, financed by our money. There is a sentimental side of the question, and it is one to be encouraged both in public and in private. But upon the present occasion let us put it aside, and view the proposal laid before us as business men and as a business transaction for the partners in the original concern and for those of the daughter houses. The question really is between amalgamation and separation sooner or later. As we must deal in large figures I hope I shall not be considered, Mr. Chairman, in want of respect for the Manchester Statistical Society in giving round numbers for the sake of convenience.

THE AREA OF OPERATIONS.

As I have said, our area of business operations is the first consideration. This now extends, the shareholders present will gladly learn, over more than nine million square miles, having increased no less than seventy-five times in about one hundred and fifty years. It is needless to say that there is no example whatever in history for such an immense extension of dominion within a similar period. Not only is the British Empire the largest in the modern world, being an eighth larger than All the Russias, three times the size of the United States of America, nine times the size of France and all her dependencies and Colonies, and forty times the size of Germany, but it represents four of the great Roman Empires of olden time. That this

great dominion should have been acquired by two comparatively small islands, tenanted by four different races, unfortunately not always of one mind between themselves, may well make us proud of the courage, the valour, and the enterprise of our forerunners in the United Kingdom.

THE NUMBER OF OUR CUSTOMERS.

The next consideration which presents itself to those who have grasped the area over which we are all at liberty to pursue our avocations under our own flag, is the number of fellow-workers and kindred customers to be found therein. It stands to-day at the tremendous figure of more than 320 millions, or nine times our own numbers, and is hourly increasing. The proportion which this bears to the numerical strength of other nations is realised by the fact that it is six times as great as the population of the United States of America, and three times that of all Russia. The German Empire contains but 46 millions; while France, with all her colonists and coloured subjects, can show but 68 millions—a number, moreover, which has a tendency to diminish rather than to increase. It is true that only some 55 millions out of the 320 are of our race, colour, or religion, but they are, for the most part, bound to us by the natural ties of affection and of interest.

BRITISH WEALTH OF CAPITAL.

The third consideration is with respect to wealth, or, may we not say, our available assets? Their full extent cannot, indeed, be even roughly estimated, for they include hundreds, or even thousands, of millions sterling invested in every quarter of the globe in private and in public undertakings of which no British record is kept, and the income of which is not even assailable by the tax collector. There is scarcely any considerable financial enterprise in which Governments or Associations embark, in any country, which can be carried to a successful conclusion without the assistance, if not of the City of London, at least of some portion of the British people. The extent to which we trust ourselves, and are trusted by foreign capitalists, is evidenced by a public debt of nearly 1,150 millions sterling, the interest of which only absorbs from one-fifth to one-sixth of the annual revenue of 208 millions sterling which is raised without the smallest difficulty by the representatives of the people themselves.

BRITISH COMMERCE.

Nor if we proceed to the consideration of commerce, apart from the wealth to which it is the chief contributor, is the result less amazing. The external trade of the empire—that is, the exports and the imports—amount to between a thousand and eleven hundred millions sterling a year. It is carried in 13,500 British ships, of which five-thirteenths are propelled by steam, and having an aggregate burden of 11,000,000 tons. Nine-elevenths of this total belong to the ports of the United Kingdom. It is worthy of note that the external trade is conducted not only with foreign states, as is the case with every other power in the world, but to a very large extent between different parts of our own empire. Indeed, we find that the total mutual external trade between the British people living in various climes upon various soils amounts to nearly 300 millions a year. It is astonishing, gentlemen, that in the face of these absolutely incontrovertible facts there has ever existed, or there does exist, any individual capable of under-estimating the value of a colonial empire. Nor is it a question of importance or interest only to merchants and capitalists. There can be no manner of doubt that relationship in blood, uniformity of government, simultaneity of policy, identity of custom, and one system of law, contribute more than aught else to engender that mutual confidence which is the only basis of successful commerce. Good trade means constant employment, and when we find that our colonial and Indian fellow-subjects purchase annually one hundred and seven and a half millions worth of the manufactures of the Mother Country, and that we in the United Kingdom buy nearly 100 millions worth every year of the industrial productions of our brethren beyond the sea, it is not necessary to show in further detail that a United Empire is a question for the people themselves throughout its length and breadth.

THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE.

When we thus perceive what it is that we possess, we may well ask ourselves how we are prepared to defend it? We cannot bury our heads in the sand like the ostrich, and suppose that because we do not choose to look at our fine feathers, and keep them secure and in order, that they are not perceived by the rest of mankind with feelings of admiration and of envy. As I have already said, our empire was obtained mostly by our ships, and our guns pointed by true British eyes. There are as yet no signs, with the hand of all continental Europe on the sword hilt, of the speedy advent of that millennium when we shall be able to keep our own by other means than English courage and Sheffield steel.

THE IMPERIAL NAVY.

First, as to the naval strength of the Empire. We have 58 ships against 44 French, 18 Italian, and 18 Russian, or 80 ships of every class of these three nations, and 35 sea-going armour-

clads against their 50. These figures can hardly be deemed satisfactory by the most obstinate economists, and especially when we remember that the population of the United Kingdom is only kept from starvation by a weekly import of food amounting in value to more than £1,500,000, and that the attackable coast-line of the scattered Empire is tens of thousands of miles in extent.

There can be no doubt that the Colonies are one and all now in a position to share with us the responsibility of defending our common Empire and our mutual trade against all comers. They are ready and anxious to do so, and there is hardly a man in Greater Britain who does not feel that we should be, as the late Sir Alexander Stuart said, in a better state of preparation for defence, and that the whole expense should no longer be left upon the shoulders of the Mother Country by the rich sons of the New Worlds. But, however praiseworthy the 3½ millions expended by the people of Victoria in the establishment and maintenance of defences during the past thirty years, we must remember that united action is worth a thousandfold more in war—or, indeed, in peace, for that matter—than isolated, detached, and necessarily inadequate measures.

THE IMPERIAL LAND FORCES.

With respect to the land forces, the need for more uniformity and organisation is scarcely less great. The Empire has upwards of two million drilled men scattered over its surface; but they are so miserably organised that it would be difficult to place more than from 50,000 to 100,000, if so many, in the field at home, or in any part of the Empire. There are men, but officers, equipment, horses, rifles, cannon, are lacking in immense numbers in every direction. We do not want great standing armies, such as land-surrounded nations are obliged to maintain; but it costs little more, in the long run, to take thought for the morrow, and make the best, if it be only in system and organisation, of the great resources available. At present, no indications are apparent of any serious effort in this direction. I doubt, too, if any will be made, if the army, like the navy, is made a political machine, controlled by changing and inexperienced politicians and a pedantic civilian staff. The naval and military art, has, believe me, to be learnt by study and the practical application of theories, in common with every science and trade.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE.

The British Empire is administered by over fifty separate governments. Those which are formed on the directly representative system, such as the Dominion of Canada, five of the seven Australasian governments, and Cape Colony, are in possession of distinct constitutions, and are absolutely independent as regards internal and local affairs. The only right reserved to the Crown is that of being represented, at the expense of the colony, by a governor, and of finally approving Acts of Legislature. The veto is, however, never exercised, unless a bill conflicts with an enactment of the Imperial Parliament. Foreign affairs and representation in foreign states are conducted entirely by and at the charge of the Mother Country. India and the Crown Colonies are administered by local governments, partially representative in character, and controlled, often with varying wisdom, by Downing Street.

THE ADVANTAGES OF FEDERATION.

Having thus, gentlemen, taken stock, so to say, of our possessions as members of the British people, and glanced at our capabilities for defending them from attack, and the system by which they are administered, let us consider if a more homogeneous system would not conduce to our mutual advantage.

Mr. Vincent then proceeded to answer in detail the objections raised by Mr. Bright in his letter to the president of the society. He then continued:—

Science has broken the barriers of nature. Wind and tide have been mastered. All that is needed to make the Empire really united is a "long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together." The great Colonies have local government. We seek to create it in the Old Country. Our Imperial Parliament exists now in name; let it be created in fact. Let all bound by its decision have a voice in its imperial business. Let us accomplish the task which clearly lies before us of the present generation. It is gradually, carefully, cautiously, yet zealously, to establish Imperial Federation. Then, but only then, we shall leave a real British Empire, one and undivided, for all time, and one which our children may gratefully feel is constant and unassailable in the arts of universal peace, but ready if necessity arise to withstand the world outside its own limits.

A lively discussion ensued, in which Mr. E. Helm, Colonel Sowler, Mr. T. R. Wilkinson, and Mr. R. Montgomery, took part. As was to be expected in a general audience, some opposition was manifested by one or two of the speakers, but the tone of the meeting was decidedly favourable to Mr. Vincent's views, and the lecture cannot fail to be productive of great service in ventilating the subject of Federation in a city which would be the first to reap advantage from it.

HERE AND THERE.

A CORRESPONDENT has sent to the *Nottingham Daily Guardian* the following extract from a speech delivered by the Earl of Beaconsfield in 1872:—"In my opinion no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land."

FROM the last returns issued it appears that British North America has about 1,400 Imperial troops, three batteries, an engineer company, and a line battalion. Beyond these Canada depends on its own volunteer militia.

MR. SAMSON BARNETT, of 4, Westminster Chambers, has arranged his Naval and Colonial Engineering Exhibition for April 7th to 24th. It will, as before, take place in London.

THE uniforms for the Canada Mounted Police, which have hitherto been bought in England, are, in future, to be made in the Dominion.

A CANADIAN cricket team will visit England in the coming season.

A MOVEMENT is on foot to secure the candidature of Mr. Goldwin Smith for some constituency in Manitoba at the forthcoming Canadian elections.

THE yield of gold in Victoria last year was less by 130,000 ounces than in 1885.

THE total value of the yield from the fisheries of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, during last year, is estimated at 13,750,000 dollars (£2,750,000), which is the greatest on record.

THE War Office is strengthening the defences of British Columbia. Five carloads of heavy guns and ordnance supplies have already been despatched from Quebec, and twelve 80-ton guns are being constructed at Woolwich, which it is reported will be ready for delivery in April.

THE Hastings Saw Mill property at Burrard Inlet, British Columbia, has been sold to a company of English capitalists.

THE forts at Tennyson and Macquarie, New South Wales, have been strengthened by sixteen 64-pounder muzzle-loading rifled guns from H.M.C.S. *Wolverine*.

THE British Companies Bill has been read for a second time in the Queensland Legislative Assembly. It proposes to give joint-stock companies incorporated in any portion of the British dominions the same rights as if they were Queensland Corporations, on condition of registration in the Colony.

SIR COUTTS LINDSAY has offered to send a number of the best pictures shown in the Grosvenor Gallery for exhibition in New Zealand.

REV. D. V. LUCAS, of Montreal, a member of the League, will start shortly for Australia on a lecturing tour, when no doubt the subject of Imperial Federation will form part of his programme.

WE are glad to see that Mr. Henry Naidley's lecture upon our Colonial Empire, delivered at Oxford in December last, has been reprinted by Messrs. Slatter & Rose, of that city.

SIR GEORGE C. STRAHAN, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Hong-Kong. The appointment will date from June next, on the retirement of the Right Honourable Sir George Bowen, G.C.M.G.

THE VENERABLE W. CYPRIAN PINKHAM, Archdeacon of Manitoba, has been offered, and has accepted the Bishopric of Saskatchewan.

THE new Oriental liner *Ormuz* will leave for Australia on the 3rd inst. She is expected to make the passage out in twenty-eight days.

THE Prince and Princess of Wales will be unable to leave England in order to be present at the centenary celebrations of New South Wales and Victoria.

A NEW Ministry has been formed in New South Wales, with Sir H. Parkes as Premier. It is reported that the Parliament will shortly be dissolved.

THE Hon. F. M. Darley, Q.C., has been appointed Chief Justice of New South Wales.

THE writer of the Prize Essay upon Imperial Federation in the competition held recently by the London Chamber of Commerce, is a member of the League, as also are Canon Dalton and Mr. P. V. Smith, who were "honourably mentioned."

THE Prize Essay and those of the authors who were "honourably mentioned" are to be republished by the Chamber of Commerce.

PROFESSOR SEELEY has prepared an abridged edition of his "Expansion of England," which will shortly be issued by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. We hear the price will be 1s.

MR. H. MORTIMER FRANKLIN, author of "The Unit of Imperial Federation," recently published by Messrs. Sonnenschein & Co., was formerly proprietor and editor of the *Federal Australian*, a Melbourne weekly newspaper.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

BARNESLEY.—On January 17th a Lecture upon Imperial Federation was delivered by Mr. E. A. Beaumont, Town Councillor of Huddersfield. The chair was taken by Mr. C. J. Tyas, and at the close of the lecture a resolution approving Imperial Federation was carried unanimously. In the course of his remarks, which were of high interest throughout, Mr. Beaumont referred to the commercial question with special stress. The disadvantages, he said, which had to be contended with by this country as a commercial nation were very great. We were always subject to the disadvantages which naturally followed the outbreak of a great war, and we had also to contend with the great and unjust tariffs which were imposed on British merchandise by foreign countries. If our Colonies were consolidated into one great Federation with the Mother Country they would be able to have one system of taxation throughout; and instead of one part of the Empire pulling one way, and one part another, they would all be joined together by one common bond. Referring subsequently to the Statesmen by whom Imperial Federation was supported, Mr. Beaumont drew the attention of his hearers to the fact that Mr. Forster had said that things must "end either in disintegration, or in complete, equal, and perfect Federation." Mr. Forster did not think that the end would be disintegration; on the contrary he did all he could, both by speeches and by pamphlets, to mould the English mind into one idea of a grand Imperial Federation. He was very pleased to read in one of Mr. Chamberlain's speeches that "the English democracy will stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the world to maintain the honour and integrity of the British Empire." (Cheers.) We should find party would be entirely forgotten, and the question would be looked at as one which affected the well-being and the prosperity of the whole of Great Britain. Their political opponents, he hoped, were equally as ready as themselves to do all they could for the furtherance of one common object. He would not that night go into the question of details. That would have to be settled by the representatives from the various parts of the Empire, and all he had purposed doing was to point out the general principles of an equitable and just Federation. Was the Empire worth saving? He said "yes." With that Empire united they might say in the words of Shakespeare:—

Come the three corners of the world in arms
And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue
If England to itself will stand but true. (Cheers.)

He would draw their attention to an opinion recently given by Lord Augustus Loftus, the Governor of New South Wales. He had studied the history of the country very carefully. He was a nobleman of vast experience in all parts of the country, and therefore any opinion expressed by him must be acknowledged to be very weighty. He is confident that there is an enormous and indefinite strength in that country, that it must add immensely to the strength of the British Empire if it remains part of it. It must remain part of it. (Cheers.) The problem of the Government of a mighty Empire on the federal system had been already solved by America, which at the present time set this country a glorious example of unity and strength. And what had been done by America could surely be done by this country. He agreed with Mr. Dally, a celebrated Australian statesman who had done so much for the bringing into active fusion that trait of brotherhood which kindled the hearts of Englishmen in every part of the world. He had looked at the matter and had formed a noble conception, "one navy, one authority, one flag." He himself looked forward to that day when this country might, in its invincible might, laugh at the ill-will of the other nations of the earth. (Cheers.)

BLIDWORTH (Near Mansfield).—On January 14th, at the first annual dinner of the Blidworth Polling District Conservative Association, Mr. G. H. Barnley (Pythons Hill) in the chair, an interesting paper upon Imperial Federation was read to a large gathering of members by Mr. H. Harding, of the Annesley Association.

CAMBRIDGE.—A meeting of the members of the Cambridge Branch of the League was held in December to elect a provisional committee and officers, and consider provisional rules for the Branch. The Mayor of Cambridge took the chair. Captain Going, R.N., then read, and the meeting unanimously adopted (subject to submission to the general Committee), the resolutions which were submitted to and accepted by the Provisional Committee of the League under the chairmanship of the late Mr. W. E. Forster in November, 1884. Captain Going was appointed chairman, and a number of other gentlemen accepted places as vice-chairmen or members of the executive committee.

Provisional rules for the Branch were read and adopted, subject to revision at a general meeting.

CARDIFF.—At a recent meeting of the Cardiff Parliamentary Debating Society Mr. W. C. Peace moved a resolution in favour of taking immediate steps in the direction of Imperial Federation. Mr. Peace's arguments were almost entirely based on the commercial relations of Britain and the Colonies, and he embodied in the terms of his motion his opinion that an import duty of 10 per cent. should be at once imposed on all manufactured goods brought into this country from places abroad where a duty is charged on imports from England. Imperial Federation, he urged, must be a political and commercial federation, or the Colonies would not accept it. A discussion followed, and finally the debate was adjourned, but a report of the proceedings on the second occasion has unfortunately not reached us.

CROYDON.—At a recent meeting of the Addiscombe Beaconsfield Club, Mr. R. Lawrence Spicer read a paper on Imperial Federation. After quoting statistics relative to the size, population, and trade of the British Empire, Mr. Spicer proceeded to say that Federation might be summed up under two heads, (1) The unity of the Empire, (2) The developments necessary to preserve it. The first of these was, he said, based on the principle of mutual advantage, and it was only to be preserved by such constitutional developments of the Imperial, civil, naval, and military machinery as are necessitated by progress and growth, and are by mutual consent acknowledged to be for mutual advantage. Mr. Spicer deprecated the confusion of the end to be accomplished in Imperial Federation, and the means necessary for attaining that end, and pointed out if the Mother Country was to retain her high position in the world, it could only be by strengthening the ties which bind her to her Colonies and dependencies. A short discussion followed, but no resolution was proposed.

HORSHAM.—Under the auspices of the newly constituted Students' Association, which is the outcome of the recent University Extension lectures, given with so much success by Mr. H. E. Malden, at St. Mary's Schools, Horsham, a lecture was given at the same place on Wednesday, January 19th, by Mr. A. Wood, M.A., on the subject of Imperial Federation. Mr. S. F. Daldy presided, and there was a good attendance; amongst those present being the Rev. H. E. B. Arnoll, Mr. E. I. Bostock, and Mr. W. J. Boaler Ireland. Mr. Wood, being introduced by the chairman, in the course of his remarks said he maintained that it would be to the advantage of the British Colonies to be connected with the Mother Country, and *vice versa*. Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone both spoke of the responsibility of maintaining the Colonies.

Mr. Wood proceeded to dwell upon the commercial aspects of Federation, and the mutual benefits that would accrue to both Great Britain and her Colonies therefrom. The lecture excited considerable interest, and was very well received.

LEEDS (Headingley Hill).—On Jan. 11th a lecture upon "Our Colonies" was delivered in the schoolroom of the Congregational Church by Mr. David Grieg. Taking the Australasian Colonies and India, the lecturer dwelt upon their respective advantages as fields for colonisation, introducing much valuable information for intending emigrants. We do not find in the report which has reached us any reference to Canada, and perhaps Mr. Grieg contemplates another lecture upon this branch of his subject. The attendance was numerous, and a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer closed the proceedings.

LEYTONSTONE.—In the early part of January a lecture on "Imperial Federation" was delivered at the Salisbury Club, Leytonstone, by the Rev. S. Norwood, B.A., of Wanstead. D. J. Morgan, Esq., J.P., occupied the chair, and there was an appreciative audience present. The lecturer, who was very warmly received, referred to the importance of the subject and its special interest in connection with the recent election and passing events. The great question now was to preserve the Union and strengthen the Empire. By means of a large map the lecturer clearly and fully explained the most prominent possessions and resources of the Empire, contrasting them very vividly with their condition a century ago and a few years ago. He then referred to the necessity of Imperial Federation to regulate the trade of the various parts of the British Empire, and the wave of population belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race, which was ever ebbing and flowing. He gave a number of statistics bearing upon the food supply—the enormous sum paid every year to the foreigner, as compared with that paid to our own "kith and kin," and condemned in very strong and incisive terms, which frequently drew down the cheers of the audience, the short-sighted fiscal policy that this country was pursuing in benefiting every foreign nation, instead of looking after our own flesh and blood. He went thoroughly into the question of the naval and military resources of the Empire, and exhorted his hearers not to make this a party question, but one and all to try and do his best for the whole Empire to which he belonged. A vote of thanks, proposed by the chairman and seconded by Mr. W. Downs, was unanimously accorded to the lecturer for his most able and eloquent address. Mr. Norwood proposed a

vote of thanks to Mr. Morgan for presiding, which was unanimously carried.

LONDON.—Constitutional Club.—On January 5th, Mr. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., delivered an address to the above club upon Imperial Federation. The chair was taken by Sir Samuel Wilson, M.P., and there was a large attendance of members. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Vincent said: It is not assuredly necessary, in a gathering such as this, to remind you what the British Empire is. You need no map, you need no nomenclature, you need no statistics or geographical details to pass before your minds, even as I speak, the nine million square miles of continents and islands, in both hemispheres, in every sea, upon which the Union Jack proclaims the citizenship of Britain. A sixth part of the habitable globe is ours, and 320 millions do reverence with us to a common Sovereign. (Cheers.) There is no one who cannot bear a useful hand in strengthening this mighty fabric. It is the work of all. It is vain to think that we may let well alone. The most cursory examination of the facts must prove to the most indolent mind that the chain which now holds the Empire together is one dependent upon so many variously welded links as to present little uniform strength. Common ancestral blood and hereditary affection, however precious, are of insufficient force in moments of trial, when united assistance and united action are all essential. Canada, Australasia, and South Africa are now only dependent upon the Mother Country in the representation of the Crown. There is an implied undertaking on our part to defend their coasts from maritime attack, but it is a duty we are by no means able thoroughly to discharge with the limited resources at our command. There is indeed one danger which, although not of the importance sometimes assigned to it by timorous minds, is not to be wholly forgotten. If the Empire is united the whole becomes responsible for the action of every component part. It is possible that in so widely scattered an area events of vital importance to one part may be of comparatively small concern to another. The relations of some colony with its foreign neighbours may be such as to lead them to take premature action, which might produce untoward results and a general conflagration. There is nothing of human devising absolutely unattended with possible evil. At the present time, indeed, the Colonies would feel the effect of a war in which the Mother Country had engaged the Empire. Their coasts would be exposed to danger, their ports to blockade, their ships to capture. This feeling weighs with some, though happily not with many, of our distant brethren. Circumstances are conceivable in which this view might extend. It would be as disastrous to us as to them. To prevent such an occurrence we must not be afraid to run a little risk. It would be reduced to a minimum by representation in the Imperial Parliament of all parts of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Is this possible? Some contend that it is not. They conjure up the difficulties of time and distance. These are, however, being reduced every day, and no man thinks much of coming to England from Australia and India for a few weeks, or indeed almost of coming from Canada for a Saturday to Monday. (Laughter.) The difficulty lies rather in determining in what way the distant representatives can be admitted to the Imperial Parliament.

The commercial effect of Imperial Federation presents some elements of uncertainty by reason of the heterogeneous fiscal systems which have been established, and in most of which the Mother Country is classed as a foreign State. There is no doubt that a removal of this unfortunate barrier to the development of the home trade would prove of inestimable benefit to all classes in this country. But until we recognise on our part some distinction between those foreign nations who flood our markets with their productions, but exclude our manufactures from their markets by prohibitory duties, and those who being treated to Free Trade give Free Trade in return—(loud cheers)—I fear that the people of Greater Britain will not be disposed to concede any privileges to us. The remedy is, however, in our own hands. Even under existing conditions our fellow-subjects in the Colonies and India are our best customers. They do a trade with us of over two hundred millions a year, and it is capable of almost endless extension, for such are the diversities of climate and geological conditions that the possessions of the British people can produce every single article required for food, clothing, education, commerce, manufacture, or agriculture, and for all the pursuits, avocations, and pleasures of every class of the people. At the close of the lecture an interesting discussion ensued, in which a number of those present took part.

LONDON, FOREST HILL.—The Christ Church Library and Debating Society recently met to hear a paper from Mr. W. G. Burch on "Coming Federation." The Rev. G. Jones, M.A., vicar of Christ Church, was in the chair. Mr. Burch commenced by giving a clear and concise explanation of the meaning of Federation, which he thought everybody must hold a desirable thing, and which he himself believed to be practicable. There were in his opinion three great and urgent reasons for Imperial Federation: (1) because the only alternative was separation and the very possible dominance of some one Colony; (2) because

by that means the difficulty of governing Ireland would be speedily and satisfactorily settled; (3) because the continued supremacy of the Navy, which is Britain's first and greatest line of defence and attack, depended on Federation, and that alone.

After dwelling at length on each of these three heads, Mr. Burch touched on the Commercial Tariff Question, strenuously advocating the establishment of Colonial Free Trade. In conclusion, he proposed the resolution "That Imperial Federation is both practical and desirable, and as such deserves to be promoted by British subjects at home and abroad."

An interesting discussion ensued, in which several gentlemen took part, all speaking in favour of the principle of Federation, and on the resolution being put to the vote it was carried enthusiastically and unanimously.

LONDON, HOLLOWAY.—At a meeting of the Tufnell Park Literary Society, Mr. John Robertson moved "That it would be to the interests of Great Britain and its various Colonies and dependencies, that a system of Imperial Federation be adopted for mutual defence and the furtherance of commercial relations between each part, and for the general good of the Empire." In supporting his resolution, Mr. Robertson referred to a speech he had made two years before on the same subject, and said that at that time the idea of Imperial Federation was in its infancy, but that now it was the great question of the day. He went on to explain at length the objects of the League, dwelling forcibly on the immediate need for their attainment, if for nothing more than purposes of defence, and then closely examined the Imperial Tariff question, which he himself was strongly inclined to support.

Referring to Mr. Stanhope's recent despatch, Mr. Robertson sketched out a programme of the subjects with which, in his opinion, the Conference should occupy itself, and suggested that the example of the Social Science Congress should be followed, and various sections be appointed for the consideration of each several question where interests at home and in the Colonies touch one another. In conclusion, the speaker laid great stress on the necessity for properly organised migration. A lively and interesting discussion followed, and on the resolution being put to the meeting there was not one contrary vote.

MELBOURNE.—Mr. H. D'Esterre Taylor has published in pamphlet form a lecture on the Disruption of the Empire which he recently delivered to a large audience at the Thistle Hall, Little Collins Street East, Melbourne. In this interesting and exhaustive paper Mr. Taylor takes the objections which have been made in England against the proposals of the Federationists, and deals with them *seriatim*. The error underlying them all, he shows, lies in the fact that Imperial Federation is treated by its opponents as a question of the present, whereas it is, in Mr. Taylor's opinion, emphatically a question of the future, which will take many years before it can be solved legislatively, though a period of war might bring it to pass in a very much shorter time. But, apart from this limitation, he has no difficulty in showing the fallacies of mistaken judgments of facts inherent in the arguments of the happily decreasing number of the separationists. The "moral Federation" on which they with a mixture of sentiment and affectation lay so much stress, he very thoroughly disposes of by a series of well-chosen historical illustrations, exhibiting that the only ties which really bind nations or peoples are those of iron and blood.

MONTREAL, CANADA.—Imperial Federation was recently discussed by the members of the Montreal Montefiore Club, a literary association composed of young men of the Jewish faith. The chair was taken by Mr. Nathan Michaels. The discussion was opened by the President of the Club, Mr. Maxwell Goldstein, B.C.L., who briefly reviewed the origin and growth of the movement. He identified the agitation with the League, and considered the history of the latter to be the history of the movement. He quoted copious extracts from the journals of the League, and showed the objects and progress of the undertaking and its supporters. After an exhaustive debate the following resolution, proposed by the President, and seconded by the Rev. E. Friedlander, was proposed and carried:—"That this meeting sympathises with the agitation in favour of Imperial Federation."

MONTREAL, CANADA.—At a meeting of the Montreal Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, held on November 25th, 1886, at which Mr. Henry Lyman, Chairman, presided, Mr. David A. Ansell read a paper on "Welding the Links of the Union." In opening his remarks, Mr. Ansell took occasion to ridicule certain Utopian schemes of Federation that have from time to time been formulated, and urged the early adoption of some practicable plan, since, in his opinion, the subject imperatively demanded an immediate settlement. Partly anticipating Mr. Stanhope's despatch, he suggested that delegates from the various British possessions should without delay assemble in London for the consideration of the question, saying that their report would do more "than miles of pamphlets and years of lecturing."

Mr. Ansell's interesting paper has been published in pamphlet form.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING AT HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA.

FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE.

IN our last issue, at the moment of going to press, we were able to insert a brief telegraphic announcement of the successful formation of a Branch of the League at Halifax, Nova Scotia. We have now received a full report of the proceedings, which we subjoin. A more important and thoroughly representative meeting could not be desired, and the unanimity with which the resolutions were received, no less than the admirable speeches made in supporting them, are of good augury for the future. Our report is taken from the *Herald*, and in order to show the importance attached by our contemporary to the occasion, we reproduce also the displayed headings from its columns:—

GOD SAVE THE EMPIRE.

MOVEMENT FOR FEDERATING GREATER BRITAIN.

Branch of the Imperial League Organised in Halifax.—
The Federation Idea Originated in the Brain of
Joseph Howe, who advocated it 32 years ago.

ONE of the most representative gatherings ever held in Halifax assembled in the Masons' Hall yesterday afternoon. Among others present were Sir Adams G. Archibald, General Lord Alexander Russell, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces; His Lordship Bishop Binney, His Grace Archbishop O'Brien, His Lordship Chief Justice Macdonald, His Worship Mayor Mackintosh, Hon. A. G. Jones, Col. Black, Lieut.-Col. Lane, Hon. William Ross, C. H. Tupper, M.P.; Senator O'Dell, T. E. Kenny, J. F. Stairs, M.P., John S. Maclean, M. B. Daly, M.P., Adam Burns, Very Rev. Dr. Forrest, Prof. R. Weldon, Prof. Benj. Russell, C. S. Harrington, Q.C., Hon. S. L. Shannon, J. F. Kenny, M. Dwyer, Alfred Shortt, C. Sweeney, John Doull, Thos. Fyshe, P. Lynch, Col. C. J. MacDonald, Stephen Tobin, Alderman Alexander Stephen, Hon. Dr. Parker, Col. C. J. Stewart, Recorder Sedgewick, Q.C., G. E. Franklyn, J. Parsons, Rev. Dr. Partridge, Rev. Father Murphy, B. H. Eaton, Q.C., F. D. Corbett, W. A. Black, G. W. Hart, Dr. Read, R. Beckwith, R. Pickford, J. T. Knight, F. B. Crofton, Attorney-General Longley, Hector McInnes, J. A. Chipman, Dr. Lewis, Principal Congdon, Supervisor McKay, P. Jack, J. H. Symons, R. Taylor, Dr. Black, Col. Clerke, ex-Premier Holmes, Customs-Inspector Hill, Dr. Tobin, Stipendiary Motton, J. E. Chipman, J. H. Barnstead, B. W. Chipman, and M. Carney. Sir Adams Archibald was unanimously called to the chair, and J. M. Geldert appointed secretary.

Sir Adams spoke to the following effect:—"On accepting the chair to which you have been good enough to call me, it becomes my duty to make a few preliminary observations to explain the present position of Imperial Federation. This question, although familiar to those of us who have given some attention to the subject, may not have come under the notice of all. In any case it will be well before we call upon the gentlemen who are to address us with the view of forming a Branch of the League, to start with a statement, which I shall make very short, of the history of the question, and of the progress it has already made in the public mind, both at home and in the Colonies. The older persons in this meeting will probably recollect

THE MAGNIFICENT SPEECH OF THE LATE MR. HOWE

made in the Assembly of this Province in the year 1854, on the organisation of the Empire. I was a member of the House at that time, and recall vividly the extraordinary impression which that speech produced. In it Mr. Howe showed the great power of original thought which distinguished him as a statesman, combined with the rare eloquence and felicity of expression of which he was master. Let me quote a single passage of that splendid speech:—

"In no vain spirit," said Mr. Howe, "do I wish that the sentiments I am about to utter might be heard and pondered, not only as they will be by those who inhabit half this continent, but by Members of the British Parliament, by Imperial statesmen, by the councillors who stand around, and by the gracious Sovereign who sits upon the throne. Perhaps this may not be, but I believe the day is not distant when our sons, standing in our places, trained in the enjoyment of public liberty by those who have come before them, and compelled to be statesmen by the throbbing of their British blood, will be heard across the Atlantic, and will utter to each other and to all the world sentiments which to-day, Mr. Chairman, may fall with an air of novelty on your ears."

Well, continued Sir Adams, a whole generation has passed away since then. The sons of the men of that day are standing in the place of their fathers. Mr. Howe was before his time, but it would seem that the seed then sown has lain dormant in the ground for the third part of a century. In the meanwhile the ground was gradually being prepared. The progress of events, the growth of the Colonial Empire, which no one could have supposed would be so rapid, has brought about a condition of things which has led a great many of the best minds in the Parent Country as well as in the Colonies, to feel that some organisation of the Empire is required in somewhat of the line pointed out by the great Nova Scotia statesman.

Proceeding with his review of the history of the movement, Sir Adams read Lord Rosebery's manifesto, and referred to the action the Imperial Government had taken to carry out the announcement contained in the Queen's Speech, which may be gathered from the despatch of the Colonial Secretary to the Governments of the Colonies, giving extracts from the despatch calling the Imperial Conference published in Tues-

day's *Herald*. Sir Adams also announced a letter from Major-General Laurie regretting his inability to attend, and congratulatory telegrams on the prospects of forming a Branch of the League from the presidents of the Branch Leagues in Montreal, Toronto, and Ingersoll. A despatch from Alexander McNeil, brother of Sir John Carstairs McNeil, V.C.—an Englishman by birth and a Canadian by adoption—read as follows:—"Imperial Federation of Ontario stretch loving hands to Nova Scotians. God prosper the mighty cause. God save the Empire."

MAYOR MACKINTOSH

was called upon to move the first resolution, and in doing so drew a graphic picture of what the British Empire was in 1786 and what it is in 1886. The great object of to-day is to weld this mighty Empire into a homogeneous whole—for defence in times of war; for the peaceful pursuits of commerce and inter-communication in time of peace. The representative men of the Empire have taken hold of this idea and it has got to come. We can't drift much longer. The Empire has grown wonderfully during Queen Victoria's reign; what could be more appropriate than that we should Federate in the year of jubilee? We owe much to England's fleet of ironclads on the high seas to-day, for, notwithstanding all their professions of friendship, he believed that the fear of that fleet was the only thing that prevented trouble with our neighbours south. They might not come and take the country by force; but for that, they would undoubtedly come and take our fish by force. A Russian squadron in Nova Scotia waters could accomplish terrible destruction. The presence of a New South Wales regiment and Canadian voyageurs in the Sudan were practical illustrations of the benefits of Federation. We ought to be willing to help the Mother Country in the troublous times to come. England will furnish the money, but we must furnish a part of the men. He believed he would live to see the day when Halifax would have to fight in its own defence. The greatest battles in the world's history have yet to be fought, and the prophecies of Scripture fulfilled. He moved the first resolution as follows:—"That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion in Nova Scotia, by showing the importance and advantages of maintaining British connection by the adoption of such a system of organisation, a society be formed to advocate and support the principles of Federation. That this society be now formed, to be called the Nova Scotia Branch of the Imperial Federation League."

W. C. SILVER

had great pleasure in seconding it, and he did so in a ringing speech. He congratulated Sir Adams Archibald on occupying the chair. It was fitting that a man with his large Colonial experience and high reputation should preside at the inauguration of this movement in Nova Scotia. The objects of the League were in perfect accordance with all the speaker's aspirations. He regarded the British Empire as the great safeguard of the whole world. It was the world's great civiliser and Christianiser. The political history of the Empire teaches that a place can be found for the Colonies in its future Councils. The masses of the United Kingdom have just been admitted to a share in its government. Now the masses of the Colonial Empire must also be given a voice. Referring to Joseph Cook's tour of Greater Britain, and his matured opinion that it was either Federation or disintegration, Mr. Silver said that no man could calmly look the latter alternative in the face. He argued that Federation was an essential to the permanent union of the great Empire. We are now bound by a union of hearts and common law. Let us tighten the bands of love.

JOHN S. MACLEAN

dwelt on the two points: (1) What we want, (2) Why we want it. He declared that no man with a stake in the country, or a right thought in his heart, would think of breaking the allegiance between England and her Colonies. We are over twenty-one years of age now, and ought to be willing to help our Mother Country in time of need. He thought he was one of the most patriotic men in the city. The officials of Downing Street made a great many mistakes because they didn't know the interests, needs and aspirations of the Colonies as they might and ought to do. Let it be our business to inform them. He moved:—"That this society adopt the principles of the Imperial Federation League as stated at the adjourned conference of that body at London, November 18th, 1884."

ADAM BURNS

seconded this resolution in brief and witty remarks. He thought that the practical objects of the League—mutual defence, the extension of commerce, and the maintenance of peace—must commend themselves to every true man.

ROBERT PICKFORD,

in the absence of Senator Power, moved the third resolution. He was heartily in favour of this movement. It was a mean question to ask why we should now want to pay for the defence that has hitherto been afforded us for nothing. We occupy part of the old estate, and we ought to be willing to bear at least our proportion of the cost of its defence. Self-interest and patriotism were identical. Is Imperial Federation to our interest? He had not a doubt of it. Hence he went in for it. Imperial Federation would give us universal Free Trade in the Empire. He moved:—"That the membership of the Branch be opened to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of one dollar."

C. H. TUPPER, M.P.,

seconded that motion, and in doing so lucidly explained the mode of business procedure to be followed by the Nova Scotia Branch in connection with the parent League.

ALDERMAN STEPHEN

moved the fourth resolution. A writer on this great subject had said: "In the days to come our children will ask, 'What part did my kindred bear in extending and consolidating the British Empire?'" He (Ald.

Stephen) was proud of the opportunity of taking part in the inauguration of a movement to this end in our city. It was fitting indeed that we in Halifax should be among the first to move in this great work; for here we have been always noted for the warmth of our love and loyalty to our Queen and country. It was therefore with pleasure that he moved:—"That an annual general meeting of the Branch be held in Halifax. That the affairs of the League, until a special general meeting, to be called during the present winter, be conducted by a general committee, and that such committee be now appointed, with power to add to its number."

ROBERT SEDGEWICK, Q.C.,

seconded the resolution, which was passed unanimously, as had all previous resolutions. A general committee was then appointed as follows: Sir Adams G. Archibald, His Grace Archbishop O'Brien, Mayor Mackintosh, Hon. A. G. Jones, M. B. Daly, M.P.; Ald. Stephen, Col. Lane, Col. Black, Adam Burns, John Doull, W. C. Silver, and B. W. Chipman, with power to add.

HEARTY RECEPTION OF THE LEAGUE'S PRINCIPLES IN VICTORIA.

SPEECH BY SIR R. FOWLER, M.P.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER, M.P., during his recent visit to Australia, was entertained at dinner by the Mayor of Melbourne, in the Town Hall. About a hundred of the leading citizens of Melbourne were present, and we would call attention to the applause which followed every reference to Imperial Federation, as indicating the genuine feelings of intelligent Victorians on the subject. In responding to the toast of his health Sir Robert Fowler, after due reference to the occasion, proceeded as follows:—

"And that gives me the opportunity of saying something on a subject which I feel is of great importance, namely, the union of the British race in all parts of the world. (Loud applause.) When I was young I sat under a professor of history who subsequently became the Chief Justice of one of our great Colonies, and he once made a remark which has always made a great impression on me. In the course of a lecture on Grecian history, he said the Greeks looked on Greece as the land of the Greeks, and we should look on England as the land of the English. (Applause.) Now, if we develop this thought for a few moments, there is more in it than at first sight appears. The land in which the Greek lived may be said to be traversed in a journey from Ephesus to Brindisi; but in the olden days to go from Ephesus to Brindisi would possibly take longer, and would certainly be accompanied by greater peril, than now to go from Melbourne to London. The Greece of those days consequently filled much the same position in regard to the civilised world that England does at the present day. I think we ought to feel that wherever Englishmen are, there is the land of the English. (Applause.) In the course of my journey here I paid a visit to the Colony of British Columbia, and in taking leave of its shores my thoughts turned to that beautiful passage in which Lord Byron takes leave of the shores of England:—

"My native land, good-night."

I think we ought to feel that wherever the British flag flies there is the home of the English—(loud applause)—and there should be no distinction in our feelings in regard to the British Empire in whatever part of the world it may be situated. In the interests of civilisation, in the interests of the human race, I think it is a matter of the most vital importance that the British race and Empire in all parts of the Empire should be united. (Loud applause.) On the very day I left London it was my privilege to be introduced to your distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Service, at a deputation which waited on the Marquis of Salisbury in regard to Federation, in which he took a leading part; and I think that is a subject in which Englishmen in all parts of the world ought to feel the deepest interest.

We ought to feel that in these perilous times the great thing is for the British race in all parts of the world to stand shoulder to shoulder; and as regards England I am glad to know that this is a feeling which is shared by eminent men belonging to different political parties. (Applause.) I think I may conclude by quoting some beautiful lines which refer to the British Constitution, and I hope that what is thus said of the British Constitution through centuries in the Old Country may equally apply to that great Empire which I hope will exist for centuries yet to come. I hope it may be said of that Constitution that it

"A rampart from convulsion forms,
Firm as our island shore,
Which has rolled back ten thousand storms,
And shall ten thousand more."

(Loud and continued applause.)

THE Melbourne Trades Hall Council has by its vote condemned the proposed Australian Centennial Exhibition, on the ground that it would be the means of introducing foreign labour.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

"THE COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN'S FUND."

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA, January 1, 1887.

SIR,—Will you allow me through the columns of your paper to make an appeal to the women of England to aid in carrying out a work which I trust will be an everlasting benefit to the women of India?

The National Association for supplying female medical aid to those of our fellow-subjects in this country who are debarr'd by custom and religion from availing themselves of the services of male doctors, has been in existence eighteen months, and every day shows more clearly how great the need of such help is, and how warmly the attempt to supply it is appreciated in India. Her Majesty the Queen Empress is the patron of the Association, and this, her Jubilee Year, seems a fitting occasion to make a very special effort to help those Indian women in whose sufferings the Queen has shown so great and personal an interest. A very small sum from every one who can afford it would make the subscription a really national one, without at all interfering with the various other ways in which it is intended to commemorate the Jubilee. All subscriptions sent to Messrs. Coutts & Co. for the "Countess of Dufferin's Jubilee Fund" will be acknowledged in the *Times*, while those ladies who will kindly undertake to collect £5 or upwards can obtain cards specially designed for the occasion from D. Boulger, Esq., 46, Edward's Square, Kensington, W.

A register will be kept of the names of all collectors both in England and in India, which, being bound into a book, will at the end of the year be offered for Her Majesty's acceptance as a memorial of the occasion.

Should any collector desire the money she sends to be applied to any particular part of India, or to the foundation of Indian scholarships in the English medical schools, she can state her wish at the foot of the card; but in the absence of any specific directions all the money subscribed will be administered by the Central Committee of the National Association.

The annual report of the National Association, giving all particulars of the work, can be obtained at Messrs. Hatchards, 187, Piccadilly.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

HARRIET DUFFERIN.

Lady President of the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—The letter of Sir Charles Tupper in your issue of the 1st inst., materially supplemented as I find it, by his verbal remarks to the *Daily News* interviewer at Paris a few days ago (*Daily News*, 6th inst.), induces me to offer once more a few thoughts on this grave subject. Sir Charles' position as the representative here of the great Canadian Dominion, the senior, and still the most important, of our Colonial groups—albeit Australasia is already at her heels—and his great political experience during a long term of Canadian statesmanship, give the highest value to his views on this urgent but confessedly difficult question.

When the League which your Journal represents was formed, some three years ago, with the object of bringing about the greatest practicable unity of the Empire, there was at first a desire rather to seek the general acceptance of the principle than to go into details as to modes of carrying it out. But now that the principle has been universally accepted, now that we are all for binding together the heretofore loose bundle of sticks in the way that will give to the whole the greatest available strength, the time has come for discussing the mode: and it is because Sir Charles' letter enters upon the mode that it is particularly valuable.

We may begin in a negative way, as Sir Charles does, by alluding to difficult or impossible modes. He characterises as such the theoretic idea of a Federal body superseding or dominating the present Imperial Parliament. I may add, as almost equally unlikely of success, the idea of the Colonies sending a full proportion of representatives to our Parliament, so as to make it really "Imperial," to say nothing of the present Parliament's consenting to receive such a disturbing influx.

These two modes dismissed—and I have always regarded their discussion as mere waste of time—what is left us?

Sir Charles turns to the Cabinet. Introduce the Colonial element into the Cabinet. There you touch the real seat of power; there you have a possible and manageable Federation.

This particular solution of the Federation difficulty was first suggested about fifteen years ago, during discussions on the subject at the Royal Colonial Institute, by Mr. R. A. Macfie, late M.P. for Leith. Mr. Macfie, however, limited the Colonial element to Colonial questions; and this appeared to me the weak and insufficient part of his otherwise excellent proposal, for was not our aim equality of representative power throughout the Empire?

But now, independently, we have the same restricted idea from Sir Charles Tupper, so that there must really be something in it. Well, I willingly allow that it may, at least, graduate us into the full system. Much must be done preliminarily to a full-fledged Colonial element taking its position in the Imperial Cabinet. This must be by a solemn dedication, in some form of popular election or confirmation, by the Colonies, while the other mode may, as a graduation, be more immediately and less ceremoniously instituted.

Sir Charles adverts to other difficulties, namely, the supposed necessity for the preliminary "cession of some portion of the powers of self-government by the autonomous Colonies," and the proposed levying

of "a tax upon the Colonies for the support of the (Imperial) army and navy."

Let me conclude briefly with my own views on this question—views which, as an old Australian Colonist, I have duly considered. The question must be approached in a large and generous spirit on both sides, otherwise there is no hope of success. What we want is that the whole forces of the Empire, naval and military, or quasi-military, be under one command, and that the Colonies be constitutionally represented in the Empire. Then we shall have an united Empire, whether we use the term "Federation" or any other. Let us, on this basis, unite simply as we are, and when we are thus an united Empire, let all other questions be settled by mutual consent. If each Colony maintains fairly proportionate forces, that seems to me reasonable enough. The Colonies will readily do this, as the larger members have already shown; or if some of them are too regardless of their labour, they will contribute in some other way. The Colonial members of the Cabinet will be also Members of Parliament, while their small number there will be compensated for by their full Cabinet representation.

I speak with reference only to what are properly our Colonies—the Canadian, Australasian and South African groups. The others—India and the so-called Crown Colonies—are a separate consideration, on which I do not now enter.—Faithfully yours, W. WESTGARTH.

8, Finch Lane, E.C., 10th Jan., 1887.

A PROTEST.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I observe that an invitation to a meeting of Imperial Federationists, at Manchester, was sent to Mr. John Bright, who has long been known as an opponent of their principles. I have also read the letter in which he declined the invitation—as every one might have known he would do—and in which he used some strong language in depreciation of Imperial Federation.

It is stated that this letter was sent to the Press by Mr. T. B. Moxon, President of the Manchester Statistical Society, who issued the original invitation to Mr. Bright. The same gentleman, I see by the *Times*, presided at the meeting which subsequently took place, and on that occasion read Mr. Bright's letter to the audience.

Now, Sir, as a humble, but earnest member of the League, I wish to enter a protest against this sort of militant proselytism. It is an old maxim "to let a sleeping dog lie;" why, then, stir up Mr. Bright in so gratuitous a fashion? Further, why publish his reply, and give an opportunity to an old opponent? Lastly, why emphasise his letter by reading it at the Manchester meeting?

Surely we have enough to do without unnecessarily provoking our enemies, and giving publicity to their arguments.—Yours respectfully,
DEFENCE NOT DEFIANCE.

DOES THE BRITISH EMPIRE WANT RE-CHRISTENING?

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—In his paper on "The Relation of the Colonies to the Empire," which he read before the Colonial Institute on the 9th November, Sir Graham Berry seemed to think that a name was still lacking which can conveniently be applied to the whole Empire, and to its members, and which would willingly be used by them.

It will, doubtless, not be disputed that most Irishmen, and many Scotchmen, would decline to call themselves Englishmen—except perhaps to a foreigner.

Admitting then that "English" will not do for the purpose required, we have to consider whether there is already existing any other known name that is suitable.

The "British Isles," "British Empire," and "Britannia" have for a tolerably long time been generally recognised expressions; the first, I take it, includes Ireland, and the second, I imagine, is understood to describe the United Kingdom and all the Colonies; while the third, if it does not do the same, might be authoritatively defined as the term describing the whole Empire.

If "Britannia" were fixed as the name of the Empire, a member would naturally be called a "Britannian," which might be thought to be awkward, but would there be any objection, other than technical, to his being called a "Briton"?

Should there be sound practical objections to the adoption of these suggestions, yet another may be made, though perhaps it will be objected to by those at present most nearly concerned; however, I will give it as follows:—

But for the existing name of the flourishing Colony whose capital is Melbourne, it might have been thought appropriate to christen the whole Empire by that name in this Jubilee year, and, no doubt, all Her Majesty's loyal subjects would have rejoiced, in commemoration thereof, to be dubbed Victorians, and this might be done if the Colonists concerned would agree that their Colony should bear the same name as its capital in future, and their generosity would not be unappreciated.—I am, &c. COLONIAL.

THE VALUE OF TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION IN TIME OF WAR.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Referring to Sir James Anderson's letter upon "Telegraphic Communication" in your issue of January 1st, it appears to me that this subject is open to some further comment. Sir James asserts that any vessel can as easily go to a given latitude or longitude out of sight of land where a cable is known to be lying, and find it, as she can go to a distant headland or lighthouse. Surely Sir James's own experience of searching for Atlantic and other cables, for the purpose of repairs, by no means warrants such an assertion! Not very long since, as he will remember, repairs of a certain cable were undertaken by the Company owning it, and apparently fully aware of its position: the repair ship, however, spent no less than two months searching for the broken wire. It would be interesting to learn from Sir James, as Director of the West India and Panama Telegraph Company, how long it has recently

taken his Company to find and repair the Colon-Jamaica cable. Further, he must also be aware that in 1882 five months were required to find and repair the Lowestoft-Borkum cable in 24 fathoms of water; and five months to repair the St. Thomas-St. Kitts section of the West India and Pacific cable in the same year.

If the much-needed alternate cable, referred to in your leading article upon this subject, is laid between the Cape and Australia, or Vancouver and Australia, it is reasonable to assume that, in order to secure, as far as possible, its strategic value, its precise position will not be made known to the public. There is, therefore, no reason why a possibly hostile power should have any accurate knowledge of its whereabouts, except within 30 miles or so of its shore ends. The depth of the Pacific is, of course, very great, but the bottom is of a favourable nature between all the contemplated stations of the Vancouver-Australian cable, and as in consequence it is not probable that extensive deep-sea repairs would be required for many years after the laying of the cable, these deep soundings will prove an additional element of safety in time of war.

Sir James goes on to say "the very worst plan of all is to lay long expensive submarine cables in the deepest oceans, in which it is almost impossible, &c., to effect repairs when the cables are old or have been cut or broken."

If it is almost impossible for the Company owning the cable, and knowing its approximate position, to effect repairs, how much more impossible is it for an enemy's cruiser to discover the "given latitude and longitude," to grapple for and find the cable in soundings between 2,000 and 3,000 fathoms, with no knowledge of its position? Probably long before she found and cut the wire her coal supply would be unning short, or she would be captured by our own vessels expressly on the look-out for her. The real danger would be at the repeating stations—speaking of the Vancouver-Australian cable—of Fanning Island and the Fiji Islands. These stations would have to be adequately defended; but if it became necessary to abandon either the one or the other, the repair-ship would loop the two sections with some extra miles of wire with which she would be provided. Telegraphic communication will never be completely interrupted between England and Vancouver, and if all the sections of a Pacific cable should be cut by the enemy and damaged beyond repair, which is not probable—instructions and information from the War Office or the Admiralty could be delivered in Australia in 16 days, in China in the same time, by means of steam across the Pacific.

Sir James continues: "We shall probably know where to look for the enemy." In the event of war with France or Russia, we probably should, in a certain locality. We should find him, according to Sir James's arguments, busily engaged in cutting the wires of the Eastern Extension Company in the Mediterranean, possibly in the shallow water in the vicinity of Malta. As England would probably block the Mediterranean at Gibraltar and the Suez end of the Canal, the enemy would have an unlimited field of action for some little time. With, however, the only connection between England, Singapore, and the Australian Colonies gone, how should we know where to look for French or Russian Pacific squadrons in touch, perhaps, of the Siberian wire, and fully advised from home of movements of troops *via* the Cape, or in other directions? On the other hand, with a Pacific cable we should have, as you, Sir, aptly term it, two strings to the bow, or, let us say, a fourth wheel to Sir James's three-wheeled coach. Laid at a great depth, and with a careful watch kept by our own ships, the Pacific cable should withstand, for some little time at all events, the grappling attempts of the enemy.

As fully two years would be required to construct and lay a cable from the Cape or from Vancouver to Australia, it would hardly be safe or wise to rely upon Sir James's plan of "laying an alternate line to meet the exigencies of war when we have determined with whom we are going to war and where we are going to fight him."

In the course of two years in a big war some startling events might possibly occur, and it would, to say the least, be decidedly uncomfortable for the telegraph ship, with some thousands of tons of cable on board, to be paying out the "alternate line," and running the gauntlet of the enemy's cruisers at the same moment. How can we determine at or before the commencement of a war "where we are going to fight the enemy"? Surely Sir James himself would say, all over the globe.

If I am not presuming on your space, I should like to notice the last remark: "Better far to use the money to reduce the tariffs, thereby increasing our commerce, and adding to the wealth of the whole Empire." The money to provide for the cost of laying the Pacific or any other cable is money invested by the public in a commercial enterprise. Would this amount be forthcoming for the purpose of reducing tariffs in various parts of the two hemispheres?

After all, is not the best plan for securing the Federation which we all have so much at heart to first put the whole Empire in as thoroughly efficient a state of defence as possible, and then to develop her commerce and her wealth, knowing that if unfortunately this country should be drawn into war it would be adequately and surely protected?—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, H. M. KERSEY.

33, St. James Place, S.W., January 6th, 1887.

** We cannot at present publish any more letters upon this subject.

THE NEW SOUTH WALES REVENUE.—The official returns show that the revenue for 1886 amounted to £7,594,000, or an increase of £5,600 on that of the previous year. The revenue realised in 1886 fell short of the Treasurer's estimates of April last by £745,000. The Customs receipts show an increase of £150,000, which includes the ad valorem duties imposed during the last session of Parliament. Under the head of stamps there is an increase of £58,000. On the other hand, the railway revenue shows a falling off of £112,000. In October last the Colonial Treasurer estimated the accumulated deficiency at £2,117,000, which will now be raised in all probability to about £2,500,000. A large portion of this sum will, however, be met by the pastoral lease rents payable in July next.

Imperial Federation.

MARCH 1, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MR. ARCHIBALD MCGOUN, Secretary of the Montreal Branch of the League, has contributed a valuable paper on Federation of the Empire, to a recent number of the *Englishman's Journal*, published at Toronto. It is announced that PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, PRINCIPAL GRANT, of Kingston, and MR. G. HAGUE of Montreal have promised to contribute articles on the subject to the same Journal, so some lively skirmishing may be expected. We will take care to apprise our readers of the progress of the fight, as the issues of the *Englishman's Journal* come to hand. Meanwhile MR. MCGOUN has marshalled his forces well, and taken up a position which the enemy will find difficult to storm.

THE "Annual Register" is an important publication; it is a solid, correct, and complete record of public events. We regret, therefore, to notice that in one point it is sadly behind the times. Australian, South African, and Canadian affairs are discussed under the heading of "Foreign History." The "Annual Register" dates back to a period when, as we grieve to think, our Colonies were not looked upon in the same light that they are at present. But surely the movement towards Imperial Unity, and the recognition of Colonial interests as inseparable from our own, is of sufficiently long standing to make the perpetuation of so palpable an error a gross anachronism, if nothing worse. The volume for 1886 has not yet, we believe, been published, and we hope the Editor will have time to make the necessary alteration. It would be curious, indeed, to know by what possible line of argument our Colonies could be said to rank for treatment under the title of "Foreign History" in an English work!

WE are glad to notice that another important annual publication—"Whitaker's Almanack," due appreciation is shown of the progress of our principles, as the following extract from the preface of the 1887 issue will show:—"Many years before Imperial Federation became a *theme of general concern*, the Almanack annually endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of its readers in the affairs of the British Colonies and Dependencies; and may modestly claim to have assisted in awakening *that interest in the subject which has at length been so completely aroused*." The italics are ours, and point the opinion of a man who has perhaps been as successful as any one living in the task of interpreting the wants of the public. MR. WHITAKER has long thought the public would come round to Imperial Federation, and prepared his ground accordingly. We hope he is beginning to reap his reward, for we are informed that the large edition ran out of print the other day!

WE are also reminded of the fulness, and we gladly add accuracy, with which Imperial Federation is expounded in "Hazell's Annual Encyclopædia" for 1887. Nearly three columns of print have been assigned to it, and this is all the more gratifying when we read the Editor's announcement that the purpose of the work is to supply information on topics of current public interest only: that the questions referred to are well to the front at the present moment, and that all subjects belonging to the hour are dealt with, especial prominence being given to those which bear upon

the political, social, and educational welfare of the State. Here, again, we find a business-like appreciation of the position our cause has gained in public esteem.

ANYTHING that tends to obstruct intercourse between different parts of the Empire deserves condemnation, and we hope that the fact of attention being called to one of the Parcel Post regulations in Canada will suffice to promote its reform. The consignee of a parcel from Great Britain must personally attend at the Custom House to see it opened. The result is practically to limit the operation of the Parcel Post to towns where there are Custom Houses. In other countries the postal authorities act as agents of the consignee open the parcel, pay the duty, and take the risk of its recovery. Why, then, is this simple procedure denied in Canada?

MR. J. STANLEY-LITTLE has written a long letter to the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* on the subject of State-directed Colonisation, which is coming so rapidly to the front. He very wisely points out that nothing will so surely promote the flow of emigration as "the germination of the idea, that our Colonies are no more foreign countries than is the Isle of Man, and that an Englishman leaving our shores is no more expatriated by so doing than is the Englishman who crosses the sea to settle in the Isle of Man." The question is how to instil this idea into the mind of the masses. They have been urged to believe it, by means of geography and history lessons at school, but in vain. The Colonial Exhibition was the plainest of object-lessons, but we heard of an emigrant whose passage was taken and kit packed, forfeiting everything and refusing the opportunity, on his way out from the very doors of the Exhibition where he had been taken to see the glories of the Empire the day before his ship sailed. Something more is needed; we believe that the one tangible proof which would remove all doubt, suspicion, and reluctance from the mental horizon of intending emigrants and Colonists, would be found in the realisation of a Federated Empire, governed on one principle and administered on one system from end to end.

PROBABLY MR. GOLDWIN SMITH would refuse to recognise the evidence of a lawyer, and say that the legal profession always sees men at their worst, and has no insight into their genuine sentiments. At least, we do not see how else he could deal with the testimony of MR. J. WARRINGTON ROGERS, Q.C., of Melbourne, who, writing to the *Argus*, states his opinion that there are methods of ordering the relations between Great Britain and her Colonies, by which "not only may the existing union remain intact, but *that still closer and more intimate union desired by so many loyal subjects of Her Majesty, both in the Old Country and in the Colonies, is possible*."

THE HIGH SHERIFF OF LEICESTERSHIRE called a meeting the other day of landowners, farmers, and traders of the county for the purpose of considering the depression in trade and agriculture. There was a very large attendance; among those who took part in the proceedings being the DUKE of RUTLAND, MR. J. ELLIS, M.P., MR. J. GLOVER, MR. MORETON FREWEN, and MR. J. F. ROLLESTON, M.P. It is interesting to place on record that one of the resolutions proposed by MR. S. BATE, seconded by MR. G. BATE, and carried, stated "*that the depression could only be effectually met by a Federation and free interchange of commodities with our vast Colonial and Indian Empire, and by the imposition of moderate protective duties against those of our trade rivals who would not deal with us on the true principles of free-trade*."

THROUGH railway communication between the capital of South Australia and Melbourne has at length been established, with the result that mails and passengers can now be disembarked at the former city, and reach their further destination with the greater expedition represented by the different speeds of a train and a steamship. Now that so much has been done, it is to be hoped that it will not be long before Brisbane is linked to the other capitals by iron rails. Nothing has so much prevented a proper mutual understanding of each other by the several Colonies as their isolation, and the difficulties of access from one to another, and nothing will do so much to supply the deficiency as the establishment of easy means of communication among them all.

ALL Federationists must regret that the venerable MR. JOHN BRIGHT is opposed to their cause, but it is consolatory to learn that he appears to have taken up this position, not after giving the matter his careful investigation, but without even troubling to inquire into what it means, or what it is. That at least is the politest inference which can be drawn from a letter addressed to MR. NORTON by MR. BRIGHT, who is so badly posted up in knowledge of the Federation Question as to imagine that his correspondent is really entitled to speak on behalf of the Australian working men. In fact, so great an authority does the "labour delegate" seem to the tribune, that he invokes his assistance and asks him for enlightenment on two or three points, to which no doubt MR. JOHN NORTON was able to supply a satisfactory answer. Yet it is a pity that MR. BRIGHT should deceive himself so easily.

THE PRIME MINISTER is heart and soul in favour of a scheme of State-directed Colonisation; he made this quite clear in replying to a deputation introduced by LORD BRAZON on February 4th. "If any one of us," he said, "were HAROUN-AL-RASCHID, we would not hesitate to address ourselves to State-directed Colonisation;" and again, "if I can in any way forward a sound and healthy scheme of this kind, it will be to me personally—I am only speaking for myself personally—a subject of great gratification." At the same time LORD SALISBURY pointed out that the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory scheme were immense, and that before anything could be done "pure logic and political philosophy" must be supplemented by arguments which would carry a measure through Parliament.

WE do not think a more encouraging reply could have been given. Prepare a practical measure, is the PRIME MINISTER's advice; this will give him the greatest satisfaction, which he believes will be shared by all public men of whatever party. Prime Ministers are not Caliphs, certainly, but their sympathies are apt to effect more than material aid from most people. Remembering how quickly a similar reply to a deputation from the League last summer was followed by the practical step of summoning an Imperial Conference, we venture to predict for State-directed Colonisation a speedy recognition among prominent Parliamentary topics.

A GOOD deal of correspondence has appeared lately in the press on the subject of the Imperial Institute. There is one point we should like to see insisted upon, namely, that the offices of the Agents-General should be located in the Institute. We believe it will be found that to South Kensington the Agents-General will not go, and we are quite certain that an Emigration Office in that aristocratic quarter of London will be a nonentity. These are sufficient reasons for straining every nerve to obtain another site, for

the Institute without the Agents-General and without an Emigration Department would soon become a lifeless heap of dry bones.

It should be noted by all who intend to contribute to the Imperial Institute through the medium of the London Chamber of Commerce and the Mansion House, that a fixed proportion of all money received through these channels is to be applied to the establishment of a commercial museum in the city. This is good news for merchants and men of business, but we doubt whether the public generally will relish the idea of celebrating HER MAJESTY'S Jubilee by exemplifying the truth of the maxim "To them that have shall more be given!"

THE following remarkable telegram is said to have been recently despatched from London to Brisbane:—"The *Cologne Gazette* publishes an extraordinary article, in which it threatens the Colony of Queensland with a wholesale invasion of Germans, in order to secure the eventual annexation of the Colony to Germany, whose great interests in the Pacific Ocean demand the creation of a Germandom in Australia to counterbalance the Australian application of the Monroe Policy, by which the Colonies demand a preponderating influence in the affairs of all the countries in their vicinity."

THE *Cologne Gazette* is an influential paper, but we can hardly believe that such an idea can ever have been seriously contemplated, even by the most enterprising of German editors. Nevertheless, were the whole story a fabrication, the mere fact of its invention cannot fail to suggest to our Australian cousins that there are possibilities in the future which might turn out very troublesome. Suppose Queensland thoroughly Germanised, what a flutter there would be in New South Wales dovecotes! Of course, when Imperial Federation is an accomplished fact, we can all afford to laugh at such notions. Meanwhile, we remember with satisfaction that Queensland has always been conspicuous for loyalty and patriotism, and has the distinction of contributing her quota to the Royal Navy.

AN important meeting was held the other day at the Cannon Street Hotel, to protest against the foreign sugar bounties. Representatives of the West Indies, New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Fiji, Natal, and Mauritius attended; there were also present a large number of English refiners, and gentlemen connected with some of our large shipowning and engineering firms. The meeting was unanimous in condemning the foreign bounties as ruinous to the sugar industries in England and the Colonies, and the general feeling was expressed by SIR GEORGE CHAMBERS, who maintained that it was a case of saving one farthing at the loss of twopence, which was not a national gain.

SIR DANIEL COOPER's speech on the occasion had an especial interest for Imperial Federationists. He referred to a suggestion that the West Indian Governments should be allowed to make an arrangement in their own interest with the United States. To this he objected, *because it would injure the trade between Australia and the West Indies; the Colonies, he said, must combine together for their mutual benefit.* He had always, he continued, been a consistent Free Trader, but it was time to move, when the foreigner set about destroying the trade of the Empire. Mark the sentiment of united action underlying those words; observe, also, that the resolution seems to have been carried unanimously.

LORD HARRIS is Under-Secretary for War, and speaks with a due amount of official caution. In his speech to the Constitutional Union the other day he took care to let his audience know that Imperial Federation was, in his opinion, attended by all sorts of difficulties. It is, therefore, the more satisfactory to learn that although he is well aware of the vastness of the problem, and has weighed it well in all its bearings, he is still confident of our success. He wound up by saying, "The difficulties in the way of the realisation of a scheme of Federation are great; but I am not so hopeless of the Anglo-Saxon race as to believe that the idea will not be perfected and realised in the future."

ONE of the most striking examples of the ease with which communication now takes place between different parts of the Empire is afforded by the possibility of importing fresh fruit from the Colonies into England. Our imports of fruit amount to nearly £7,600,000 annually, of which only £300,000 goes to British possessions. It is probable that by direct lines of steamers, and improved methods of storage, nearly all our wants might be supplied within the Empire. Of the 500,000,000 oranges we consume, Australia might furnish a large proportion; Canada and New Zealand ought to provide us with apples, Jamaica and British Guiana with delicate tropical fruits. Readers who are interested in this question should refer to MR. MORRIS'S admirable paper on the subject delivered at the Colonial Institute on Feb. 8th.

IN the course of a recent speech in the House of Lords the EARL of DUNRAVEN struck a note which may wisely be borne in mind when Imperial Defence is being discussed at the Conference next month. "Our strength," he said, "should be accorded impartially to all our Colonies, the weak as well as the strong—if anything with greater readiness to the weak in support of a just and moderate assertion of their rights." That is to say, the wealthier members of a Federation must not selfishly grudge expenditure necessary for the proper defence of their less powerful brethren, who may be unable to pay for it themselves. Imperial Defence, we take it, means the loyal support of all by all. Achilles left only his heel vulnerable, but the blow there proved none the less fatal; so, too, we must beware of a single weak spot in the Empire's coat of mail.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND'S speech on South African affairs in the House of Commons the other day contained a remarkable passage which will be found quoted in our Parliamentary summary. A scheme of South African Confederation seems to be clearly foreshadowed, and if SIR H. HOLLAND succeeds in accomplishing it during his tenure of office he will have the satisfaction of settling one of the most vexed questions of Imperial policy. The first step is obviously to terminate the existing anomaly of a High Commissioner responsible both to the Cape Ministry and the Imperial Government, and so to enlarge the functions of the office, that the High Commissioner shall transact Imperial business for the whole of South Africa; a centre would thus be formed round which a Confederation might naturally be grouped, and the present disastrous conflict of interests and confusion of authorities be avoided.

THE returns just issued by the Emigrants' Information Office are interesting as showing the preference entertained by applicants for some Colonies rather than others. Canada and Queensland are apparently the favourites; New South Wales is more popular than Victoria, Western Australia than Tasmania; while New Zealand is more attractive than South

Africa. It would be curious to know the history of the predilections formed by applicants, for there is certainly no correspondence between their choice and the respective merits of the Colonies, save in the two first named, which still offer certain facilities to emigrants. One lesson seems to have been learned, however; the applications for information concerning the United States are so few, that we may hope all intending emigrants have taught themselves to appreciate the advantage of keeping within the Empire, even though they leave their native land.

WE desire to call the attention of all Members of the League to the memorial of our late Chairman, the RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, which will be found set forth in another column. Various sites have been proposed for the statue to which the funds will in the first instance be appropriated, and it is hoped that it will be erected either in the House of Commons, the Imperial Institute, or in St. Paul's Cathedral. Many large subscriptions have been already received, but the Committee are anxious to give an opportunity of joining in the work to all those who loved and respected MR. FORSTER, whether their means be great or small, feeling that the value of such a memorial is not to be reckoned in money, but in the high esteem to which it testifies.

AT the annual dinner of the Agricultural Engineers' Association, the other day, Imperial Federation found a place in the chairman's speech. We quote the passage in which MR. H. D. MARSHALL expressed his desire to see the League's programme carried out—not from sentimental motives, but as a pure matter of business:—"There was another point to which I think your attention should be directed, and that is the Federation of the Empire. (Loud cheers.) The accomplishment of that object *will, in my opinion, do much to improve trade*. That object, I am glad to think, is within the range of 'practical politics,' and every Englishman will rejoice to see established a system of Federation which will render the Empire strong enough to protect and too strong to be attacked." (Hear, hear.)

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A NEW pamphlet, entitled "The Formation and Conduct of Branches," will be ready for issue early this month. Price 1d. Under 2 oz.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

A LIMITED number of copies of "Fifty Years' Progress," printed on special paper as presented to Her Majesty the Queen, can now be procured, handsomely bound in cloth boards, gold lettered, with marbled edges, price 2s., postage 6d. Early application to the Secretary is recommended.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

BRANCH SECRETARIES or others who have spare copies of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of IMPERIAL FEDERATION will much oblige by sending them to the Secretary of the League.

FIXTURE OF DATE FOR THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE MANSION HOUSE SECURED—A CROWDED ATTENDANCE ANTICIPATED.

WE have to announce with pleasure that the Lord Mayor, Sir Reginald Hanson, has kindly invited the Imperial Federation League to hold their Annual General Meeting this year in the Mansion House, and has been asked to preside on the occasion. The meeting will be held at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, March 31st, and it is to be hoped that every member of the League will make such arrangements as will enable him to take part in the proceedings. It is most important at the present juncture of affairs, when the exertions of the League have culminated in the summons by Her Majesty's Government of the Imperial Conference which is so soon to commence its sittings, that our members should seize the opportunity of this Annual Meeting to make an unmistakable demonstration of their numbers and strength of purpose. That the League should have worked with such patent and successful results in the past is indeed a matter for sincere congratulation, and we feel convinced that evidence will be forthcoming at the Mansion House, which will leave no doubt as to the solid practical nature of our achievements. But the battle is not yet won; Englishmen are proverbially accustomed to fight many campaigns before victory is accomplished, and encouraging as is the issue of 1886, we must not conceal from ourselves that the brunt of the struggle is still before us.

At first our task was in the main destructive; a barrier of apathy and even opposition had to be broken down, and a knowledge of the true value of the connection between Great Britain and her Colonies to be created, together with a sense of the danger to which increasing prosperity exposed them. We may fairly claim that this has now been done. Of public sympathy and approval a full measure is accorded whenever Imperial Federation is spoken of or discussed.

The work which lies before the League in the immediate future consists in extending and completing our organisation for the purpose of effecting certain well-defined practical objects. We begin to have a constructive policy, dating from the period when public opinion has manifestly taken our part. The Imperial Conference will be a powerful agent in our favour. Although only consultative, it will elicit the views of men whose information is so complete that their recommendations will naturally precede legislative action; and it will be our duty to urge that, when action is taken, nothing shall be done inconsistent with the attainment of complete and permanent Federation.

This official aid will be supplemented by the rapidly increasing influence exercised by individual Branches of the League, and by their combined exertions in a corporate body. It is upon the occasion of the Annual General Meeting that the corporate existence of the League most emphatically asserts itself; the speeches there made, and the opportunities then afforded for the free exchange of ideas concerning plans of future action upon a definite basis, form a land-mark by which each Branch, and every member of the League, may learn how to shape a course towards our common goal. We therefore urge the importance of attending the meeting, even at the sacrifice of some personal convenience, because a complete understanding of our methods and aims is absolutely essential to harmonious action; and because this understanding can be in no way so simply effected as by the interchange of views in a large and representative assembly.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.—The proposal for an ocean penny postage appears to be attracting considerable attention, and though some time may yet elapse before it will be established, yet it is one of the postal reforms that will probably be made within the next few years. Its adoption would of course materially affect the ocean mail contracts, and it would be impossible for England and the Colonies to pay the same transit rates as they can give while the present rates of postage remain in force. The possible adoption at no distant date of a uniform ocean postal charge of 1d. should therefore at any rate not be altogether overlooked in the consideration of the terms of the new contract. It has been stated that one company had offered to take the letters at this rate, but we are not sure how far this is to be regarded as a bona-fide proposal.—*South Australian Register.*

REVELATIONS ABOUT THE TELEGRAPHIC ROUTE TO AUSTRALASIA.

A FEW months ago we called attention to an official statement made in the House of Commons that telegraphic communication with the Australian Colonies had been dependent solely upon the line through Russia only once during the six years from 1881 to 1886. The deduction which every one was expected to draw from this was that interruptions were of the rarest occurrence, and that an alternative route was therefore unnecessary. Perhaps the following record of the cable interruptions on the Australian route between the years 1872 and 1883 (we are unable to furnish later figures) will show that it is living in a fool's paradise to believe that break-downs are few and far between. Indeed, it is only the fact of the line being in duplicate that has saved the communication from being constantly defective. We are unable at present to lay our hands upon the dates when the two lines between Singapore and Port Darwin were laid down, but we shall endeavour to discover this for the benefit of the public, who ought not to be allowed to remain in doubt as to the exact measure of their security. It is, however, a sufficiently serious matter when we find that in the twelve years under review there have been no less than thirty break-downs, totalling up to a period of about 540 days, or eighteen months, during which some portion of the direct cable route to Australia was unavailable. We now give the list, leaving our readers to form their own opinion as to the entire trustworthiness of cable communication with Port Darwin, the only point, be it remembered, in Australia, which is connected with any other continent by cable.

CABLE INTERRUPTIONS ON THE AUSTRALIAN ROUTE, 1872—1883.

	WHEN INTERRUPTED.	WHEN RESTORED.	WHERE BETWEEN.
1872.	June 22.	Oct. 20.	Port Darwin and Banjoewangie.
1873.	Feb. 21.	Feb. 24.	Land line between Boezki and Banjoewangie.
	March 31.	April 2.	Batavia and Singapore.
	May 12.	May 26.	Penang and Madras.
	July 13.	July 13.	Land line 30 miles from Banjoewangie.
	Nov. 20.	Nov. 23.	Singapore and Penang.
1874.	May 20.	May 31.	Batavia and Singapore.
	Aug. 13.	Aug. 15.	Ditto.
	Aug. 16.	Aug. 23.	Ditto.
	Dec. 10.	Dec. 29.	Ditto.
Floating station was established sixteen miles from Batavia, with daily steam communication to Singapore, on Dec. 18th.			
1875.	Sept. 2.	Sept. 16.	Batavia and Singapore.
	Nov. 5.	Nov. 8.	Ditto.
	Nov. 15.	Dec. 24.	Penang and Madras.
1876.	March 28.	Aug. 24.	Ditto.
	April 24.	Aug. 7.	Port Darwin and Java.
	Oct. 22.	Nov. 30.	Batavia and Singapore.
1877.	Feb. 26.	March 2.	Ditto.
	July 15.	July 17.	Singapore and Penang.
	Sept. 26.	Oct. 13.	Batavia and Singapore.
	Oct. 19.	Oct. 31.	Singapore and Penang.
	Nov. 8.	Dec. 15.	Port Darwin and Banjoewangie.
1878.	Jan. 22.	Feb. 3.	Batavia and Singapore.
	March 11.	March 13.	Land line between Sitoebondo and Surabaya.
	Sept. 26.	Oct. 5.	Port Darwin and Banjoewangie.
1879.	May 29.	May 30.	Ditto.
	July 4.	July 24.	Ditto.
1883.	March 5.	March 7.	Ditto.
	March 9.	March 16.	Ditto.
	April 6.	April 9.	Ditto.
	Oct. 22.	April 26.	Ditto.

Supposing that cable communication between Port Darwin and London were absolutely perfect, and secured against the faintest possibility of a break-down, there would still be cause for the gravest anxiety, should it be a matter of urgency to send telegraphic despatches to our great Australian Colonies.

It must be remembered that the whole continent of Australia has to be traversed by a single line before that network of telegraphs in the south is reached, where total interruption is a practical impossibility. The nearest telegraph station in Queensland is several hundred miles from the transcontinental line over which every message from Europe to Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, and New Zealand has to pass.

It is sometimes supposed that a land wire is perfectly safe. So far as the Queen's enemies are concerned this is true; but there are natural forces which give more trouble than hostile grappling-irons. Between Port Darwin in the

north, and Port Augusta, where the branches diverge from the trunk line in the south, there have been in the twelve years, from 1872 to 1883 inclusive, one hundred separate occasions on which communication has been interrupted, covering a period of two hundred and one days.

What, then, is the use of relying upon duplicate cables and security of communication by sea, so long as these interruptions take place on the land? Some of the stations are very long distances apart, and priceless time might elapse in conveying some urgent message across the hiatus caused by a break-down. Is it not the height of insatiable folly to lean upon the fancied safeguard of this transcontinental wire, which has so often failed us? It is admitted on all hands that *immediate* notice of a declaration of war would be a necessity if the shipping in Australian waters is to be confined to port, and the harbours are to be protected against attack. And yet the only means of sending prompt information to a single port in Australia or New Zealand hangs upon the immunity from damage of a single line of telegraph, which can only show for a testimonial the record of a hundred interruptions in twelve years. The list is too long for us to publish the whole of it; but we append a summary, which shows that the break-downs can be reckoned upon to occur in every year, to a greater or less extent.

INTERRUPTIONS ON THE TELEGRAPHIC LINE BETWEEN PORT DARWIN AND PORT AUGUSTA.

Year.	Number of times broken.	Total length of interruptions.	Year.	Number of times broken.	Total length of interruptions.
1872	2	6 days.	1878	19	38½ days.
1873	7	18 days.	1879	13	22 days.
1874	8	20 days.	1880	2	2 days.
1875	8	17½ days.	1881	5	5½ days.
1876	9	25 days.	1882	5	6½ days.
1877	17	34 days.	1883	5	6 days.

We hardly know where to look for comfort—whether the cables or the land-line are most to be trusted. But surely the case is strong enough to be taken in hand without delay. Many millions sterling are hazarded on this question of rapid and secure communication with Australia. Merchants in London are concerned in it, no less than in the Colonies; and if the Imperial Conference is allowed to meet and disperse without a definite course being adopted to remedy the dangers of the situation, a very grave responsibility will be attached to every member of it, who having the opportunity, has failed to lift up his voice in earnest protest against the neglect of so vital a matter.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

THE appointment of the Minister under whose auspices the Imperial Conference will meet in April was, we can well believe, a matter of grave concern to Lord Salisbury so soon as it was decided that Mr. Stanhope's services were required at the War Office. That much consideration was given to the selection may be inferred from the fact that the post was not filled until three days after the other changes in the Cabinet had been announced.

All members of the League, and indeed all men interested in the welfare of Greater Britain, will have rejoiced that the result of this deliberation has been the offer of the Secretaryship for the Colonies to Sir Henry Holland; and it will be the hope of many that while the office remains, future appointments may be made with the same careful consideration for its responsibilities and requirements, and with equal success in selection.

Sir Henry T. Holland is the son of Sir H. Holland, first baronet, and Royal Physician. Born in 1825, he began life as a barrister, and was for some time employed in drafting Government Bills. In 1866 he was appointed Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office, a title subsequently changed to Assistant Under Secretary of State. This appointment he held for some eight years, during which time Canada became by federation a Dominion, and responsible government was established in Cape Colony. Sir Henry Holland was also a member of Lord Carnarvon's Defence Commission. It will thus be seen that he brings not only an intimate acquaintance with the internal economy and machinery of the Colonial Office, but also the best possible knowledge of the needs of the Empire in the matter of

defence, qualifications which will be of immense value in him as President of the Imperial Conference. On the death of his father, in 1874, he left the Colonial Office, and at once entered Parliament as member for Midhurst, for which constituency he sat from that time until it was abolished in the Redistribution of 1885. Sir Henry, who has always been an active member, first held office, in 1885, as Secretary of the Treasury, and afterwards as Vice-President of the Council, which post he resigns to go to the Colonial Office.

The Right Hon. Sir Henry Holland, Bart., G.C.M.G., M.P., is one of the most popular men in the House of Commons, in the best sense of the term. He is of unfailing good nature; has a light and brilliant humour, which never yet wounded any one's feelings; and those who know him best know that he has given many a man a friendly lift when he most needed it. From this it will be seen that Sir H. Holland possesses that essential quality in a Colonial Minister at the present time—*sympathy*. His popularity is not limited to his own side of the House, showing that he is no bigot in politics. He takes, as his speeches show, a fair, broad view of questions with as little prejudice as may be in a party man, and deals with them without personalities. Moreover, he is an excellent man of business, with a great capacity for getting through work. A correspondent has seldom to wait two days for an answer or an acknowledgment from Sir H. Holland.

He represents in Parliament the Hampstead Division of the Metropolis, where his personal canvass, greatly assisted by the presence of his accomplished wife, the sister of Sir George Trevelyan, secured for him in the 1885 election, at the same time a triumphant return and the respect and admiration of all classes of his constituents.

Sir Henry has been a member of the Imperial Federation League from its infancy, and has, until he took office, actively participated in its work, with which he is thoroughly in sympathy. No other appointment to the Colonial Office could, have been of such happy augury at this important juncture in Imperial affairs, and we heartily congratulate the Empire upon its good fortune in being able to command the services of such a man as Sir Henry Holland for such a work as lies before him.

LORD SALISBURY'S OPINION ON STATE-DIRECTED COLONISATION.

THE following important letter from the Prime Minister to Mr. Arnold White was published in the *Times* of Feb. 22nd. Within a few lines Lord Salisbury gives clear indications of his views upon three great questions intimately connected with Imperial Federation, upon which we hope to say something in our next issue. In dealing with State-directed Colonisation, he implies that a successful experiment made by private effort would probably induce Parliament to vote a sum of money for an enlarged scheme; and that the management of such a scheme must be shared by the Colonial governments with the Home authorities. He also alludes to the subject of Imperial Defence, and intimates his own belief that Colonisation would be an important factor in it, thereby, we take it, pointing to the necessity of combining the English race for their common protection on some comprehensive system, and lastly, he adds the weight of his great experience and knowledge of affairs to the rumour that there are certain unpatriotic individuals who are contemplating the possibility of abandoning our great heritage in South Africa. In all this there is much food for serious thought: members of the League should ponder the letter well, and prepare to strain every effort for the attainment of the hopes held out, as well as for the repulse of the recreants hinted at by the Prime Minister.

20, ARLINGTON STREET, W.,
February 15, 1887.

DEAR SIR,—I have looked back at your letter in *The Times*, which I had accidentally missed on its first publication. Speaking generally, I quite agree with it. I do not think that any emigration that is likely to be undertaken will for the present be any material relief to congested localities at home; and I still more agree that for any Colonisation to be successful we must rely upon local management and avoid the snare of English management as much as possible. I do not believe that Parliament will make any advance towards sustaining Colonisation of this kind until it has been proved by experiment to be

successful ; but any conspicuous and evident success might very possibly induce Parliament to risk some money in that direction. If the experiment is successful I do not think that the charge of being socialistic will have any weight with the House of Commons. If it is convinced that a measure is likely to answer, it never troubles itself about the school of thought from which that measure is drawn. The utility of such Colonisation in facilitating the defence of the Empire is a very material argument in its favour, but not, in my judgment, an argument of great Parliamentary weight. In their heart of hearts I fear many members of Parliament have made up their minds to abandon South Africa if ever it threatens to cost them any considerable expense again.—Yours very faithfully, SALISBURY.

ARNOLD WHITE, ESQ.

COLONISATION.

DURING the past months several letters from well-known men have appeared in the public prints, calling attention to and advocating support of the aims of the State-directed Colonisation and Emigration Association. What effect these letters have had upon the mind of the country at large it is impossible to gauge with any approach to accuracy. The newspapers themselves, in commenting on the correspondence in question, have variously signified their approval of the objects set forth, or have subjected them to a species of criticism which is easy as it is superficial. An attitude that has been very generally assumed is to treat this matter of Colonisation (as, for brevity's sake, we may call it) as the more or less sensible whim of a party of faddists, differing very little from the thousand-and-one Utopian schemes of social or political regeneration which have been born (and in some cases have died) during the last twenty-five years. This is a mistake. It should be clearly understood by every inhabitant of these islands that the question of finding an outlet for some portion of the population is no theorist's dream, and, on broad grounds, is not open to criticism at all. It is a matter of necessity which presses more closely on us every day. The time has gone by for speculation as to what will happen when the country grows too small for the nation. It is already too small, and we know that what will happen will be the fierce competition of class against class, of man against man, resulting in misery, pain, starvation, and the ultimate extinction of the weakest, who, weak though they be, are in a manner hydra-headed, and, so long as men remain unequal one to another, must ever remain to be extinguished by the stronger. This crushing of the feeble against the wall is the law by which the peoples of the world now live ; but some of us, who recognise the law and see its strength, have also learned the lesson of humanity. Though the law exist, there is no reason why we should not endeavour to palliate its stroke ; rather, it is our duty. We know now that the population of the British Isles is as great as they can in existing circumstances conveniently contain, and that, unless some such terrible calamity as a black death or a war of decimation overtake us, the almost equally terrible, because more gradual, horrors of too little bread for too many mouths will shatter the country's strength. The voices of humanity and self-interest alike call upon us to do all that lies in human power to prevent this awful consequence while there is yet time.

In one sense the problem is a simple one. The primary laws of space and number teach us that units, however small, placed in a given space of fixed proportions and infinitely increasing, must in time overflow the limits, and, unless the space can be made to expand, some of the units must perforce find a resting-place elsewhere. Our country is not elastic, and it follows, therefore, that if it now has its full complement of population, room elsewhere must be sought for the surplus which is to come and is coming now. That much, at least, is clear. If all the lands of the world were in a like case the prospect would be hopeless, and there would be nothing for it but to sit down face to face with the inevitable, while the spirit of life that is in us despairingly prayed for the death of others. Happily that is not the case. Across the seas there are countless acres of virgin soil, waiting to be trodden by the foot of man ; here there are men who daily find harder the task of maintaining life for themselves. To bring the two together is the duty that has to be taken in hand, and that at once.

This is not the place to discuss the means by which a suitable outlet is to be made. But this much may be said.

The Association for the Promotion of State-directed Colonisation has elaborated a system under which it believes a continuous migration may proceed from these shores with mutual benefit to both those who go and those who are left behind. That system (excluding private enterprise in the same direction, which is necessarily on a small scale) at present holds the field, and it at least deserves the careful consideration of those to whose hand is entrusted the well-being of the State. Such consideration it has not yet received. The Governments who have approached the subject at the earnest solicitation of the Association have done so with hesitation, if not with prejudice, and far from encouraging the schemes submitted to them have responded with nothing but cold criticism. To be circumspect was their duty, but so it is no less their duty to recognise the gravity of the question, and, acknowledging the justice and the necessity of the Association's cause, to give a fair trial to its proposals, so long as no other plan is formulated.

It is certain, however, that there are other plans to be formulated. There is no need, for instance, that this work of transplanting population should be altogether left to the State. There are many municipalities which are big enough and rich enough to send out colonists from among their own inhabitants, just as the cities of ancient Greece from time to time despatched expeditions of emigrants, who built anew their birthplace amid fresh surroundings on a strange soil. The objection to such a scheme that might suggest itself to a municipal board would probably be that of expense, and some outlay at first there would have to be ; but it would soon be found that a far greater sum would be saved in the diminution of poor-rates and other charges on the town purse. Not that it must be thought for one instant that we are advocating the migration of paupers. On the contrary, the point above all others that must be looked to in organising colonising expeditions is the selection of those men who are best fitted for the arduous task that would lie before them. Our progress in wealth and importance has, whether through our fault or misfortune, been accompanied by the growth of a section of the population which is not merely unproductive, but which is maintained at great cost to the community. This burden we must bear for ourselves. The class of people of which it consists have not the spirit in them which will make successful colonists. To send out the good and strong, while we keep the weak and useless, seems a hard thing, but there is no alternative.

And the prospect has its brighter side. Here at home an opportunity will be afforded to those who have been worsted of making a fresh start in the battle for independent subsistence. Because a man has failed in his business, and has been obliged to take refuge from starvation in a workhouse, it does not necessarily follow that he is a bad workman and good for nothing. Sometimes his failure is not his own fault ; he may have been an excellent handicraftsman of his own kind, and have lacked the perseverance and moral courage to contest his position amid a constantly-increasing crowd of competitors, or he may have been one of those many sufferers whose place has been taken by some new combination of machinery and whose skill has consequently become a drug on the market. Even if it is his own fault, it is hard on him and bad for him as a man, that he should have no chance of again taking his place in the ennobling struggle which is at once the destiny and glory of the human race. Yet, as things now are, so it must be with him : once a pauper always a pauper is a saying which is practically a truth. But let the field be cleared a little. Those who have done well in the contest here and have shown their fitness will renew their successes on another scene. On their departure the courage of the weaker will revive ; they will feel that instead of their being a useless load on the shoulders of the more prosperous, their country has a real need for their services ; they will be encouraged to put forth their best powers, and by so doing will not only benefit their individual selves, but will, through the mere fact of fulfilling their function by getting the most out of themselves, enrich the nation and develop the human species.

Equally fair is the promise with which the emigrants set out. They will leave their country for their country's good, and not less for their own. They will be no exiles, but, strong in the traditions of a past which will still belong to

them, and in the knowledge of their inseparable connection with the land of their fathers, they will look forward with certainty, rather than hope, to a glorious future. And here, we know that every new settlement formed by stout, true, hard-working men and women means an additional arm of support in the hour of need for the country of its birth. That country may be compelled to send her children out from her bosom; but they are not lost to her. They live ever in her heart, and to her may they always look with love and honour, ready to help and be helped, feeling that they are one with her as she with them.

A BOUNDARY QUESTION.

As an instance of the immense advantage to our Colonies of having an Imperial tribunal, such as the Privy Council, to which disputed questions may be referred, we draw attention to the following:—The South Australian Government has laid claim to that portion of the Colony of Victoria which lies to the west of the 141st meridian of longitude. It is a long strip of territory about three miles wide and about two hundred and fifty miles in length, probably of no great value. We need not enter into the grounds upon which the claim has been based or opposed; the dispute is one of long standing, but it appears that the Victorian Government has recently had a document, stating the facts of the case, drawn up by its law advisers to be submitted to the Privy Council. It is proposed to send this submission, in the first instance, to the South Australian Government for approval, and then to forward it, after having been sanctioned by the two Colonial Parliaments interested, for final adjudication by the Privy Council. This course seems eminently just and reasonable, and the Colonies are to be congratulated, not less on their willingness to refer the matter to arbitration, than on the possession of a competent tribunal entirely removed from any suspicion of partiality for either disputant.

But a more important side of the question presents itself, when we remember with what bitter enmity and disastrous consequences border disputes between independent communities have been invariably attended elsewhere. There is nothing that excites the warlike passions of a nation more surely than attempts to infringe its territorial rights, real or supposed; and who can tell what might have been the outcome of the conflicting claims of Victoria and South Australia to this insignificant piece of borderland, had it not been for their inclusion in our common Empire? That there would be men reckless enough to fan the flame of discord appears only too clearly from a debate on the subject in the Legislative Council of Victoria. "It certainly seemed inexpressibly mean on the part of South Australia," said one member, "to seek to deprive Victoria of this narrow strip of territory." "This Colony," said another, "is in possession of the territory, and we ought to stick to it, considering that South Australia has got an enormous territory which has been explored at our expense." How easily language of this sort, persevered in without regard to the question of right on either side, would bring European nations into hostile collision, and a determination to appeal to the arbitrament of arms! From such an unspeakable calamity the great communities of Australia are mercifully preserved, and will continue to be preserved, so long as they remain within the inviolable precincts of the British Empire. The privilege of peace is indeed the greatest boon of all that are contained in the precious casket of Imperial Unity; and every dweller in Victoria and South Australia has reason to be thankful for a bond which saves him from the possibility of being forced into an internecine struggle, of which none could foresee the end, save that it would certainly inflict incalculable misery upon heirs of a land never yet wasted by the curse of war.

At the Royal Sydney Mint last year 475,166 ozs. of gold were received for coinage. Queensland contributed 329,357 ozs.; New South Wales, 91,854 ozs.; New Zealand, 34,518 ozs.; and South Australia, 8,591 ozs. The gross value was £1,712,224. The value of gold coin and bullion issued was £1,706,973, and of silver coin £17,500. It is consolatory to note that Queensland, though the sparest in respect of population, is, according to this return, the richest in gold. Of course, if Victoria had been represented in this return its aspect might have been different.

THE LORDS OF TRADE AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

HELP FROM THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

THE annual session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce is a representative gathering of the men to whom our national prosperity is in the main due. Every one of the delegates represents an important centre of wealth and industry, and possesses almost invariably a large stake in the fortunes of the country. It would hardly be too much to claim for the Chambers of Commerce as powerful an influence in determining the direction of some aspects of national policy as that exercised by the House of Commons itself. The influence is felt rather than seen; but it is certain that no Minister could hope to carry a measure in the face of resolute and combined opposition from the commercial interests of the country.

We have frequently declared our belief in the necessity of winning support from these powerful allies before Imperial Federation can be hopefully contemplated; we have also gladly recognised frequent and increasing signs that men of business are fully alive to the importance of our cause. We insist upon the value of their support, because in commercial intercourse mutual interest is the one matter for consideration, and in proportion as Imperial Federation commends itself to those engaged in business, we may confidently assure ourselves that it is esteemed by the most competent observers a scheme of serious practical advantage to Great Britain and the Colonies.

It was, therefore, with no slight anxiety that we looked forward to the recent session of the Chambers of Commerce, to see what attitude would be adopted in dealing with the question of Federation. We felt certain that some allusion would be made either to its general bearing upon trade, or to that special branch of the League's programme which advocates postage reform—a topic, as we believe, of vital importance in the development of commerce.

We may say at once that events amply justified our expectation and removed our anxiety. From the Associated Chambers of Commerce support and co-operation is practically ensured. This is, indeed, good news for the League; our principles have after a fair hearing been adopted, and the Council of the Chambers will enter the field as our active allies.

We make no apology for dwelling at some length upon so significant a meeting. Let us take first Sir Bernhard Samuelson, M.P., the President. In moving the adoption of the report he found himself obliged to refer in terms of dubious praise to the scheme for an Imperial Institute; but, doubtless foreseeing that his remarks might be open to misconstruction, unless he carefully distinguished his feelings about the Institute from his sentiments upon the broader question of Federation, Sir Bernhard Samuelson inserted a saving clause, for which all members of the League will be grateful to him. "Bearing in mind," he said, "the enormous extent to which our commerce with India and the Colonies has contributed to this marvellous development of our foreign trade"—to which he had just before alluded—"it will be evident that any proposal calculated to bring about a closer union between the different parts of the Empire must deserve the anxious consideration of those who are intimately connected with the commerce and manufactures of this country, even if it be not recommended to notice by the interest taken in its promotion by the Prince of Wales."

If this sentence had been framed by the Executive Committee of the League it would have been in identical terms; and so satisfactory an exposition of their opinions did the assembled delegates consider it, that they forthwith re-elected Sir Bernhard Samuelson as President of the Associated Chambers. We therefore unhesitatingly claim the Chambers of Commerce as our allies in the great work of tightening the bonds of union throughout the Empire.

Turning to the particular question of Imperial postage, we have to thank the Bradford Chamber of Commerce for the resolution they submitted to the meeting on this subject. This shows that, as we have already pointed out, there is no vagueness in the ideas entertained by commercial men as to the true elements of Federation. They know what they mean by it, and step by step they intend to achieve it.

Postage reform is the first plank in the platform; the resolution mentioned above called upon the Council to urge upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of steps being taken at an early period to reduce the rates of postage to the Colonies and all British possessions. Observe that there was no demand for a reduction in the rates to foreign countries; clearly the Bradford Chamber believes that the Empire is sufficient unto itself, and if Imperial administration is well organised, nothing outside it is material. That is likewise the belief of the League—and, in fact, as the event proved, of all the Chambers of Commerce, for the Bradford resolution was carried unanimously. We imagine Mr. Raikes will not be long in effecting the reform that has such powerful advocacy.

In conclusion, there is one other matter wherein we desire to emphasise the complete sympathy existing between the Chambers of Commerce and the League. Sir J. Fergusson, M.P., Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, especially alluded to this in his speech at the annual dinner which terminated the session of the Association. He knew, he said, that the minds of commercial men were chiefly directed to the question of peace or war; then he proceeded to reassure the meeting with the gratifying tidings that "the great interests of commerce were not likely to be interrupted by so dire a calamity." This evoked a corresponding reply from the President, who, in the name of all the delegates, "rejoiced to hear the Under Secretary's words in regard to the prospects of peace." Here we find it acknowledged on all sides that the interests of commerce are inseparably bound up with a pacific policy. And this is the reason why Imperial Federation is so acceptable to men of business; they know that in the spread of our principles lies the best guarantee for the avoidance of war; that a united Empire would be strong enough to defy attack, and too closely welded to admit of internal friction. Therefore they range themselves under our banner, and join us heartily in constant efforts to bring nearer the day when Federation shall be accomplished, and the Queen's subjects shall indeed have cause to "rejoice in the prospect of peace."

AN IMPERIAL DEBT.

A SUGGESTION has been recently made by a contemporary that the Colonial debts, amounting to about £200,000,000, should be guaranteed by the Imperial Government. By this means it is argued that they might be converted or renewed at three per cent. instead of an average of four per cent. interest, and the amount saved might be appropriated to purposes of Imperial defence.

Now we entirely agree with our contemporary that it is a sad waste of money for the Colonies to pay four per cent. where they need only pay three per cent., and every effort should be made to give them the full advantage of their place in the Empire for negotiating remunerative loans at a cheap rate. Whether so vast a scheme of conversion could be effected at par is a question which we need not now discuss, although it must be remembered that three per cent. is not a commercial rate of interest, and there are special forces at work which tend to keep up the price of Consols.

But what we desire to point out is that the proposed Imperial guarantee is at present a very valuable asset in the hands of this country, and that it really means an English guarantee of Colonial indebtedness. Can it be fairly or reasonably expected that the taxpayers of Great Britain should give away their own property—pledge their own credit—in order to enable the Colonies to protect their coasts? There is no suggestion that the Colonies should contribute any fresh guarantee; we are to back their bills, and they are to spend the proceeds.

We maintain that an Imperial guarantee can be and ought to be established only upon an equitable basis. If England guarantees £200,000,000 of Colonial debts, the Colonies ought to guarantee an equal amount of English debt. It may be urged that such a course is useless, and would add nothing to the value of our securities. That may be true to-day, but the institution of an Imperial debt is a matter that will bear fruit for centuries. It is certain that in fifty years the proportion of wealth in this country and the Colonies will be very different, and if we now pro-

mote a far-reaching organic change in the scope of indebtedness, it ought to be placed upon a sound basis which can serve as a just precedent in future.

An Imperial guarantee must mean something more than the assumption by England of Colonial obligations—it must mean that the Colonies and the Mother Country unite to bear one another's burdens, and unite to pledge the whole credit of the Empire for the prompt discharge of Imperial indebtedness, so that whether credit stands highest in London or, as may happen some day, at the Antipodes, the benefit shall be felt equally wherever a loan may require to be negotiated.

On this basis we should welcome the funding of an Imperial debt as a rational accompaniment of Federation. But the British taxpayer will never consent to become responsible for £200,000,000 of Colonial debt, unless his own obligations are underwritten to a like amount. Joint responsibility is essential to successful Federation, and no proposal to exclude Great Britain from the benefits of an Imperial guarantee to which the Colonies have access, can ever be entertained in this country. Federation is not a question of pure philanthropy, but of common interest. We are ready to raise the credit of the Colonies to-day on condition of their binding themselves to do the same by us, should occasion demand it. That is a fair arrangement, and the only one under which the discussion of this vast question can be profitably commenced, even by the most sanguine of financiers.

ATTITUDE OF THE COLONIES TOWARDS FEDERATION.

LETTER FROM SIR ROBERT FOWLER, BART., M.P.

OUR readers are aware that Sir Robert Fowler has recently been making a prolonged tour in the distant portions of the British Empire. On his return we asked him what he thought were the Colonial sentiments towards Imperial Federation. The opinion of so competent an observer is valuable in itself, and also because he must have been in contact with many of the leading colonists, who would doubtless express their views with perfect freedom. It is the fashion in some quarters to say that in the Colonies Federation is at a discount, but the very reverse of this was the experience of Sir Robert Fowler. We do not doubt that had he been in Canada at a time when the Dominion Parliament was sitting, he would have found the same readiness to support Federation as he witnessed in the Australasian Colonies. And it is not altogether without significance that on landing in Canada, Sir R. Fowler was met by a gentleman who was evidently proud of nothing so much as of having been selected on a former occasion to represent the League's principles.

THE FEELING IN THE COLONIES.

MY DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter, I cannot throw much light on the feeling of Canada, to which Mr. Goldwin Smith refers. I was at Ottawa at a time when Parliament was not sitting, and its members were scattered. I was, however, reminded on my landing by a gentleman that we had attended together a deputation in favour of Federation.

As regards the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, I can testify that I was everywhere asked my views on the question, and found a general desire for a closer connection with the Old Country. The loyalty of the colonists has been constantly shown, and their desire to take a part in administering the affairs of the Empire appeared to be great. As you seem to have observed, I took occasion to refer to the subject whenever I could, and it was always received with approval. Believe me, yours truly, R. FOWLER.

50, Cornhill, Feb. 18th, 1887.

THE *Colonial Trades Journal* for February says:—"We heartily rejoice that the subject of Imperial Federation makes steady and satisfactory progress on all sides at home, as well as branching out in the principal Colonies. The appearance of each number of the *Journal* affords ample proof in its numerous reports of the firm hold which the important question of Federation is taking in the public mind. The influence which the League is now exercising in all the important centres of population is a proof that the question is one of deep interest to the masses, and that there is a very widely-spread desire to see the Mother Country and the Colonies more closely united in a commonwealth."

MR. H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

IMPORTANT MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

A LARGE meeting in connection with the Ancoats Recreation Society was held on January 30th, in the New Islington Hall, Ancoats, when Mr. H. O. Arnold Forster delivered a most interesting address, the Chair being taken by Mr. Rowley. The lecturer chose for his subject—

A PRACTICAL VIEW OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

In all great questions, he said, there is a side, perhaps the most important side, which deals with sentiment and the power of ideas. That side of a question is so important not because sentiment in itself is so important, although it gives a great deal of additional pleasure to life, but because it is the motive power which enables us to carry into effect great practical ideas which we wish to see realised. I propose to speak of Imperial Federation as a practical matter in the ordinary sense of the word, only I want to protest against the idea that sentiment and ideas are not themselves practical. I might further say by way of preliminary remark; that in regard to this question which involves the future of so many of our fellow-countrymen, it is matter for satisfaction that it is one of the few questions of our time which are entirely free from pessimism—one of those questions in connection with which we can look forward to doing something ourselves that may bear a great and immediate result, and tend to the permanent advantage of the people of whom we form a part. To me, therefore, it is an encouraging and hopeful question to deal with.

KEEP THE ENGLISH RACE TOGETHER.

I do not know what idea this audience has formed as to the meaning of the words "Imperial Federation." To me they have a well-defined meaning. They mean the rational and effective organisation of the powers and resources of the great English-speaking people, whose interests are really identical and whose future is the same, in such a way as to secure the most effective use of its powers and resources for preserving the unity of the Empire, the maintenance of all interests common to the people who live in it, and the defence of rights possessed by them all. Bearing in mind the fact that the English-speaking people has enormously increased in the past, and is still going on increasing; and the further fact that most of the men and women who leave this country to settle down in other parts of the world take out with them and maintain the English language and English forms of expression, English traditions, and English characteristics generally, I think my hearers will agree with me that the problem of how to keep together that great people is one that is well worth facing. Some of you may ask whether there are such common interests as those of which I have spoken, and whether there is any possibility of protecting them by common machinery. To such a question I can only give the affirmative answer, which common sense will give to any of you. It is one of the commonplaces of politics that the interests of every man all over the world, if properly understood, are the same. Such is surely more especially the case when we are dealing with people who have one tongue, one tradition, and one history.

THE EMPIRE A GREAT FIRM.

I feel equally confident that it is possible to devise a common machinery for carrying on the common affairs of Great Britain and her Colonies. Let me show what I mean by common machinery by a reference to a firm the name of which some of you will know—the firm of Ralli Brothers, of Manchester. That firm has branches and agents in every part of the world. Do you suppose that that firm could carry on business for twenty-four hours if it had not the most careful and elaborate organisation? Can you imagine that firm or any other firm in possession of its senses putting down an agent at Hong Kong, an agent at the Cape, and an agent at Calcutta, and saying to those agents, "Now, there you are. We are all in the same business. We will get on as well as we can. You will write to us, and tell us how you are doing. We shall have no common ledger or profit and loss account. You will do as well as you can, and we will do what we can." Is that the way in which business is done? Nothing of the kind. In a cotton factory, for example, every man has his own department, and if it were not so the whole business would get into a state of chaos and the cotton manufacturer would be in the bankruptcy court in a few days. That is the way, however, in which business is done by the British Empire. As a matter of fact many people have been at work silently and effectively on this problem for many years. In religion, in trade, in literature, and in fact in every department save one, the process of Federation has been going on. By the failure to apply it in that one department—a failure which has been caused by lack of forethought and arrangement, and by the failure to apply mind to matter—we are in danger of losing the benefits of all that has been done by those silent workers all over the world. The arrangement between this great country and its Colonies is a perfectly happy-go-lucky arrangement, without any method in it, and an arrangement which results in the very minimum of

advantage at which business can be conducted at all. It is merely owing to goodwill on the part of the constituent portions of the Empire that the business does not come to a standstill. I want to introduce some sort of organisation into our Government machinery which will, I believe, secure economy and efficiency.

FEDERATE FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE.

I desire also, by my scheme, to avoid misunderstandings and to avoid war. (Applause.) It is a very common error to suppose that the countries which are peaceable are those which trade with each other and those which border on each other. Exactly the opposite is the case. It is the countries which border on each other which have gone to war, and, what is more extraordinary, directly they ceased to border on each other they ceased to fight. So we must not believe that the mere fact of countries carrying on commerce with each other, and having many relations in common, is a safeguard against that horrible calamity, war. If a war were to arise out of misunderstanding between English-speaking people, it would be the most horrible calamity that could possibly afflict the world, and as surely as we allow the present state of chaos in our Government to continue, so surely do we run the risk of such a war.

GRADUALLY HARMONISE THE ADMINISTRATION.

I have no cut-and-dried plan, as some people assert the Federationists have, for dealing with representation, taxation, Customs duties, &c., but I have a plan, the adoption of which might be set about at once. My plan is to take every opportunity to so harmonise the administration of the different Government offices, that day by day the relationship between us and our Colonies may be made more intimate. There is not a Government office which might not find fifty opportunities in the course of a year of putting its relations with the Colonies on a business-like footing. I would have commissions in the Army and Navy thrown open to the residents in our Colonies. I want to see the ships on the Colonial stations flying the flag that we fly. Such a matter may seem a small one, but sailors know whether it is so or not. What is wanted in the case of the Navy is to have it thoroughly organised, put under one discipline and under one command all over the English-speaking Colonies. Improvements are also wanted in our commercial and criminal law. There is less improvement wanted in commercial law than in almost anything else, because commercial men have taken the matter in hand for themselves, but there is room for great improvement in respect of the criminal law. Then there is the question of postage—a question which, within six months from this time, may be placed on a satisfactory footing. My great idea has always been that we should have a penny postage throughout the Empire. (Applause.) That is a thing which could be done and must be done. Then there is the question of the Civil Service. I want to see the Government of India thrown open to Colonists. (Hear, hear.) At present we take care that the examinations of the Civil Service take place in this country. I want the Civil Service made as easy of access to men in Melbourne or in Montreal as to men in Manchester. (Hear, hear.)

A BRITISH EMPIRE TARIFF.

The question of tariffs and Customs is, of course, a difficult one. It would be an exaggeration if I were to say that any change is likely to take place in that direction at the present moment. But I believe there is some reason to hope for a differential tariff, which would give favourable treatment to anything coming from any part of the British Empire. What I desire to produce, in this and other ways, is a state of things in which separation from our Colonies would be such a wrench to the everyday life of every one of us that the very idea of it would be out of the question. I want to make it so natural, and so rational, and so reasonable, that all the daily relations of life should be conducted on a system we understand, that the very notion of losing those advantages would put an end to the idea of separation. (Applause.) In conclusion Mr. Arnold Forster spoke hopefully of the position and prospects of the Imperial Federation League. Two years ago, he said, the whole tone of opinion was against the League, but now there was scarcely a man holding a responsible position who would not listen to what the representatives of the League had to say, and do what he could to help them. (Applause.)

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Arnold Forster for his lecture.

MR. W. E. MANN ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—Replying to the toast of "The Colonies" at a recent dinner to Mr. W. J. Akhurst, Mr. Mann said, "I have found that men whose fathers even had never seen England never referred to the Old Country except by the name of home. This feeling animates the breasts of all Colonists. They are loyal to the backbone. But beyond that they wish some recognition of their loyalty. They wish to be bound by firmer bonds to this country that they love and honour, and I hope we may live to see the day when Colonial legislators—the choice of the people of the Colonies—shall sit here in London and legislate in your Imperial Parliament upon all matters of Imperial importance. It is this we want, and for this we will labour."

NOTICE OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WE are requested to state that the Annual General Meeting of the Imperial Federation League will take place on **THURSDAY, MARCH 31st**, in the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion House. The Chair will be taken at 3 o'clock precisely. Admission will be by ticket only, obtainable from the Secretary of the League, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W., or any Branch Secretary.

The attendance of all Members of the League is particularly requested, and it is hoped that they will also bring as many of their friends as possible, who, though not members, are interested in the work of the League.

It is expected that the Meeting will be addressed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, the Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, and others.

A Meeting of the General Committee will be held in the week previous, of which due notice will be given.

BANQUET ON APRIL 2nd.

ON APRIL 2nd the Imperial Federation League will hold a Banquet, for which invitations will be issued to the Representatives at the Imperial Conference. The arrangements are not yet completed, but full information will be obtainable shortly from the Secretary. It is anticipated that the Banquet will be an important gathering, and will suitably mark the success of the League in procuring the convention of the first Imperial Conference ever summoned in the British Empire. It is felt that the League should, under the circumstances, be the first Public body to offer hospitality to the Representatives on their landing in England, while entire independence of party politics enables it to ensure them a genuinely national welcome as fellow-citizens of the Empire, whom men of all shades of opinion can unreservedly unite to honour.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Our Readers will notice that the JOURNAL is being printed this year upon somewhat thinner paper than hitherto. This has become necessary owing to the large number of Subscribers at home and abroad to whom the JOURNAL is sent through the post; the JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected

will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

MARCH 1, 1887.

CITIZENS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

To be a British subject is a valuable privilege; so thought a Royal Commission in 1869, and so thinks the Home Secretary to-day. He has accordingly raised the fee for the naturalisation of aliens from £1 to £5, and we agree with him that the greater sum is by no means too large for the privilege. As an instance of the anxiety which is felt by aliens to secure British nationality as soon as they have fulfilled the necessary conditions of residence, it was mentioned in the House of Commons that they are in the habit of combining for the purpose in a sort of Benefit Society, paying weekly instalments into a pool, out of which the fees and costs are paid of those members who are successful in drawing the winning numbers in periodical lotteries.

It is impossible not to be struck with the picture thus presented to us; from all parts of Europe, foreigners, outcasts perhaps from their own country by reason of poverty, political troubles, or pressure of unjust laws, hasten to take refuge beneath the protecting agis of the British Empire. They find the struggle for existence hard enough, but they

know that at all events no unequal justice, no tyranny or extortion, will hinder their progress; and recognising this, week by week, year by year, they contrive to spare a little mite from the scantiest wage, and even risk their hard-earned savings in the chances of a lottery, in order that at the earliest possible date they may enjoy the full privileges of citizenship in the great Empire that has befriended them in the hour of need. Surely this practical testimony to the esteem in which our country is held, should fill the hearts of every Briton with honest pride and self-respect! And yet, when we consider our own apathy and lukewarmness in the matter, what a contrast there is to the enthusiastic craving of the alien in our midst! We, who are born British citizens, who are free of the Empire from north to south and east to west, who do not need to purchase by a long and arduous course of self-denial, the privileges handed down to us by our fathers—do we claim our rights? Do we not take it too much as a matter of course that we are Britons without troubling ourselves to realise what the name implies? We are not like aliens who are candidates for admission, and must accept what terms are offered them, but full members of a great society which has the power to supply all our wants. As members it is our duty to see that the highest pitch of efficiency is maintained, that in every branch the work of the Society is performed with conspicuous success, and that we ourselves derive all possible benefits from our connection with it.

Let us consider for a moment what it is that the Empire may be expected to do for its citizens, what are the advantages that members of this organisation may reasonably demand from it. First we note that it contains an abundance of room for all its inhabitants, and of all the necessities of life required to provide them with food and clothing. In the second place the various portions of the Empire are spread about the world in such a manner that immunity from external aggression is rendered practicable and even easy of accomplishment, in almost every case. Thus it becomes apparent that British citizens may reasonably claim a sufficient sustenance, and safety from the attacks of their enemies. In ancient times men might have been content with this; but modern civilisation demands more. Yet should the rarest products of the earth be requisitioned, be it luxuries of food or raiment, be it gold or silver or gems without number, even these need not be denied. There are intellectual wants as well as physical, but here again the Empire contains all we can ask. Every form of religion, every side of culture, every branch of education is accessible within its boundaries; science and the arts have reached their zenith upon its soil; the finest achievements of literature are written in its language, the grandest monuments of judicial and constitutional liberty are imbedded in its fabric.

Of a truth the British citizen has a goodly heritage; whether we consider the individual, the family, or the body politic, there is in the scheme of the universe no career too noble, no ambition too lofty, no prize too grand for the activity of our brothers or the majesty of our race.

For the British Empire nature has done much, and individual effort has done more, but to realise the full value of our privileges, something further is required. There is room for all; but in one corner of the Empire, huddled together, cramped and starving, millions of Britons are cursing the narrow boundaries of their island home. Are we claiming our rights as citizens, while we contemplate this misery unmoved, and allow countless acres in other parts of the same Empire to lie untrodden and untilled? There is food for all; but nearly half the bread consumed within the Empire is made from foreign flour. Are we right in allowing over £12,000,000 sterling to be paid away out of our funds every year, when we might keep the money within the Empire, and be fed as copiously and cheaply as at present?

Again, we know that the Empire can be put into a state of defence that will secure it against all comers. Are we justified in sacrificing so great an advantage? Ought we not, as citizens, to demand that whereas nature has encircled nearly every part of the Empire with ocean, the little that remains for man to do shall be performed without stint or parsimony? and where the ocean barrier fails, ought we not instantly to fill the gap, thankful that it is no wider?

Once more, it has been established that every commodity which comes within the range of commercial intercourse is produced and manufactured within the limits of the British Empire. Are not we, the citizens of that Empire, entitled to the easiest means of access to those commodities, so that from whatever part of the Empire we may wish to be supplied, no opposition shall be raised to the satisfaction of our wants? But how little we insist upon our rights those of our citizens know full well who live in distant territories, where every article of clothing, every work of literature or art, every bale of calico is made harder to obtain than it need be to the extent of a quarter or half its value!

Turn where we will, the same carelessness is apparent; law, science, education are presented in their most perfect phases of development by some portion of the Empire. How comes it, then, that we can rest content until the whole is in the enjoyment of whatever is best in a part? Individuals are working, corporations are planning, Parliaments are legislating—for whom? Not for one citizen of the Empire more than for another, if we care to claim our rightful share in the result!

Why are we so sluggish? Ignorance cannot be pleaded, for enough spasmodic efforts have already been made to show that we are aware of our privileges. By haphazard schemes of emigration we admit that there is room for expansion. By instituting Royal Commissions upon defences, we admit our claim to security. By the maintenance of a Free Trade policy, England and some of the Colonies admit that obstacles to commerce are injurious and unwise. By the union of scientific bodies, by the action of Universities, by the authority of the Privy Council, we admit that every citizen of the Empire has a right to the best of education, of science, and of law. All this we admit, and do not pretend to ignore; but it is characteristic of human nature to know or believe much, and yet not to act upon its knowledge or belief. Public opinion is a plant of slow growth. The same idea must have occurred to a multitude of individuals before one comes forward bold enough to proclaim it, or at any rate to proclaim it successfully. Abortive attempts prove that the heaven has not had time to work, just as the spasmodic efforts at realising our Imperial citizenship have hitherto died away before maturity. But at last the time seems ripe for a change; the pride of race has filled every British heart. From the Colonies comes the claim to share the glories of the past. From England goes forth a cry to enter upon the heritage of the future. Thus, for the good for all, all must act together, and how best? To answer this, to satisfy the unspoken problem, to express the universal sentiment, up sprang, in due season, the Imperial Federation League. Its programme was simple, it said no more than was felt by all; therefore it is succeeding. It is rallying the forces that make for unity, strong in the assurance that only by Federation can every citizen of the British Empire realise to the full the privileges of his birthright.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH'S RECORD AS A PROPHET.

RANDOM SHOTS!

In the year 1878, dining at a club not one hundred miles from Waterloo Place, Mr. Goldwin Smith delivered himself of the following prophecy: "In ten years Canada will from economic causes form part of the United States." This is probably the most complete explanation which can be found of the frantic assertions of the impossibility of Imperial Federation with which Mr. Goldwin Smith from time to time astonishes the readers of the *Times*. Every now and then, apropos of nothing in particular, Mr. Goldwin Smith writes to the *Times* and violently denounces as dreamers, if not as fools, all those who desire or even contemplate the possibility of Imperial Federation.

Why this fiery zeal against a proposal which can only be carried out with the mutual consent of all parties concerned? According to Mr. Goldwin Smith it has met with so little encouragement in the land of his adoption, that "*no single politician or journal of eminence in Canada has countenanced the scheme.*" Such being the case, according to Mr. Goldwin Smith's knowledge, why should he feel called upon to occupy so frequently the space of the *Times* and of

his own Canadian newspaper with the denunciation of Imperial Federation?

It cannot be an act of patriotism to save his country from this dangerous course, for according to him that country is in no danger of adopting it. It cannot be an intense enthusiasm for the diffusion of accuracy of knowledge, for we find on the register of members of the Imperial Federation League in Canada the names of *no less than fifty members of the Dominion Parliament*, to whom, and the constituencies which they represent, we commend Mr. Goldwin Smith's left-handed compliments touching the value of their political services. It seems highly probable that the motive of Mr. Goldwin Smith's bitter opposition is not unconnected with the utterance with which this article is commenced.

Mr. Goldwin Smith is known to be possessed of a theory with regard to the ethnographical world which is briefly this, that nations will confederate and amalgamate according to their geography; that each continent will in time become one nation. With full confidence in the correctness of his theory he uttered his prophecy about Canada, and no doubt considered that the time allowed was sufficient for its fulfilment.

Let us consider for a moment what, after the lapse of eight years, are the present relations of the two countries which according to him are to be made one before the end of next year. High tariffs exist on either side against the import of goods from the other country. Those on the Canadian side being expressly arranged in order to prevent Canadian markets being flooded with American goods to the detriment of Canadian manufactures, an object which is now being sought by the Americans even to the extent of selling in Canada large quantities of goods at prices far below cost. The Canadians have lately enforced against American fishermen the rights secured to them by Treaty with regard to the fisheries on their coasts. The Americans for some reason resenting this as "*wanting in courtesy*," have retaliated by passing a law, not yet, however, put in force, prohibiting absolutely the import to the United States by land or by water of any goods of Canadian origin, and fiery speeches have been delivered in Congress threatening Great Britain with declarations of war if Canada is supported in her right.

It must be admitted that this does not look like annexation; with only the inside of two years to run, and such a state of affairs in active existence, Mr. Goldwin Smith is naturally beginning to feel a little anxious about his prophecy, which has doubtless been made in other places as well as in his London club. He probably recognises also that the reputation of his theory depends not a little upon the ability to stand the test of time of the prophecy which is based upon it. At the time Mr. Goldwin Smith spoke there was no third course open to Canada when she approached her maturity, the alternatives being independence or annexation to the States, and he therefore felt pretty confident in asserting that in time she would, as Mr. Bright puts it, submit to the "*arguments of her powerful neighbour*," and become absorbed by her. Within the last two years, however, a third course has transpired, and what is more has actually been proposed, and some indistinct rumour of it appears to have reached even Mr. Goldwin Smith, though he does not yet seem to be aware of the extent to which it is being entertained in his own country, and even in his own neighbourhood.

Mr. Goldwin Smith appears now to be seriously alarmed about his theory. Not only has the prophecy gone hopelessly wrong so far, but another prospect has been opened up for the future of Canada which will not agree with the theory of continental nations. Moreover, this prospect has taken considerable hold of people's minds, and methods of carrying it into effect are being widely discussed. Better still, the Imperial Government has summoned a conference of representatives from the Dominion, and other self-governing colonies, to consider how affairs of mutual interest may best be administered. To the Professor's mind this is altogether wrong. Matters of common interest should exist between Canada and the United States, not between Canada and the British Empire, because the former are on the same continent, and are to be amalgamated in the course of next year!

In the interests, therefore, of his prophecy and of his theory, Mr. Goldwin Smith loses no opportunity of asserting—he uses no argument—that Canada will not entertain the bare notion of Federation. We do not know by what right Mr. Goldwin Smith speaks for Canada, but supposing for a moment that he is right in his assertion, why is all this protesting required, unless it be to bolster up a failing theory? If Canada will not entertain Imperial Federation, she will not be Imperially federated, and there is an end of it. If the Professor correctly describes the state of the Canadian mind upon the subject, no amount of assertion from him can affect the issue one way or the other.

Altogether it is difficult to dismiss the belief that the Professor is suffering from an uncomfortable feeling that in spite of prophecy, theory, and assertion, Imperial Federation is gaining ground surely and steadily in the minds of the people of Canada as in all other parts of the Empire, and that the chances of Canada fulfilling the destiny he has laid down for it are becoming exceedingly poor. We can feel some sympathy for a Professor whose theory is dissolving before his eyes, but we could wish that he would bear his disappointment with greater resignation, and would cultivate in future a larger reverence for facts than for conjectures, even though the latter be his own.

We do not intend to follow the Professor's example of fixing a term of years for the fulfilment of our wishes, we do not even prophesy, but we venture to express our strong belief that in ten years, for economic reasons, the different parts of the British Empire will not be administering their common affairs in the present disjointed, unconnected fashion, but will be working together in these matters for the common good. If our belief is justified the League will have the immense satisfaction of knowing that by its exertions the greatest Empire which the world has known will have been kept together, despite the efforts of Mr. Goldwin Smith and his friends, in the bonds of unity and peace.

With the question of Ireland the League has nothing to do, that being a matter of the "existing rights of local Parliaments," which is specially excepted from its scope by Article II. of its constitution. Mr. Goldwin Smith's attitude on this question, however, affords another example of his strenuous support of his theory, which has become so dangerously impaired that it cannot be left to work itself out, but must be forced, if possible, into fulfilment by repeated reiteration. Here is Ireland, geographically part of the British Isles, wanting to separate itself from them. This is not according to theory, and must be put a stop to. Hence the periodical letters in the *Times*; which, however, show a strange depth of interest in the matter when it is remembered that they are written by a man who looks to the United States for the future of his own country.

THE ROYAL MARINES AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

By THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT LEWISHAM, M.P.

WE hear a good deal just now about the defence—or, rather, the lack of defence—of our coaling stations, and of our commercial and strategic ports; there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the defence of a port, be it for coaling or mercantile purposes, ultimately rests on men. Lord Carnarvon, who speaks with authority, has made the last contribution to this vexed question, with two very important letters, in the second of which he gives a brief summary of what, in his opinion, is most urgently needed for the purposes above referred to. Among other suggestions, he recommends "an effective organisation of volunteer artillery."

Now, the scientific inventions of the present day absolutely require skilled and trained men; it is only aggravating national danger to provide works, armaments, and torpedoes for the defence of ports of strategical importance, if they are to be in the hands of garrisons numerically insufficient, or of men untrained and unskilled. A strong place with an insufficient or inefficient garrison invites attack, secures the success of attack; and our works and armaments, provided with so much care and at so great a cost, are turned against us with disastrous results.

Under these circumstances, would the effective organisa-

tion of volunteer artillery, recommended by Lord Carnarvon, be sufficient for our needs? We must not forget that the Royal Commission of 1859-1860 on the defence of the United Kingdom laid it down as an axiom that a due admixture of regular forces was absolutely essential to the effective manning of works in England by local forces; and, even if this organisation could be depended upon to provide the protection required at home and in our larger Colonies—which I am inclined to doubt—it would be entirely inadequate for coaling depôts, etc., scattered all over the world.

What, then, do we want? According to the Commission of 1859-1860 (and our requirements have certainly not diminished since then) we want a force that can provide (1) a nucleus for local forces at the great mercantile ports at home and abroad; and (2) a force for the defence of Imperial strategic ports and coaling stations. The organisation of such a force should admit of despatching large or small bodies to different places without destroying its efficiency as an organisation. It should be capable of sending as a complete unit 10 men to one place, 20 to another, 50 to another, and 500 or 1,000 to another. Now there is, I believe, no such organisation as that in our army; and, if I am not mistaken, the only organisation that admits of such dispersion without destroying itself is that of the Marine forces, which are scattered about all over the world without losing touch.

Is it not possible and desirable to make some such use of these forces? I have more than once pointed out, in the House of Commons, how the scientific training of the Marines, obtained at the expense of the taxpayer, is not made sufficient use of. It is a well-known fact that officers of both the Royal Marine Artillery and the Royal Marine Light Infantry, having professional knowledge second to none, are excluded from all responsible or high commands. Here, then, is an opportunity of putting the right men in the right places, with mutual advantage to the Empire and to the force itself. It is generally admitted that our ports and coaling stations—the very breath in the nostrils of a sea-going fleet, on which its freedom depends—must be protected. Protection takes the form of scientific and delicately constructed machines, which are to be provided at the expense of the British taxpayer. To work these scientific and delicately constructed machines, special knowledge is required. This special knowledge is again provided at the expense of the British taxpayer. Why, then, should not the British taxpayer reap the full benefit of the money so laid out, as he would do if the care of the scientifically constructed machines were entrusted to the scientifically trained men?

THE SCHOOLMASTER'S WORK FOR FEDERATION.

A CORRESPONDENT writes:—"I have sent scores of boys out of school into business and the professions, all thoroughly imbued with the Federative idea. With this central idea, geography has a meaning and a purpose. All our senior boys know all about Port Hamilton, Esquimalt, &c., and what they mean (though I see we have given up the former), and the chief points and routes of the Empire. If this were carried out generally, the next generation would see the thing done."

Yes; the next generation—the generation that is even now rising up to stand in our places—will assuredly see some portentous change in the British Empire. Would that all our schoolmasters had laid the truth to heart, as our correspondent has done! It may be said without exaggeration that with them more than with any other body of men lies the future of the Empire. Every year millions of children are passing through our schools, soon to have a voice in ordering the Imperial polity. As they have been taught, so they will act. Instil the habit of contemplating the British Empire as a unit in the world, as a *country* to rank with France, or Germany, or Russia. Cease to teach English geography one day from the beginning of the lesson-book, and Australian or Canadian on another day from the end; learning geography by continents has become a deceptive and arbitrary method, now that every quarter of the globe is permeable with equal ease. Why group England with Russia and Turkey in Europe, and Canada with the

United States of America? Distance is only important from the time occupied in surmounting it, and England is more accessible to Canada than to the extremities of Europe. In teaching physical geography the distribution of land in continents may be an important factor. But for the purposes of political or commercial geography, which are practically comprised in the course of instruction in our schools, we maintain that the presentation of maps of Asia, of Europe, and of America, are wholly misleading to the British school-boy. How can he form a just idea of Canada, her resources, her attitude towards her neighbour, and her power of holding her own, from looking at a map of North America? How can he gain any notion of the relative positions of Russia, India, and England from the chequered surface of a map of Asia? How fix in his mind the causes of Australian progress and security, from seeing the huge island, projected "in the summer sea," upon a wall-map, without visible connection with any other inhabited region?

On the contrary, how easily this source of error might be avoided by a little courage in breaking through the old routine, and teaching what we may call "Geography by Empires." When you are discussing Canada with her five millions, and the United States of America with their fifty millions, show how the balance of population is redressed by the existence of Great Britain across the Atlantic, of Australia and India across the Pacific. When you are estimating the strength of European nations, comparing England, France, Germany, and Russia, let not your pupils forget that England does not stand alone, but that she has inexhaustible resources at call, in countries not depicted on the map of Europe. In these and a hundred other instances let boys be constantly taught—not only in Great Britain, but with the same perseverance in every one of our Colonies—to picture to themselves, in all matters of geographical relation, not a meaningless array of "large portions of the earth's surface," but a series of living nationalities, and conspicuous among them a world-wide British Empire, whose unity, and strength, and honour, are the surest guarantee of universal prosperity and peace. Our schoolmasters are the men who can effect this, with the help of managers and school boards. Offer prizes for geography of the British Empire, hang wall-maps of it in the schools, teach it as a regular part of the time-table. The result will be felt, and the reward will be reaped when the time comes for testing the strength of the Imperial sentiment; and those who have steadily worked at the task of inspiring such noble aims, will look with reasonable pride upon the spectacle of irresistible forces, their own creation, working harmoniously for the good of mankind, in the might of the British Empire.

REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

So far as they have been already announced, the following are the representatives appointed to attend the forthcoming Imperial Conference on behalf of their respective Governments. The Conference will meet, it is stated, on April 5th for the first sitting.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Sir Patrick Jennings (late Premier).
Sir Saul Samuel (Agent-General).
Mr. R. Wisdom.

QUEENSLAND.—Hon. Samuel Griffith (Premier).

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Sir Arthur Blyth (Agent-General).
Hon. J. W. Downer (Premier).

TASMANIA.—Hon. John Stokell Dodds (Attorney-General).

VICTORIA.—Sir Graham Berry (Agent-General).

Hon. Alfred Deakin (Chief Secretary).

Hon. James Lorimer (Minister of Colonial Defence).

Hon. James Service.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Hon. John Forrest (Commissioner of Crown Lands and Surveyor-General).

NEW ZEALAND.—Sir Francis Dillon Bell (Agent-General).

Sir W. Fitz-Herbert (Speaker of the Legislative Council).

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Hon. W. J. Donnelly.

Mr. Walter Grieve.

CAPE COLONY.—Hon. T. Upington.

Hon. J. Hofmeyer.

Sir Charles Mills (Agent-General).

FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT GLASGOW.

ON the 16th February a meeting of gentlemen interested in the cause of Imperial Federation was held in the chambers of Mr. J. S. Lang, West Regent Street, Glasgow, for the purpose of forming a Branch of the League. It was understood that this was only a preliminary meeting for the purpose of formally constituting the Branch, and that when the arrangements were complete, steps would be taken to enlist public sympathy and support.

The statutory number of members having been enrolled, among whom may be noticed J. A. Baird, Esq., M.P., W. Mackinnon, Esq., P. N. Ray, Esq., M.D., Rev. W. G. Duncan, etc., etc., the following Resolution was unanimously carried:—

“Resolved that this Association, in adopting the principles of the League as expressed in its constitution, desires to be affiliated as a Branch of the Imperial Federation League, under the designation of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch.”

A code of rules was also adopted, and we are glad to observe that the suggested Rules for Branches recently issued from the League's Offices was found to provide a satisfactory basis in drawing up the scheme of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch.

Glasgow is one of the most flourishing cities of the British Empire, and we hope that the work of those who have undertaken to instil Federation principles among their fellow-citizens there will be rewarded by the same measure of success that is wont to attend the efforts of Glaswegians in other departments of life.

FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT ROCHESTER.

THE City of Rochester is bestirring itself; we have to chronicle another addition to the rapidly increasing roll of Branches. On the 27th January, a meeting was held in the Guildhall, by the kind permission of the Mayor, for the purpose of founding a Rochester Branch of the Imperial Federation League. The chair was taken by Mr. S. Barker Booth, and there were present the Mayor (L. Levy, Esq.), General Forbes, J.P., Dr. Burns, J.P., Messrs. Belsey, Benton, A. W. Booth, Craske, J. Ross Foord, Gill, Hayward, F. Homan, and Wingent. The following report of the proceedings is taken from the *Chatham Observer*:—

The Chairman briefly stated that the object of the League was to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the British Empire without interference with the local governments, pointed out the important assistance such Federation would be in organising the defence and promoting the prosperity of Great Britain and her Colonies, and informed the meeting that he had received letters from Colonel Hughes-Hallett, M.P., and other gentlemen, expressing their approval of the principles of the League and their agreement as to the advisability of establishing a Branch of the same in Rochester.

The Mayor proposed and Mr. Hayward seconded the following resolution:—“That an Association be formed in Rochester inviting the support of men of all political parties for the purpose of securing by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire,” which, after being supported by General Forbes, was carried unanimously.

The Chairman then proposed and Mr. J. R. Foord seconded the second resolution:—“That the Association now formed desires to be affiliated to the Imperial Federation League,” which was also carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Belsey, seconded by General Forbes, it was resolved:—“That the terms of membership be a minimum annual subscription of one shilling payable in advance, and acceptance of the principles of the League.” It was at the same time pointed out that the subscription was not limited to that amount, and that annual subscribers of not less than five shillings would be entitled to receive the journal of the League monthly, post free. It was decided to invite the citizens of Rochester to enlist in so good a cause, and those willing to aid the movement are requested to send their names to Mr. A. W. Booth, Borstal, Rochester, who has agreed to register the same.

This preliminary meeting seems to have been conducted in a workmanlike fashion that promises well for the success of the Branch in future. We hope that a vigorous response will be given to Mr. Booth's invitation, and that the inhabitants of the ancient city of Rochester will find in the League a common bond of union wherein men of every party can

conscientiously combine to render service to the Empire. We are glad to see that this note was struck at the meeting, and we hope it will inaugurate a long and prosperous career for the Branch.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE KENSINGTON BRANCH.

THE first annual meeting of this Branch was held on February 18th. The chair was taken by Sir W. McArthur, K.C.M.G., and there was a large and influential attendance, including Mr. J. Horne Payne, Q.C., Colonel Innes, Colonel Moncrieff, General Leggatt, Colonel Browne, Captain J. C. R. Colomb, M.P., Captain Norton, Mr. Frederic Young, Mr. A. H. Loring, Mr. C. F. Murray, &c., &c.

MR. HORNE PAYNE, Q.C., introduced Captain Colomb, M.P., to the meeting, who gave a most interesting address upon the leading problems of Imperial Federation, speaking for nearly an hour. A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously awarded to Captain Colomb, and the business of the Branch was then proceeded with.

The Secretary (MR. C. FREEMAN MURRAY) read the code of rules proposed for the Branch, which were generally approved and passed with unanimity.

It was then proposed by GENERAL LEGGATT, and seconded by MR. ROBERT PEARCE, a well-known Radical member of the Kensington Parliament, that the existing officers and committee should be re-elected. This was done, with the result that Sir W. McArthur remains President for the ensuing year, Mr. J. Horne Payne, Q.C., Vice-President, Colonel Innes, Treasurer, and Mr. C. F. Murray, Secretary.

It should be mentioned that MR. PEARCE, in the course of an excellent speech, threw out the novel suggestion that, in celebration of the Jubilee Year, Her Majesty should assume some worthy title expressive of her unique position as Sovereign of the British Empire; and it was the feeling of the meeting that the suggestion was eminently in accordance with the ideal of Imperial Federation.

The next resolution was proposed by MR. J. HORNE PAYNE, Q.C., and seconded by MR. J. BAILEY; it provided that Colonel Innes should represent the Kensington Branch upon the Executive Committee of the League. This resolution is important, as being the first fruits of the recent change in the Constitution of the League, whereby the Branches have a recognised position upon the Governing Body.

A further resolution appointed Colonel Browne, General Leggatt, and Captain Norton, as delegates from the Branch at the forthcoming Annual General Meeting of the League; we should perhaps add, however, that all members of the League, without exception, will be welcome at the General Meeting, and we hope that the appointed delegates will be attended by a goodly following.

In the proceedings which followed, Mr. Frederic Young, Mr. Horne Payne, Q.C., and Colonel Innes took part, and stress was laid upon the success which has attended the strenuous efforts made by Mr. C. Freeman Murray to organise the Branch. He is, indeed, to be congratulated upon the rapid progress which has been made. Little more than six months have elapsed since the affiliation of the Branch, which already numbers over one hundred and twenty members, while its general condition is most flourishing. We hope that this encouraging example will promote the formation of other Branches wherever a few energetic supporters of the League are found; for, as in the case of the Kensington Branch, it may be confidently anticipated that a small commencement need prove no obstacle to rapid and successful development.

Before the meeting separated the usual complimentary votes of thanks were passed, including one to the Kensington Conservative Working Men's Club, who had kindly lent the use of their rooms for the occasion.

FEDERATION APPLAUDED BY THREE THOUSAND PEOPLE AT DUNDEE.

WE gladly welcome assistance from whatever quarter it comes, and our gratitude is due to the organisers of a meeting which was held at Dundee, on February 3rd, in favour of the movement for securing Home Rule for Scotland. With the merits of that question we have, of course, no more to do than with any other phase of political agitation. But we have a great interest in any occasion which draws three thousand people together to listen to and applaud a thorough-going Federation speech.

Lady Florence Dixie is well known as an active and consistent worker on behalf of the League's principles; and the *Dundee Advertiser* is doubtless right in stating that the large audience was attracted by the fact that she was to be among the speakers at that “crowded and enthusiastic”

meeting. We need not trouble our readers with the proceedings so far as they related to Home Rule for Scotland; but Lady Florence Dixie's remarks upon Federation will be received with wide-spread interest. As the Rev. David Macrae said from the chair that evening, Lady Dixie was welcome in their town of Dundee, because she had thrown herself on the side of the people, and was doing such noble work on their behalf. And she has done nothing nobler than spreading the light of Federation principles in the North, and sowing seed in the minds of three thousand men of Forfarshire and Perthshire, which cannot fail to produce a goodly crop of fresh adherents to our cause.

Lady Florence Dixie spoke as follows on

THE FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE:—

"It has long been felt that some steps should be taken to knit together the Colonies and the Mother Country by a tie which nothing can part. As the former wax greater and greater, it is not to be expected that they will go on contributing to Imperial taxation without having a voice in Imperial affairs. We must give them that right, and associate them with us in the work of governing the most glorious Empire that this world has ever seen, and whose shores are washed by every ocean known. (Applause.) We must establish a truly Imperial Parliament in which shall sit the representatives of those great Colonial possessions whose existence has made Great Britain the grandest living power in the world. And this power, if used as only a united people can use it, will lead up to changes greater and nobler still. I glory in the idea of Federation; but I glory in it because it paves the way to a grander federation still, that federation which will some day come—the federation of the world." (Applause.)

We fear the federation of the world is a long way off yet. But the grandeur of their ideal has often helped men to reach a more practical, if less exalted, goal. As George Herbert said—

"Who aimeth at the sky
Shoots higher far than he who means a tree."

And we shall not quarrel with Lady Florence Dixie, or the good people of Dundee, for applauding the vision of a federated world, if, in their striving after an ideal, they help us to establish, as a means to their end, a well-considered scheme of Imperial Federation.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR THE COLONIES.

WE recently called attention to a proposal by the governing body of the Oxford Military College, to offer Scholarships for competition in the Colonies. This admirable idea is now taking definite shape, and on a larger scale than we imagined. In each of the principal Colonies two Scholarships are to be offered of £50 and £25 respectively, tenable for three years. The competitors, who must be between the ages of 14 and 16, will have everything made easy for them; they need not be afraid of having to make long and expensive journeys to the place of examination, for the papers will be sent out from England to each Colony, and the examination will be held simultaneously in a number of schools selected with a view to their position as convenient centres of a district. The conditions of examination are to be approved by the Agents-General, thus bringing the scheme officially under the cognisance of public opinion in the Colonies, and, although the course of study at the College is primarily concerned with military subjects, we understand that pupils are also enabled to prepare themselves for the professions generally, and for a business life.

We hope that these Scholarships will attract a large field of competitors; and that the successful candidates will prove themselves such a credit to the College that other schools may be induced to follow the example, and perceive that by extending their Scholarships to the Colonies, they are not only promoting unity of educational work throughout the Empire, but that they are also attracting a class of students who will gain fresh honours for their school, and spread its name and fame far beyond the narrow limits of the United Kingdom. It may be useful to some of our readers in the Colonies to have early information of the subjects in which examination will take place. The scheme has not been finally arranged, we believe, but the following may be taken as comprising its chief features:—

The Scholarships may be awarded for general proficiency, or for special excellence in one or more subjects, which can be regarded as a fair test of the candidate's intellectual powers.

Candidates must pass a preliminary examination in dictation and arithmetic; in the competitive part of the examination they may offer any four of the following subjects:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Mathematics. | 5. German. |
| 2. English History and Composition. | 6. French. |
| 3. Latin. | 7. Chemistry or Electricity. |
| 4. Greek. | 8. Physical Geography and Geology. |

Mathematical Subjects.—Books I., II., III., IV., and VI. of Euclid, Algebra to Binomial Theorem, Plane Trigonometry to Properties of Triangles.

English History and Composition.—Candidates will be tested in essay writing and a knowledge of the outlines of English history.

Latin, Greek, German, and French.—The examination will include translations from these languages into English, and *vice versa*, as well as grammar.

HERE AND THERE.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN has resigned the office of Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, which has since been accepted by the Earl of Onslow.

SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL has been appointed High Commissioner for the Canadian Government in London, in the room of Sir Charles Tupper.

THE following Central India chiefs, in honour of the jubilee, have abolished all transit duties through their respective States:—The Maharajah of Dhar, Nawab Jaora; the Rajah of Jhabna, the Rana of Barwani, the Thakur of Piploda, and the Rana of Jobat. Some minor Bombay chiefs have also abolished import duties on trade.

THE *Toronto Week*, a well-known anti-Federationist journal, inserted a letter in favour of Federation the other day, and appended a note stating that it did so "in token that we are not indisposed to have the subject discussed."

TWO passengers from South Africa by the R.M.S. *Moor* brought with them on Feb. 6th grapes from the Cape Colony and pines from Natal in excellent condition.

THE Common Council of the City of London have contributed £5,000 to the Imperial Institute Fund.

SERGEANT HARDY has been engaged in England as instructor to the Tasmanian Torpedo Corps.

A PUBLIC meeting has been held in Calcutta in connection with the Imperial Institute, and a Committee appointed to collect donations.

THE Royal Colonial Institute is more prosperous, both financially and numerically, than at any period of its history. There are now 3,031 Fellows, of whom 238 have been elected since last June.

THE only Canadian Government cruisers now in commission are the *General Middleton* and the *Howlett*.

THE inhabitants of Vancouver, B.C., have entered vigorously upon a crusade against the Chinese. Only ninety Chinamen now remain in the town.

MR. T. H. ISAAC has written an interesting letter to the *Hull Daily News* in favour of Imperial Federation, in which he says that the question is discussed "in the counting-house, on the railway, on the steamboat, in the cottage, and in the palace."

A LIVELY correspondence on the subject of Imperial Federation has been carried on in the *Toronto Mail*, under the heading of "What the people say."

THE labour schooner *Helena*, which has arrived at Brisbane from the New Hebrides, brings intelligence that the French are about to construct three forts, to increase the number of their troops, and to build new barracks at Port Sandwich. It is added that sites have also been selected for the erection of small batteries at the heads of Uruparapara.

THE Government of Newfoundland is stated to have given notice to the Allan line of steamers to terminate their contract for carrying the mails.

A NEW Queensland 4 per cent. loan for £2,500,000 was placed upon the market on Feb. 13. The tenders amounted to £2,643,000; subscribers at par received 88 per cent. of their applications, and above that rate in full.

THE Senate of St. Andrew's University has decided to confer the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon Mr. R. Laishley, barrister, Auckland, New Zealand.

CAN any of our readers supply the following lines?—

English yet! Should ever trouble
Enter your dear mother's door,
Would ye not then love her double?
Shed your blood, expend your store?
Nor in ends of earth forget
That ye all are English yet!

THE Great Eastern steamship was sold for £26,000 the other day. It is stated that she will be refitted and employed in the Australian frozen meat trade.

AT the banquet on board the new Orient liner *Oroya*, Sir Saul Samuel said he had reason to believe the Australian Colonies would be prepared to give a good subsidy for the continuance of the two lines—the P. and O. and the Orient.

COLONEL GOLDIE, the new Quartermaster-General of the British forces at Halifax, Nova Scotia, has been appointed permanent purchasing agent for army horses by the British Government. He will purchase 300 horses this year.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH refused to stand for a Manitoba constituency in the recent Dominion Parliamentary elections. He based his refusal on the ground of non-residence. Does this mean aiming at a Toronto seat some day?

THE current issue of the *City Quarterly Magazine* contains an article by Mr. R. L. Nash on the commercial and financial aspects of Federation.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

EXETER.—Mr. James Rae read an essay at the rooms of the Exeter Working Men's Mutual Improvement Society on February 14th on "Imperial Federation." Mr. E. T. Fulford occupied the chair, and Mr. Rae, in the course of his remarks, spoke of the work of the Imperial Federation League, and said that they believed that by Federation they could best secure the fullest development of the resources of the great community of the English-speaking people. Another reason for Federation was that there would be more certainty of peace. The Federation League had, so far, put forward no scheme whatever, but had invited discussions on various schemes. Not the least principle of an efficient system of Federation, Mr. Rae remarked, was that all self-governing Colonies should have complete control of all Provincial affairs. The Colonies should be secure in the rights which they now enjoyed of managing and arranging their own fiscal systems upon such economical principles as they might think right, whether the English people thought them right or not. The essay having been concluded, the Chairman remarked that if by any scheme of Federation our Empire extending throughout the length and breadth of the world could be made of greater interest to England as a country or of greater advantage to us as a people, and at the same time a Federation which would be mutually advantageous to the peoples, then the question of Federation was worthy of their very serious consideration. An interesting discussion followed.

HARROW.—At the Harrow School Debating Society a Bill was recently introduced dealing with the subject of Imperial Federation. The following conditions were embodied in the Bill:—(1) An Imperial Parliament sitting in London, containing Colonial delegates. (2) No powers of curtailing the rights of Colonial Governments to be given to the Imperial Parliament. (3) The Colonial representatives to be elected every seven years. (4) The Colonies to contribute to the Imperial Army and Navy. (5) The number of Members in the Imperial Parliament not to exceed 500. (6) The Imperial Parliament not to sit at the same time as the United Kingdom Parliament for the management of Home affairs. After discussion, the Bill was carried by a majority of 10 to 4.

HERTFORD.—At a recent meeting of the local Parliament the "Prime Minister" laid upon the table his Bill for Imperial Federation amid loud cheers from all parts of the House.

LEWISHAM, LONDON.—On Tuesday, February 1st, Mr. F. P. Labillière delivered a lecture to the members of the Lewisham Liberal Club, in place of Mr. H. L. W. Lawton, M.P., who was prevented from keeping his engagement. Mr. Labillière said that the question of Imperial Federation was one of the greatest importance from whatever point of view it was regarded. In his opinion an united Empire, rather than one broken up into small States, was more likely to secure peace, and it was in the interests of peace that he advocated Imperial Federation. If we stood shoulder to shoulder with our brethren across the sea, we should be so strong that other nations would be afraid to try conclusions with us. In all respects was Federation necessary for the welfare of this country, and not less so for that of the Colonies. Australia, for instance, if severed from the Empire, would be forced to create defensive forces and fleets at infinitely greater expense than if she were united in a corporate system of defence, not to speak of the greater risk of her being attacked by a foreign power. Tracing the vast growth and progress of our Colonial Empire, the speaker asked whether this mighty

Empire was to be allowed to drift to pieces, and asserted that, if so, this country was unworthy of its heritage. He was in favour of enfranchising the 10,000,000 Colonists, so that they might have a voice in deciding questions of peace and war. That was what he understood by Imperial Federation, which was no new thing, as he proceeded to show by the citation of instances. Referring to the question of tariffs, Mr. Labillière said that he thought it would be unwise to impose one uniform system on the whole Empire, but that in the first instance the matter should be left open. In bringing this interesting and able address to a close, he appealed to his audience to make this question of Federation one of their strongest principles, whatever their party. A discussion followed, in which the Rev. F. Waldoock, of Ceylon, and Messrs. Butt, Meredith, Ford, and Bryant took part.

LONDON.—After the second sessional dinner of the Constitutional Union at the St. James's Restaurant, Lord Harris opened a discussion on Imperial Federation. He remarked that the co-operation of the Mother Country with the Colonies and dependencies for their mutual benefit was undoubtedly a magnificent idea, worthy of its Imperial title; worthy of the Empire to which the sea itself could set no limit; worthy of the people who showed no signs of decadence in regard to their powers of colonisation or administration; and worthy of the race which set forth undaunted to face the difficulties of colonisation in the Elizabethan days, conscious of the strength of their nationality. He believed, however, that this idea would only take complete form by a very slow and gradual process. They could not ignore detail, even in an idea so magnificent as Imperial Federation. The subject, so far as he studied it, appeared to divide itself into three heads:—First, the political aspect; second, the commercial aspect; and, third, the mutual defence aspect. As to the most difficult of all—the political aspect—he could not, at present, see how it was possible to have a council representative of the Mother Country and her Colonies. For some time both the Mother Country and the Colonies had been educated up to the idea of representation accompanying taxation, and, therefore, it was reasonable to suppose that, if the Colonies were to be taxed for the privilege of being represented upon a Foreign Affairs council, we should find considerable difficulty upon occasions. It was impossible for a Foreign Affairs council to exert any real power unless it had also the power of obtaining a needful vote for carrying out its policy. Upon the purely commercial aspect of the question let them be perfectly honest. Were we in exactly the same position as our Colonies? He supposed that the idea of Imperial Federation with regard to commerce meant this—that we should by some agreement mutually benefit by what each country had to produce. We were the manufacturers of the world, but our Colonies were not in that position at present. They had to raise revenue by other means than the Mother Country, and the most obvious method was for them to place a duty upon goods from whatever country they might come. He could not but believe that in going into the practical working of this part of the scheme very considerable difficulties would have to be first surmounted. With respect to the third point, he was glad to think that a commencement had been made by the defence of the coasts. England was sometimes unjustly blamed because the scheme of Colonial Defence had only recently become active, but it must be remembered that the danger to our Colonies had only recently increased also. For a time we fancied ourselves secure, but that period of slumber had now passed away, and he sincerely trusted that England was prepared to abide by the contracts into which she had entered, and to render our coaling stations and harbours abroad secure as rapidly as she possibly could.

LONDON.—At a meeting of the Shipwrights' Company at the Mansion House, on February 3, Mr. A. D. Lewis, the Master, in the course of a lecture on "The Mercantile Marine and Foreign Competition," remarked that Imperial Federation would have a distinct bearing on the prospects of our shipping.

LONDON, BALHAM.—At a meeting of the Balham Parliament, on Tuesday, February 8, Mr. Mofforey (Colonial Secretary) moved the second reading of his Imperial Federation Bill. After explaining why it had been thought better to bring in a Bill on the subject, rather than to merely submit a resolution affirming the principles, the mover proceeded to give some reasons for his Bill. It would be a most sure guarantee of peace. At present the Colonies are exposed to attack, but united in one mighty Federation the Empire would be impregnable. In another half-century the Colonies would outnumber the Mother Country in population, and the question was were they to be bound to us for all time, or to be allowed to drift away till they became separate countries. After mentioning the names of several eminent men who had expressed themselves in favour of Imperial Federation, Mr. Mofforey concluded by asking the House to pass his Bill, as a proof to the world that we were not indifferent to the glorious heritage won for us by our forefathers, and to the Colonies that we at home regarded them as brethren. The speech was greeted by loud cheering from all parts of the House, and then Mr. Evans rose to criticise the Bill, and to express his belief that each Colony

should be left free to develop its own resources and industry. Mr. Eggar, who followed, was of opinion that the measure would ensure the maintenance of peace, and the increase of wealth in all the Colonies. On the motion of Mr. Sarjeant the debate was then adjourned.

MANCHESTER.—On February 4th, the first of a series of public meetings in Manchester, under the auspices of the newly formed British and Colonial Federation and Taxation Readjustment Union, was held at the offices of the Union in the Royal Exchange. The chair was taken by Mr. A. Waithman. The Chairman explained that the Union had been formed on 30th December last to agitate for such readjustments of fiscal arrangements as should prevent the products of foreign States from unfairly competing with those of British labour in British markets, while paving the way to such a commercial Federation of Great Britain with the Colonies, by means of preferential Customs duties, as might secure the nearest approach to Free Trade within the Empire that might be compatible with the exigencies of the respective independent Governments constituting the Federation. It was estimated that about £1,000 would be needed every year to carry on the work of the Union. Already a considerable sum had been promised towards expenses. Mr. C. H. Vincent, M.P., and Mr. L. J. Jennings, M.P., had accepted the position of Vice-Presidents.

MONTROSE.—A paper on "Imperial Federation" was recently read before the Hillside Literary Association by Mr. Eaton. The speaker, while finding fault with various theories on the form which Imperial Federation should take, did not confine himself to criticism, but introduced a scheme of Federation, which was somewhat as follows:—That the powers of their own, as well as those of the Colonial Parliaments, be confined to internal policy, and that another representative body for foreign and Imperial policy—in which the Dependencies of Great Britain should be represented in the same manner and with the same completeness as Great Britain itself—be called into existence. Mr. Eaton supported his scheme on the ground of the mutual sympathies existing between the Mother Country and its Colonies. The latter had the same political institutions; and such a proposal as he suggested would do no violence to the previous habits of political thought of the Colonists, who had the same sympathy of race, the same peculiarities of character—differing in some degree by their changed conditions of life, but still bound to them by the tie of blood. An interesting and animated discussion followed the address.

ROCHESTER.—A preliminary meeting was on January 24 held in the Mayor's Parlour at the Guildhall for the purpose of forming a Branch of the League. A fuller report of the proceedings appears elsewhere.

**** Several interesting reports of Meetings have been unavoidably held over this month owing to the pressure on our space. It is important that all such reports should be forwarded to us as soon as possible after the Meetings take place.*

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

JANUARY 27—FEBRUARY 19, 1887.

WE propose month by month to present our readers with a summary of all references made in the Imperial Parliament to topics connected with the work of the League. By thus collecting from the mass of speeches the items which have a special bearing upon Federation, we hope to attract attention to matters which might otherwise be lost sight of among the voluminous reports of debates, and at the same time to provide a trustworthy record, to which reference will be easy, of the Parliamentary history of questions which it is our duty to bring before the public.

IMPORTANCE OF COLONIAL QUESTIONS.

Jan. 27th.—In the House of Lords, EARL GRANVILLE, speaking in the debate on the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech, said:—I have only a word to say on the Colonies, which are entirely omitted from the Speech, though there are Colonial matters of urgent importance. I should be glad to know what progress has been made with the questions concerning the Samoa Islands, the New Hebrides, and the claims of Germans and Portuguese in the centre of Africa. There are also the two old festering questions of a triangular character with the United States and with France as to the North American fisheries. I had hoped that before this we should have been informed of some advance which does not brook much delay. A Conference has been announced of an intercolonial character. There may be some doubt as to immediate practical results, but such communications under the presidency of men of judgment and tact like Mr. Stanhope and Sir Henry Holland cannot but be useful.

DEFENCE OF COALING STATIONS.

Jan. 27th.—In the House of Commons, LORD R. CHURCHILL, in his statement explaining his recent resignation, read a letter dated December 20th, 1886, from himself to Lord Salisbury in which the following words occurred:—The War Estimates might be very considerably reduced if the policy of expenditure on the fortifications and guns and

garrisons of military ports, mercantile ports, and coaling stations were abandoned or modified. But of this I see no chance, and under the circumstances I cannot continue to be responsible for the finances.

He also read the PRIME MINISTER's reply, dated December 22nd, wherein he said:—I have a letter from Smith telling me that he feels bound to adhere to the estimates which he showed you on Monday; and that he declines to postpone, as you had wished him to do, the expenditure which he thinks necessary for the fortification of coaling stations, military ports, and mercantile ports. In this unfortunate state of things I have no choice but to express my full concurrence with the views of Hamilton and Smith and my dissent from yours—though I say it both on personal and public grounds with very deep regret. The outlook on the Continent is very black. It is not too much to say that the chances are in favour of war at an early date; and when war has once broken out, we cannot be secure from the danger of being involved in it. The undefended state of many of our ports and coaling stations is notorious; and the necessity of protecting them has been urged by a strong Commission, and has been admitted on both sides in debate. To refuse to take measures for their protection would be to incur the gravest possible responsibility.

In the Debate on the Address, MR. W. H. SMITH said:—If we have entered upon an undertaking to fortify, it may be our coaling stations, to provide defences for our commercial ports, to make secure our military forts, we ought to carry it through with economy, and in such a way that the expenditure already incurred shall conduce to the security and safety of the nation. (Cheers.)

January 28th.—In the House of Lords, a debate arose on the question of military armaments, in which the defence of our coaling stations was referred to by LORD NORTHBROOK, the EARL of WEMYSS, and VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH as a matter of the highest importance.

GAMBIA MAILS.

Jan. 31st.—In the House of Commons, SIR H. HOLLAND, replying to Mr. McArthur, on the Gambia Mails contract, said:—The subsidy of £1,200 a year has been withdrawn. It was paid by Gambia in addition to the sea postage of 4d. per letter and a remission of port dues. No other West African Government pays a subsidy, and owing to the financial condition of the Colony my right hon. predecessor found it necessary, among other economies, to place the Gambia mail arrangements on the same footing as those of the other West African Colonies. No contract has been made with a French or any other company. (Hear, hear.) I may add that I received an offer from the British and African Steam Navigation Company to carry the mails temporarily at a reduced subsidy, which will receive my careful consideration; but, as at present advised, I doubt whether the Colony can afford to pay any subsidy. (Hear, hear.) Papers will be presented on the subject. (Hear, hear.)

NON-INTERVENTION IN FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS.

In the debate on the Address, LORD R. CHURCHILL said:—As to the coaling stations, all I have to say is that, if you can show me that the moneys will not be wasted, that the engineers know how to construct scientific fortifications, and that you will arm them when they are constructed (hear, hear) and maintain them in an efficient state, I shall have nothing to say against the policy; but I approach the question with the utmost apprehension and scepticism because of the previous experience of this country on the question, which certainly hon. gentlemen ought not to exclude from their consideration. It is a great question, well worthy of the consideration of the House, whether the policy of the defence of the British Empire may not follow upon the lines of foreign policy which we adopt towards other nations—not by any means a policy of cowardice, but a policy of the careful avoidance of all unnecessary entanglements. (Hear, hear.) Again, I would venture to repose the policy of the defence of the Empire, if it is to be followed up with courage and resolution, on the patriotism and loyalty of a free and contented people, animated not so much by the strength of their fortifications as by their undying historic memories. And, in the third place, I would prefer to repose the defence of the British Empire upon a careful, thrifty, and frugal husbanding in time of peace of those national resources, in order that in time of war they may be exuberantly displayed in all their irresistible might.

THE EVACUATION OF PORT HAMILTON.

Feb. 1st.—In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Bryce, SIR JAMES FERGUSON said:—Port Hamilton will shortly be evacuated by Her Majesty's forces. No arrangements have been made respecting its future custody, but it is understood that a Korean official will be present at the time of the departure of the British ships. No conditions have been made with the Korean Government, but Her Majesty's Government did not determine to retire from Port Hamilton till they had received a guarantee from the Chinese Government that no part of Corea, including Port Hamilton, will be occupied by any foreign Power. (Hear, hear.) Her Majesty's Government acted under naval advice when they decided to leave Port Hamilton.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL said he would offer no objection to Mr. Henniker Heaton's letters on Imperial Penny Postage, dated September 25th and November 3rd, 1886, and January 25th, 1887, being printed and laid on the table of the House for the information of members.

THE WORK AND STRENGTH OF THE NAVY.

In the debate on the Address, LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said that between 1876 and 1886 the amount of steam tonnage of the British Mercantile Marine which would have to be protected by the Navy had increased 100 per cent. That increase was very remarkable when compared with the development of the mercantile marine of foreign nations. I also, he added, made inquiries as to the expenditure of foreign nations on their navies during those ten years. The increases are very remarkable,

During that period the expenditure of the French has increased 39 per cent., that of Germany 43 per cent., Russia 45 per cent., and Italy 133 per cent. Austria remains very much the same. I think the House will admit that if the duties of the British Navy have been doubled during the past ten years, and if the expenditure of foreign nations on an average has been increased by something like 50 per cent., an increase of something like 15 per cent. in the expenditure on our navy is not an exorbitant demand on the British taxpayer. (Cheers.)

AUSTRALIAN MAIL CONTRACTS.

Feb. 3rd.—In the House of Commons, the POSTMASTER-GENERAL replying to Mr. Henniker Heaton, said:—Tenders for the Australian mail service were received on April 30 last, and were at once communicated to the Governments of the three Australian Colonies which propose to enter, jointly with Her Majesty's Government, into the contract for this service. The Colonial Governments have since suggested some modifications of the original tenders, and copies of the replies of the companies have this day been sent to the Colonial Agents-General in London for their information. The views of the representatives of the Colonies on the general question of Imperial postage will be elicited by the discussion of the subject at the coming Colonial Conference in the course of next month, and a statement of those views will, I understand, be transmitted to me. In the meantime I shall have to consider whether, with due respect to the Colonial Governments, it would be desirable to conclude any arrangement concerning these tenders before the Conference has fully discussed the general question, and until the results of this discussion have been communicated to me. (Hear, hear.)

EVACUATION OF PORT HAMILTON.

In answer to Captain J. C. R. Colomb, LORD G. HAMILTON said:—Sir William Dowell, the naval Commander-in-Chief, was directed by the Admiralty to occupy Port Hamilton in May, 1885. A change of Government took place, and shortly afterwards a report was received from Sir W. Dowell in which he pointed out that it was unsuitable for the purposes for which it had been temporarily occupied, and he advocated its abandonment. I was then at the Admiralty, and I found that both the naval members of the Board and Sir George Wiles, who had preceded Sir William Dowell as Commander-in-Chief in Chinese waters, were strongly of the same opinion. Admiral Hamilton, who succeeded Sir William Dowell in the autumn of 1885, was specially instructed to report upon the whole matter, and he has sent in a series of reports to the effect that the retention of the place is a waste of money in time of peace, and a source of weakness in time of war. These papers will be laid before Parliament. The main evil of occupation has been the laying down of a cable between Port Hamilton and Hongkong, and a certain sum has been spent in building huts for stores and Marines. The total direct expenditure has not yet been brought to account; I cannot, therefore, state the approximate amount. (Hear, hear.)

ST. LUCIA A NEW COALING STATION.

Feb. 7th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Sir W. Crossman, MR. STANHOPE said:—The harbour of Castries, in St. Lucia, is to be a naval coaling station; £70,000 has been voted by the Legislature of the island for the improvement of the harbour, and the place will be fortified as soon as Parliament votes the necessary funds. The troops will be moved from Barbados to St. Lucia.

STATE-DIRECTED COLONISATION.

In answer to Mr. Seton Karr, who asked whether Her Majesty's Government would use their influence to bring the subject of State-directed colonisation before the approaching Conference of Colonial representatives for discussion, SIR H. HOLLAND said:—The special questions that are proposed for discussion at the Conference have been stated in my predecessor's circular despatch of November 25th last, and unless this subject is one which, to use the words of the circular, "in the general opinion of the Colonial Governments might be properly and usefully brought under consideration," Her Majesty's Government would not think it desirable to depart from the conditions laid down in that despatch. The views of Her Majesty's Government upon this important subject were fully stated by Lord Salisbury on Friday last to the deputation of the State-directed Colonisation Association.

WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM BRITISH HONDURAS.

Feb. 10th.—In the House of Commons in reply to Sir R. Fowler, who asked whether it was true that the troops were being withdrawn from British Honduras, SIR H. HOLLAND said:—Instructions have been sent for the withdrawal of one company, and it is proposed that the other shall be withdrawn not later than March, 1888, or as soon as the armed constabulary force, which is being formed for the defence of the Colony as well as for police purposes, is completely organised.

DEFENCE OF THE COALING STATIONS.

Feb. 15th.—In the House of Commons SIR W. CROSSMAN asked what amounts had been voted by the Colonial Legislatures of Hong Kong, Singapore, Ceylon, and Mauritius for the defences of the coaling or naval stations in those Colonies; how much had been expended by the Imperial Government for the armament of the defences of those stations; how much would be required to complete those armaments; how much had been expended by the Imperial Government on the other coaling stations for Her Majesty's fleet abroad; and how much would be required to complete the defences of those other stations.

MR. E. STANHOPE said in reply: I hope the hon. member will understand that it is not desirable to give complete details as to the several stations, but I can say that the Legislatures of the Colonies named have voted £270,820 towards their defences. The Imperial Government for the armament of those defences has expended £183,530, and contemplates a further expenditure of £206,555. On other coaling stations the Imperial Government have spent £192,164, and expects to spend a further sum of £513,306.

MONEY SENT HOME FROM AUSTRALIA.

Feb. 17.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Henniker Heaton, MR. RAIKES said:—The value of the money orders issued on the United Kingdom in Australia in the year 1885—6, which is the last year in respect of which the returns are completed, was £346,645, as will be seen at page 52 of the last annual report of the Post Office; and the number of orders was about 100,000. The number of remitters could not be ascertained without an examination of each order, involving much labour and expense. The returns of the current year cannot be made up until the receipt of the accounts from Australia up to the 31st of March next.

A COMPREHENSIVE SCHEME FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Feb. 18.—In the House of Commons, during a debate upon DR. CLARK's amendment to the report on the Address, with reference to the affairs of Zululand, SIR HENRY HOLLAND said in the course of his speech,—"I have been asked—and I regret that I must disappoint the House in this particular—what is to be the policy of Her Majesty's Government with respect, not only to Zululand, but though the hon. member's amendment is confined to Zululand, to Bechuanaland and to Swaziland. I am free to admit that I think the time has arrived for a comprehensive scheme for the settlement of the question of South Africa. I feel that, unless some comprehensive scheme is settled, those dangers and difficulties which were pointed out by the hon. member opposite may be anticipated; but as regards Eastern Zululand the Government are not prepared, as at present advised, to entertain the proposal made that Eastern Zululand should be annexed to Natal. There is no evidence, in the first place, that the Zulus desire annexation to Natal, and I think there is a very considerable, a very grave doubt how far the Natal laws and administration would be suited to Eastern Zululand. The finances of Natal, moreover, are in a most unhappy state, and are quite unable to bear the cost of extending civil establishments to extended territory; and, therefore, as at present advised, it is not likely that Eastern Zululand will be annexed to Natal. Then comes the question as to the government of Eastern Zululand. I can assure hon. members that the subject is receiving very careful consideration at the hands of the Government. I think hon. members who have studied the question will agree that the limited control exercised over the Reserve would not be sufficient in Eastern Zululand. It is a question whether we can get sufficient powers in what is ordinarily recognised as a protectorate, or whether we should have to annex Zululand at once. It has been suggested that we might bring Eastern Zululand under the control of the Governor of Natal, much in the same way as Bechuanaland is under the control of the Governor of Cape Colony, so as to legislate by proclamation. I have mentioned those points in order to show that the matter is receiving careful consideration, but that the difficulties are very great. I will, of course, pay attention to the suggestion thrown out by the hon. member for Caithness, with the object of seeing whether some kind of satisfactory arrangement could be made by which the different rights of different countries would be settled once for all in South Africa."

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., has addressed the following letter to the Right Hon. H. Cecil Raikes, M.P., Her Majesty's Postmaster-General:—

SIR,—The Imperial Conference which will assemble during the present year in London to discuss, among other subjects of Imperial interest, the question of cheapening the postal and telegraphic service of the Empire, is to me a subject of deep gratification. Knowing as I do how desirous you, sir, are to promote large measures of postal reform, I feel also that this movement on the part of Her Majesty's Government is one upon which, as Postmaster-General, you should be sincerely congratulated. It marks a substantial advance upon the position which had been reached when last I took occasion to address you. Public opinion approves the course of action resolved on by Her Majesty's Government as not only likely to promote the cheapening of Imperial postage, but to further the still larger object of Imperial consolidation. If, however, the Conference should do no more than accomplish the great work of extending the blessings of the penny post to the whole British Empire, it assuredly will not have met in vain.

2. But it will be useless for the Conference to discuss this question while the facts are so imperfectly ascertained. There is no reason why it should not consider the matter in the full light of ample knowledge, why it should not have at the very beginning a perfect view of the situation; but for that purpose we must have without delay the inquiry I have so often demanded. This, I submit, is essential. The Conference will have neither the time nor the power to make the necessary investigation; and even if it had, such an employment of its energies would be a derogation of its important functions, a waste of the opportunity which its assembly offers for an immediate and final settlement, and a cause of further, possibly disastrous, delay. The Conference should meet to consider the facts, not to find out what they are; and as there is no time to be lost I beg again to press upon you the necessity of a preliminary inquiry, if the meeting of the Conference is to result in the smallest practical good.

3. The complexity of the existing arrangements, and the want of precise and authentic information, are admitted even by yourself. For my part, I have done my best to evolve order out of chaos and to supply the want. I have devoted the past few weeks of the Parliamentary recess to visiting a number of the Continental capitals—Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Madrid, and Rome—and making inquiries there. I have obtained full and accurate information on postal matters from the United States, and I am, of course, familiar with the systems in operation in the great Australian Colonies. The information I gained at the International Cable Conference, as the representative of one of the Australian Governments, has also thrown much light upon the

question. The results, so far as they are new, I shall lay before you. I may add that, as I understand that I shall be invited to represent one of the Colonies at the Conference, I myself, despite the efforts I am making, shall approach the consideration of the subject with much hesitation, unless an official preliminary inquiry places our present position clearly before the members.

4. Perhaps it may be useful if I give you an illustration of the difficulty of obtaining information. Five weeks ago I applied to your Department for particulars under the following heads:—

- (a) The number of letters forwarded to Australia per annum, or for one month or week.
- (b) The number of letters received from Australia per annum, or for one month or week.
- (c) Approximate amount of postage received by Great Britain for Australian mails per annum.
- (d) The routes by which mails are now received and despatched from and to Australia and New Zealand.
- (e) The sum per lb. now paid by the British Post Office for the carriage of letters and newspapers to America, by each route employed.
- (f) The total sum paid last year for the American mails.
- (g) The quantity of mail matter carried in the American mails each year.
- (h) The approximate amount received by Great Britain as postage on the same.
- (i) The estimated loss to Great Britain on the Australian mail service.
- (j) The number of letters received from and despatched to Australia, and the total cost of conveying the same in the year 1875-6.
- (k) The number of mails despatched to Australia in 1875.
- (l) Similar information in regard to India.

This information has, however, not been forthcoming, and I am obliged to do the best I can without it.

5. What is the present state of postal arrangements between Great Britain and the Australian Colonies? We have a large number—not less than eight or nine—great lines, with powerful and magnificent steamships sailing at regular intervals between British and Australian ports, and performing the service with extraordinary speed and punctuality. All these steamers sail on fixed dates according to published time tables, and make the voyage with the utmost degree of reliability. We have the Peninsular and Oriental Line, *via* Colombo; the Orient Line, *via* Suez; the Union Line, carrying mails to San Francisco for England; the Shaw, Savill, and Albion Line, direct to New Zealand; the New Zealand Shipping Company's direct Line, under contract with the New Zealand Government; the British India Line, *via* Singapore and Torres Strait, carrying the Queensland mails; the Messageries Maritimes, from Marseilles; and the North German Lloyd, from Southampton. Those are the established, regular, and fast means of communication with the Australian Colonies.

6. Next we must ascertain the extent to which they are utilised for the conveyance of mails. The last returns, which are about a year old, show the following payments out of the various Colonial Exchequers:—

	Per annum.
To the Orient Company	£62,000
To the Peninsular and Oriental Company	85,000
To the Union Company (San Francisco route)	50,000
To the British India Company (Queensland mails)	55,000
Total	£252,000

As to the other lines there is no information, and of course we have nothing to do with the subsidies which the Messageries Maritimes or the North German Lloyd receive from their respective Governments. But it should be pointed out that the payments made by the Colonies in excess of ordinary freight for the carriage of mails are made as much for the promotion of commerce and emigration as for the maintenance of postal communication.

7. Now, as to the volume of the postal business between Great Britain and the Colonies. The following table, compiled by me from the reports of the various Colonial Postmasters-General, shows the number of letters, books, and newspapers received in the Colonies from the United Kingdom and despatched from the Colonies to the United Kingdom in 1885. With regard to Tasmania, only the number of letters despatched is given:—

1885.	Received.			Despatched.		
	Letters.	Books.	Newspapers.	Letters.	Books.	Newspapers.
New Zealand ..	751,511	420,500	1,561,000	641,000	73,000	612,000
New South Wales ..	1,082,335	142,247	982,763	793,000	92,900	703,300
Victoria ..	801,226	237,873	1,475,067	617,977	76,148	890,128
South Australia ..	400,000	—	737,000	300,000	38,000	445,000
Queensland ..	436,238	77,653	736,693	345,671	18,273	259,256
West Australia ..	40,111	12,800	73,800	30,898	3,837	44,500
Tasmania ..	—	—	—	78,849	—	—
	3,512,442	903,163	5,570,123	2,807,097	304,128	2,945,182

Reckoning the letters at 6d. and the books and newspapers at 1d. each, this amount of business shows a gross revenue of over £202,000 a year. It is important to bear this sum in mind. It is also important to note that the mails from England to Australia are considerably heavier than those coming from Australia. In other words, the number of letters, books, packets, and newspapers sent from England to Australia is very much larger than the number sent from Australia to England.

8. Is this revenue of over £200,000 a year sufficient of itself to maintain a first-class postal service? The only data we have for the calculation consist of the tenders lately sent in by the Orient Company and the statements reported to have been made in the course of an interview by

Mr. Youll, the astute and trusted agent of the Orient Company in Australia. From these we learn that the Orient Line will perform a fortnightly service at £3,500 per round voyage—*i.e.*, to Australia and back. Let us take a weekly service at that price (in point of fact, the price would probably be lower). Fifty-two voyages at £3,500 would come to £182,000, or £18,000 less than the total amount now annually paid by the public on postages between the United Kingdom and Australia. This seems to show (1) that the postal revenue is already sufficient to maintain all the communications necessary for postal services; (2) that the present Australian service ought to involve no loss; (3) that judging from the increase of postal revenue in the United Kingdom since the introduction of a penny post, there would be an ample increase of correspondence to make up for any probable deficiency caused by the institution of an Imperial penny post. I believe that, even under the present sixpenny rate, the amount of Australian postages has doubled since 1853, the date of the last reduction; certainly I know that in the case of Tasmania, the smallest and least-favoured Colony, it has more than doubled since 1871. The replies to the questions I have put to your Department (when I get them) will show that, although there has been an unprecedentedly rapid growth of population in Australia, the growth of correspondence has outrun it; in other words, that even in the face of the high charges the number of letters per head of the population has increased. Yet the Australian population is six times larger than it was in 1853. Possibly the correspondence will be found to have multiplied tenfold.

9. I am aware that the £200,000 of annual revenue is divided between England and Australia, that England takes the lion's share, and that even if it were consolidated it would not suffice to maintain the numerous fine lines now working between the two countries. I am aware, too, of the desirability, for the encouragement of trade and for political reasons, of maintaining all those lines in the fullest degree of efficiency. If, for these purposes, Great Britain or the Colonies should see fit to subsidise them, let it be done, but do not saddle the Post Office with the burden. My contention is that the postal revenue is sufficient to buy what the Post Office wants, and if I am wrong, that will have to be proved by other facts than those at present accessible. Sir, there can be no doubt that the great object in maintaining these lines is the encouragement of trade. I have evidence of this in the case of the Atlantic mails. The real grievance of the Liverpool merchants at the recent changes is not that some of the mails are shipped and disembarked at Southampton, for the Liverpool merchant's correspondence with America is so far conducted by telegraph that every morning he finds all his essential information as to prices, the state of the markets, &c., in a cable message on his desk. The real grievance is the loss of trade following the withdrawal of the mails and the reduction of shipping facilities, and the sooner that fact is honestly acknowledged the better.

10. Another word as to the question of cost. In a previous letter I showed that the present cost of conveying letters to Australia, at 6d. each, almost amounts to £2,000 a ton. I showed also that the cost ought not to exceed a farthing per letter. The rate of freight by a first-class steamer for ordinary goods is about £2 per ton. There has been a good deal of adverse criticism on the supposition that I had proposed to carry letters at the same rate as ordinary merchandise. I have made no such proposal. What I say is that we will engage to pay £100 for letters as against £2 for ordinary goods. This magnificent rate should on the one hand satisfy the shipowners, and on the other hand enable the postal authorities at once to establish an Imperial penny post without even the risk of loss. It would enable you to have conveyed for £100, between England and Australia, letters upon which, at a penny apiece, the postage would amount to £300. Although half an ounce is permitted as the *maximum* weight of a letter going for a penny, I am informed that in practice three letters go to the ounce; and upon this basis the calculation comes out at a much higher rate than what I have stated. There are 35,840 ounces or 71,680 half-ounces to the ton. At a penny per letter of half an ounce the postage of a ton of letters amounts to £298 18s., so that there is a profit of almost £200 a ton. At three letters to the ounce we have, at one penny per letter, receipts of £448 per ton, as against £100 per ton expenditure. Will any one assert after this that the withdrawal of the present subsidies would cause the whole system to collapse?

11. With regard to my proposal that, for the simplification of the accounts, each country should keep its own postages and perform whatever share of the work might fall to it, let me point out that such an arrangement would be greatly in favour of England. Not only is the volume of outward greater than that of the inward correspondence, but the work of collection and distribution is far easier in England than on the Australian continent, with its vast distances and difficult communications.

12. I have heard it said, moreover, that a penny post between England and Australia is an absurdity, seeing that a uniform penny post does not yet exist in Australia itself. But Australia is as big as Europe; and even in Europe, with all its network of railways, its ancient civilisation, and its thorough postal organisation, there is as yet no uniform penny post. And, moreover, it is easier to send a mail-bag from Plymouth to Adelaide than from London to St. Petersburg, to say nothing of from Adelaide to the interior of Australia. There is, however, a penny post in the great Australasian cities of Sydney, Adelaide, Hobart, &c., and we can send a letter from Sydney, New South Wales, to any part of New Zealand, from 1,000 to 1,500 miles distant, for 2d., although these colonies are foreign all but in name—that is, so far as Government independence of one another and taxation go; whereas from London to Paris, under 300 miles, the charge is 2½d.

13. My advocacy of "slow" ocean post has been much misunderstood and misrepresented. What I meant was a service entirely by sea, avoiding the costly trans-continental section of the journey. As for such a service being a "slow" one, let me mention that the Orient steamer *Oriana*, which left Adelaide on the 13th December last, carrying the Adelaide evening papers of that date, arrived at Plymouth, after having

lost a day in the Suez Canal, and perhaps another at Naples, on Sunday, the 16th inst. Her contract time for delivering her mails in London did not expire till the following Tuesday morning, so that the ocean post, with the magnificent steamers now at our command, would positively be quicker than the present expensive overland post *via* Naples or Brindisi. And the record of the *Orizaba* is now, I believe, to be beaten by the *Ormus*. Upon this point I revert to what occurred when the principle of a service entirely by sea was accepted by Lord Stanley of Alderley, as Postmaster-General, and Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer:—"A service which met the convenience of those who require cheapness rather than speed," and "a mode of conveyance involving little expense." But, sir, we can now have such a service at an unprecedented cheapness, combined with a speed which was attainable at that time, whatever price might have been paid.

14. In connection with the transcontinental service, let me point out to those who object to our making use of the vessels subsidised by foreign Governments that for years past we have been paying the French and Italian Governments £85,000 a year for conveying our mails across their territory on the way to India and Australia. This fact disposes of the scare that by the employment of foreign vessels we should jeopardise our mails in war-time. Are they not equally jeopardised now? I am, however, no advocate of the employment of foreign vessels. I say the work can be done just as efficiently and cheaply by our own. In passing, let me express the hope that we shall shortly have the announcement of a reduction in the Indian postage proportionate to the saving of £107,000 a year which you, sir, have just made upon that service. The charge from France or Germany to India has long been 2½d.; we, however, are still charged 5d., despite the recent saving in the cost to the Post Office. Only last week, being in France, I saved 5s. on my letters to India and 4s. on my postages to the British Colony of Mauritius, as compared with what I should have had to pay in England. No doubt, also, we shall have some advantage from the reduction of the charge for the conveyance of mails to America from 3s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. per pound. It may not have struck you that this reduction is sufficient to enable you to establish at once a penny post to America without one farthing loss of revenue. Much has been said of confederating the English-speaking races of the world, and an opportunity here offers of taking a great step towards the union of millions of English-speaking people in one of the most powerful bonds.

15. It is the duty of England to take the lead. This fact needs nothing to support it beyond the excess of postage out of England over postage into England. But the Colonies will not fail to reciprocate. The effect of my previous letters to you has been to win the support of the chief newspapers—those of the largest circulation and the greatest influence—in South Australia, New South Wales, and New Zealand. Even in the other Colonies there is merely a doubt as to the financial bearings of the question and a pardonable fear of foreign ships. I am bound to express my regret that there is not a combination of the Australian Colonies, so that we might have a federal service, instead of one which is divided between half a dozen lines. But this arises from the divided state of Australian matters generally. Australia, with a population of three and a half millions spread over seven Colonies, has half a dozen Agents-General in London, all drawing princely salaries, and all men of great ability, so that with a waste of money and power there is associated rivalry and disunion. The very superabundance of brains and salaries produces evil results which a scarcity of those commodities would avert. The affairs of Canada, with five millions of population, are much better managed by a single Agent-General. The only use of the present divisions in Australia, so far as I can see, is to provide knighthoods and other decorations for a number of worthy gentlemen whose chances of such distinction would otherwise be somewhat slender. But, still, the loss of this advantage would, I submit, be counterbalanced by the numerous gains from the unification of authority. The circumstances, no doubt, demand the exercise of the highest qualities of statesmanship—qualities, however, in which those who are responsible for our Imperial postal policy will, I hope, never be deficient.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant, J. HENNIKER HEATON.

36, Eaton Square, London, January 23.

LITERATURE.

The Unit of Imperial Federation. By H. Mortimer-Franklyn. Swan Sonnenschein, Lowry, & Co.

It is well to explain at once that what Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn means by the unit of Imperial Federation is the Imperial Institute as originally projected by the Prince of Wales. "The Imperial Institute, or Imperial Council of the British Empire, as it must ultimately develop into, presents to those minds who can gauge its latent power all the machinery necessary to a solution of the Federal problem." That is the text on which Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn bases his dreams of the future; and he himself possessing one of those minds which can gauge the latent power of what was, when his book was written, the merest skeleton of a scheme, proceeds to show how at the Institute a board will sit, looking after the common interests of the Empire, while side by side with it, the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Colonial Legislatures, and the Cabinet will pursue their customary routine of work unimpeded and unchanged. We confess we are unable to follow the steps by which Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn arrives in safety at this most desirable conclusion, and the reason for this is that he has, as it seems to us, in his eagerness to picture the happiness which attends the attainment of his ideal, overlooked the difficulties that lie in the way, and reached the end at a bound which looks delightfully easy on paper, but which is impossible in a world of fact. It is true that the various opponents of Imperial Federation, including Professor Freeman, Lord Norton, and Lord Thring, are boldly attacked, and their positions one by one assailed, but destructive criticism is not constructive politics, and it is in this latter important feature that Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn's book is deficient.

No cause can hope for success if its supporters are not actuated by genuine enthusiasm, and in these days, when the large majority are critics, it is both refreshing and encouraging to find such a genuine enthusiast as Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn's pages declare him to be. But at the same time, if enthusiasm is to be of much practical good, it must be tempered with a large admixture of discretion. Imperial Federation is a great and grand object to be aimed at, but, as with all great ends, there are many obstacles to be surmounted before it can be reached, and each one of them must be bravely faced and overcome by thought and patience. It is of no use blinking them and hurrying on to the goal as if they were not there. And this, in a great degree, is Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn's attitude. He is conscious of the difficulties, but he is too ready to gloss them over or to pass on assuming that they have been removed. There are many people who would wish to see a Federal Council of all Australasia, regarding it as a hopeful promise of a greater Federation. Attempts to establish such a Council have been made, but not as yet with the best success, for the difficulties are necessarily great. Now, with these difficulties, Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn is fully acquainted. He has had personal experience of them and declares them to be gigantic, adding that, in order to understand them, we must study them on the spot. What, then, is his conclusion? That Australian Federation is so enormously difficult of accomplishment that it is "absolutely impossible" for it to precede Imperial Federation. We may readily believe what we are here told about the difficulties of Australian Federation, but what should be shown is why Imperial Federation is so much easier, and this Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn fails to do.

What may be called the non-visionary part of the book—that which deals with the past rather than the future—is much more satisfactory. The chapters dealing with the history of the Federal Council, the plans for Colonial defence, and other matters of fact are clearly stated, and their perusal may be safely recommended to those who have not yet made acquaintance with the course of certain events in Australian politics which have a very distinct bearing on the question of Imperial Federation. But one remark we must make in conclusion. Though we were ignorant of the fact before reading his book, Mr. Mortimer-Franklyn has, like most other people, decided views on English politics. Here and there his strong party bias is very evident, and it is a pity that it should be so. The advocates of Imperial Federation, considered as such, are of no one party in the State. The question is an Imperial question, and it hardly needs to be pointed out that its position is of infinitely greater strength while it remains outside the sphere of party politics, which have really nothing to do with it. So far Imperial Federationists have not been partisans, and it is most earnestly to be hoped the cause may not be injured by the importation of what in such a matter is but local feeling.

The British Colonial Pocket Atlas. By J. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S. Price 2s. 6d. John Walker & Co.

This little volume is dedicated by special permission to Lord Rosebery. It contains fifty-four maps and charts, all of which deal with some portion of the British Empire. Its handy size makes it much more available for reference than the bulky volumes we are accustomed to think of under the term atlas. It can even be carried in the pockets while the cover and general appearance are such as to make it an ornament to any drawing-room table or bookcase. We hope that members of the League will provide themselves with a book that will usefully serve to remind all who see it of the ubiquity and varying characteristic of the Queen's dominions.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT'S MANCHESTER LETTER.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—In reply to the protest of "Defence, not Defiance," permit me to say that it is the custom of the Manchester Statistical Society to invite to their meetings any gentlemen who have an interest in the subject which is to be brought forward, irrespective of their disposition towards it. In fact, we always strive to secure hostile critics as well as friends, so that the subject may be well threshed out. In inviting Mr. Bright, I stated that if he could not attend I should be glad to read at the meeting any letter he might choose to send. He accordingly sent me a letter; but, very discourteously, as I think, by the same post, he himself sent a copy of the letter to the press, without even informing me that he had done so. It did not comport with my idea of dignity to take the slightest advantage of an opponent, and having asked for his letter, to be read at our meeting, I read it, expressing my regret at the manner in which he had treated me.

As a member of the League, I cannot regard the circumstance as disadvantageous. It has aroused inquiry as to the League, whose existence and objects have been hardly known here. The fallacies which are so plentiful in the letter have been readily perceived by thoughtful readers, and I have had pleasure in receiving many assurances of sympathy with our objects by men who before have given no attention to the question. It is being discussed in private circles, much, I am sure, to our advantage, and, I hope, may result in the establishment of a strong branch here.

I would be the last to unnecessarily provoke our enemies, but we must be prepared to deal with all their arguments, and it was a matter of satisfaction to me to find that Mr. Bright could make such a very weak case against us. I believe his letter will be in every way a help to us.—Yours, &c., THOS. B. MOXON.

Imperial Federation.

APRIL 1, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WE publish to-day the Second Annual Report of the work of the Imperial Federation League, presented to the Annual General Meeting on March 31st. We are, unfortunately, compelled to go to press before the meeting takes place, but a full account of the proceedings will be given in our next issue, which will also contain a report of the speeches at the great Banquet on April 2nd to the Representatives at the Imperial Conference.

WE understand that the Government have finally refused to subsidise the new line of steamers from Vancouver to China and Japan, in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. So recently as March 12th; the usually well-informed *New York Commercial Chronicle* gave publicity to a detailed statement, emanating from Montreal, in which the exact contrary was affirmed, and the *Parthia*, *Batavia*, and *Abyssinia* named as the vessels to be employed on the new service, with a subsidy of £10,000 per annum from the British Government!

THE Humane Society of Australasia has persuaded MR. GILLIES, Premier of Victoria, to instruct the Victorian delegates at the Conference, with a view to raising the question of life-saving apparatus on board ships. The Society asks that the necessity of uniform legislation in England and the Colonies should be pointed out, and supports its petition by stating that the Colonies are themselves prepared to act in unison in the matter, and that promises of assistance have also been received from the Home Government. We wish every success to the movement. It will forge another link in the chain of Federation, and achieve a really useful and practical measure of reform.

THERE seem to be reasonable grounds for the refusal of the Imperial Government to sanction the Newfoundland "Bait Bill" this season. The Bill prohibits the sale of bait to the French, who are largely engaged in fishing operations on the Banks, and have for many years been permitted to purchase bait in Newfoundland. It would be dishonourable to spring a mine upon them without due notice, and abrogate an old established privilege at a moment when preparations have been completed and great expense incurred for carrying on the fisheries as usual. We are convinced that this view of the case will commend itself to the people of Newfoundland. They justly pride themselves on their loyalty to the Crown, and they must also prove loyal to those traditions of honourable dealing with foreign powers which are recognised characteristics of English policy.

ANOTHER year, after due notice that the privilege of buying bait will be terminated on a certain date, we feel sure that the passage of a similar Act will not be interfered with unless the reasons for so doing are overwhelming. How vitally any injury to the fishing interest affects the welfare of Newfoundland is apparent from the fact that out of the total exports of nearly a million sterling in 1885, about £750,000, or three-fourths of the whole, consists of the produce of the Fisheries.

MR. HENRY LYMAN, a well-known supporter of the League in Canada, has written in the *Montreal Gazette* an

incisive reply to MR. BRIGHT's recent assault upon Federation. He grapples boldly with the insinuation that Federation is the outcome of a "jingo" spirit, and vigorously maintains that it means, on the contrary, "peace within and without." We cannot resist quoting the concluding sentence of MR. LYMAN's excellent letter:—"The march of improvement will and must go forward; to stand still is to drift backward. The one leads to progress and consolidation, the other to decay and disintegration, and there is no middle course; and if MR. BRIGHT were the true patriot he supposes himself to be, instead of the pessimist whose views will doubtless find most approval at Paris and Washington, he would march under the banner of the Imperial Federation League to an assured success."

A SERIES of interesting letters has recently appeared in the Halifax (Nova Scotia) *Morning Herald*, entitled "The Imperial Federation Idea." The writer, who signs himself "Lector," discusses at considerable length the possibility of annexation to the United States and of complete independence. After carefully weighing the arguments, he comes to the conclusion that neither of these courses would be to the advantage of Canada, and then he turns to the proposals for an Imperial Federation as presenting the true solution of the problem. Our readers may congratulate themselves on so tangible a proof of the good produced by the establishment of a Branch of the League. "Lector" expressly states that this is what induced him to take up his pen, and he has wielded it most effectively. The thanks of the League are also due to the *Morning Herald*, which gave our principles such admirable prominence in its issues from January 7th to January 15th of the present year.

TIMES are changed indeed, when we find the ancient University of Cambridge quoting the example of the University of Sydney as a worthy precedent. There was a great meeting in the Senate House at Cambridge the other day to discuss matters connected with University extension, when the affiliation of local centres formed one of the main subjects for consideration. The question was introduced by DR. WESTCOTT, Regius Professor of Divinity, who defined affiliation as being "the act of the University by which it was prepared to recognise any student who had passed through a course of study in accordance with its spirit, without any distinction of class or place, as having a vital connection with the University." This act is a very practical step towards Federation of the teaching forces of the Empire, and we commend it to the attention of all friends of education. — *Placetne vobis, domini doctores, placetne vobis, magistri?*

DR. WESTCOTT proceeded to remark upon the rapidity with which this idea of Federal education had grown of late. Ten years ago, he said, the University would not have been in a position to justify such a step, but now the principle had found acceptance everywhere, and had been recognised by the University of Sydney, as well as by older institutions in this country. The fact, he thought, marked an epoch in the history of higher education. We could carry the argument a step further, and say that in the promotion of a fellow-feeling among the Universities of the Empire, and their resolve to work upon the same lines for the common good, we may discover a potent influence, which will help to accomplish Federation in other departments of life by so conspicuous an example of its success.

AT a recent meeting of the Melbourne Central Board of Health it was resolved to take steps for establishing a

Federal system of quarantine which should include all the Australian Colonies. This seems a judicious and necessary measure, and apart from the sanitary question, it will give another lesson in the art of acting together, preliminary to the adoption of a large scheme of Federation.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON'S Memorandum explanatory of the Navy Estimates contains the welcome intelligence that a dock at Esquimalt capable of taking in and repairing men-of-war of large dimensions will be open and ready for use this year. At Hong-Kong the final instalment in aid of a similar dock will be paid this year; and at Halifax, Nova Scotia, arrangements have been made by which it is hoped that accommodation of equal extent will shortly be provided. Almost more important than the actual results announced is the recognition by the Admiralty of the principle of making grants in aid of docks in Colonial territory. At present our men-of-war on the various stations have often to go many thousand miles for repairs, and their capacity for active service is seriously interfered with thereby. For instance, a disabled cruiser off Vancouver Island would, until the Esquimalt dock is completed, have to make her way to Bermuda or Hong-Kong for repairs in war-time.

THE fate of an Imperial Federation Bill in the Balham Parliament, a large and well-attended debating Society, shows in miniature the dangers that would beset the premature production of any cut-and-dried scheme. Member after member got up and declared their general adhesion to the principle of Federation, but objected to the provisions of the particular Bill before them. So strongly was the House influenced by this feeling that an appeal was made for the withdrawal of the Bill, on the ground, that a resolution might be substituted which would be unanimously carried. But the promoters of the Bill persisted in taking a division, and were consequently defeated. It would be unwise to ignore the importance of debates in these local Parliaments; at Balham, for instance, nearly 100 members took part in the division. Men who think it worth while to give up an evening every week to serious political discussion are not likely to be without influence in their constituency when a General Election comes round. We welcome them as adherents of the principles of the League, and we can assure them that no proposal will ever emanate from this office until the arguments in its favour are irresistibly strong, and thoroughly appreciated by public opinion in the Colonies as well as at home.

HONOUR to MR. ARTHUR HAMILTON, the first man in the Canadian Militia who has been decorated with the Victoria Cross! Although only twenty-four years old, he has already seen ten years' active service, since he joined the 9th Lancers as a trumpeter in 1876. The deed for which the V.C. was awarded him is thus narrated by the *Canadian Military Gazette* :—

In one of the conflicts in front of Candahar, Lieut. Patterson, of the 9th Lancers, fell off his horse badly wounded. Hamilton, among others, saw the officer fall; but the trumpeter was the only one that went to his assistance. When the rescuer got near enough, he dismounted and assisted the wounded officer to mount. As soon as the officer was safely seated, the animal started at full speed for the British camp. This left Hamilton alone, and on foot. When the Afghans observed him, several hundreds rushed down upon the trumpeter. Taking to his heels, he soon got ahead of the main body; but the advance guard was nearing him. Suddenly wheeling round, he faced his opponents, sent one to his long home, seized one of their horses, mounted and rode to the woods, where he remained three days, when he joined reinforcements on their way to Cabul.

In the Royal School of Artillery at Kingston, which he has now joined, he will doubtless inspire his comrades with the

same spirit of dashing bravery that won for him the coveted decoration for valour in the face of the enemy.

MORE than fifteen years ago MR. MACFIE, then M.P. for the Leith Burghs, anticipated the Conference which is now on the point of assembling. At a meeting of his constituents on December 11th, 1871, MR. MACFIE used these words:—"I hope the time is near when Her Majesty's Government will invite deputations to come from all the Colonies, in order to concoct together some federal system which will knit the Empire together so closely that we shall be enabled to bring its whole power to bear for its defence, the maintenance of its rights, and the vindication of its honour." This hope is now about to be realised. Let the electors of Leith, who then applauded the sentiments of their member, look to it that every effort is made by the Government of to-day to secure the fullest advantages from an opportunity so long awaited.

A MEETING of Members of Parliament interested in Colonisation was held on March 11th in the Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons. There was a large attendance from both sides of the House. Two influential sub-committees were appointed; one to be called the Financial Committee, for the purpose of examining any schemes of State-aided or State-directed Colonisation which may be brought under its notice, or of preparing a carefully elaborated scheme of its own. The other, to be called the General Information Committee, will collect statistics and information on the subject from official and private sources, and report the result of their inquiries to the General Committee. MR. H. SETON KARR, M.P., and MR. H. W. LAWSON, M.P., were appointed secretaries to the committee.

AN instance of the readiness with which the Colonies are accustomed to turn to the Mother Country for assistance in cases of difficulty appears in connection with the public accounts of Victoria. It seems that improvement is possible in the method of presenting these accounts with a view to their being made more intelligible to the general public. MR. EDWARD LANGTON has, therefore, been appointed by the Premier of Victoria to inquire into the working of the audit office at home, and the methods adopted in dealing with finance by the Committee of the House of Commons, as a preliminary to the introduction of measures in the Victorian Parliament. If the English system is adopted by the Colony, an administrative reform will have been effected, tending largely to that uniformity which we are always urging. But the fact of having access to the best managed public offices in the world is in itself a valuable privilege which the Colonies enjoy by virtue of their inclusion in the British Empire.

THE magazines last month were full of Imperial Federation in one form or another. We have elsewhere referred to SIR R. STOUT's article in the *Nineteenth Century*, and there was a paper on "Home Rule and Imperial Unity," by LORD THRING. *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Fortnightly Review* both discussed various phases of the Imperial Institute. The article in the former was from the pen of MR. E. F. G. LAW, while MR. KENRIC MURRAY supplied an interesting article in the latter. His idea that all the great societies of the Empire should be induced to co-operate with the Institute is a bold attempt at Federation indeed. He names fifty groups of societies whose forces he desires to see joined to those of the Institute, and refers to a similar scheme propounded by the PRINCE CONSORT

in 1851. Of course MR. MURRAY is, like every one else, strongly opposed to the South Kensington site.

THE Graduates' Society of McGill University, Montreal, offers a prize of fifty dollars for the best poem on the Queen's Jubilee, to be read at the Annual University Dinner on April 30th. The competition is open to any British subject residing in Canada or elsewhere. All poems must reach the Secretary of the Graduates' Society, 8, University Street, Montreal, before April 15th, so there will be time for our readers in this country to enter for the competition if they bestir themselves. The MS. must bear no means of identification except a motto, which must also appear on the outside of a sealed envelope containing the writer's name and address.

In an article dealing with the question of Colonial Defence, the *Cape Times*, the leading South African journal, thus anticipates the line which the delegates from the Colony will adopt at the Conference:—"The Cape Colony, unhappily, is not able to offer its contribution to an Imperial Defence Fund, or to undertake to pay for its own defence, as the prosperous Australian Colonies are able to do. This would seem, by the fortifications which are about to be built, to be understood by the Imperial Government. As far as the Cape Peninsula is concerned, we think we could promise, if our towns and our shipping were protected, that our Colonial riflemen, burghers, and volunteers would be able to cope with any force landed out of the range of the cannon of the forts. But, anyhow, the Cape proposals on the subject of Imperial Defence cannot but appear insignificant when compared with those which come from Canada and Australia. Of course, our delegates will plead, as extenuating circumstances on our behalf, that the other Colonies have not so troublesome a Native Question as we have. We may be sure, however, that there will be no lack of assurances of South African loyalty to the British flag, and that may have somewhat of a comforting effect on Downing Street, which has been sorely perplexed over South African affairs. It is instructive to note what other British Colonies propose doing towards the defence of Greater Britain."

WE are glad to see that the Dudley Unity Branch have availed themselves of the suggested Code of Rules for Branches recently issued from this office. We have received a very neat little copy, in handy pocket form, which we shall be happy to show to any one who may contemplate drawing up a similar code for other Branches. The importance of ordering all Branches upon the same general principle is only equalled by the necessity of allowing free scope for variety of local conditions in all matters of detail.

SIR SAMUEL DAVENPORT is spoken of in his own land as a man "whom all classes of South Australians delight to honour." He has been a pioneer settler, and has been identified with every enterprise for the good of the Colony, for many years. "If Australia were searched from one end to the other," such is the high praise awarded to him, "it would be impossible to find a more patriotic and useful Colonist than SIR SAMUEL DAVENPORT." Let us now listen to his opinion upon the prospect of the League's principles being accepted by this country. Speaking at Adelaide concerning the spirit of cordial welcome home in which the Colonists were received by "all classes in all grades of society and in all directions" last summer, he says, "The same spirit survives, and is probably destined to introduce and solidify the binding materials of an ultimate Imperial Federation."

THE COLONIAL OFFICE AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

A REPORT has been spread abroad that the Government are attempting to minimise the scope and usefulness of the Imperial Conference. It is said that the Colonial Office is trying to throw cold water upon the affair, and wishes to reduce it to the narrow dimensions of a purely departmental inquiry. It has been further remarked that the Colonial Office intends to confine English representation at the Conference to the charmed circle of its own officials, and that instead of confronting the Colonial Ministers of State with leading members of the Home Government, it considers the presence of the Colonial Office staff sufficient for the occasion. Even the Secretary of State for the Colonies himself has admitted that he may not always be able to attend, as if this were not the first and foremost duty attaching to his position; while no announcement has been made of Mr. Stanhope's appointment as a member of a Conference for the existence of which he is mainly responsible. It is also an open secret that the Colonial Office has left no stone unturned in the endeavour to procure the substitution of the word "Colonial" for "Imperial" when the Conference is referred to by the Press.

We are not in the least afraid that these petty manoeuvres can seriously affect the result of the Conference; the flood-gates once opened cannot be closed, though every official in the Colonial Office were bent on stemming the tide of Imperial sentiment. The able and experienced statesmen who have obeyed the Queen's summons have the matter in their own hands. Mr. Stanhope's despatch has defined the scope of the Conference so plainly, that they can insist upon the programme being accurately followed. First, they will discuss Imperial Defence; secondly, Imperial Postal and Telegraphic Communications; and then "other important questions, which in the general opinion of the Colonial Governments may be usefully considered." This is their charta. The invitation is too distinct to be withdrawn, and too comprehensive to be whittled away by arbitrary limitations. We have no fear, therefore, that the eminent representatives of the Colonies will submit to see important questions shelved to suit official convenience, or leave the Conference until they have fully discussed every subject entrusted to them by their respective Governments.

It is rather in the interests of the Colonial Office itself that we entreat it to invest this Conference with the dignity and importance which in the eyes of the public it has already assumed. To take the mere question of title, even supposing that "Colonial" was a technically correct definition, which it is not, would it not be judicious to adopt a style which has been universally used by every speaker and writer in the Colonies, and by almost every one at home, since the publication of Mr. Stanhope's despatch? To run counter to popular feeling is never a wise course for a public office, for in the end the people are masters, and will have things their own way. That the whole Empire are united in expecting much from the Conference, and regarding it as the commencement of a new era in Imperial policy, must be apparent to those who like ourselves have constantly to study the current of public opinion at home and in the Colonies. If the Colonial Office rises to the occasion, shakes off traditional fetters, and adapts itself to the policy of expansion, well and good; but if it fails to satisfy the universal craving for Imperial Unity, the question will arise as to the utility of a department which refuses to march with the times.

Lord Harrowby put the matter plainly enough in the House of Lords the other day. "It was possible," he said, "that the Colonial Office even now hardly appreciated the very grave importance of the step they had taken in summoning the Colonies to confer with us as to matters affecting the Empire. Perhaps those outside the Colonial Office saw more clearly than those within it the gravity of the matters involved. The Conference ought to tend, and ought to be so conducted as to tend, to the unity of the Empire and the mutual relations of every part of it." In speaking thus, Lord Harrowby faithfully represented the sentiments of every corner of the Empire. If an attempt is made by the Colonial Office to conduct the Conference

in a depreciatory, jealous spirit, the result will be widespread exasperation and disappointment; but the work will be persevered with in spite of difficulties; for that, we may trust the representatives themselves, who are well aware of the popular enthusiasm behind them.

LORD HARTINGTON CONVERTED TO FEDERATION.

THE Marquess of Hartington has pronounced in favour of Imperial Federation. Thus another prominent statesman has been added to the long roll of distinguished men of all parties by whom our principles are advocated. The Marquess of Hartington has already shown that he does not speak without due appreciation of the meaning conveyed by his words. He bears a reputation, in an uncommon degree, for resolute consistency and dogged adherence to a position he has once taken up; and the high esteem in which he is held by the country is the result of a political career marked by sound judgment, transparent honesty, and unflinching determination.

Apart from the enormous influence which Lord Hartington can throw into the scale as the acknowledged leader of a great party, and the heir to a dukedom, there is no one of whose support we should be more proud if we were asked to look upon him simply as a man. We should feel confident—and the country knows with what justice—that Lord Hartington would never give his assent to anything which he did not believe to be beneficial to the Empire. He has shown that popularity and the sweets of office have no charm for him; but he has also shown himself an ardent champion of his own convictions of what is right. This is the kind of man we want, for when such an one speaks with no uncertain voice on our behalf, we know that his words are earnest and sincere, and that they will sink into the hearts of the people as the deliberate sentiments of a trusted leader, whose opinion those who dissent from it must respect.

It was in a speech at Derby, on February 25th, that Lord Hartington delivered himself of the words we presently quote, which leave nothing to be desired in their frank acceptance of Imperial Federation as a noble and worthy aim. They were necessarily brief, for the meeting was organised specially to discuss steps for celebrating the Jubilee; but though terse they were very significant:—

"We are all proud of our Colonial dependencies and our Indian Empire, but *some of us* are anxious that the political connection which exists between these Colonies and the Mother Country should be still further increased and strengthened, and that we should be brought into more direct political communication with those great nations which are rising up around us, and which are our own children and our own relations. That may be possible or it may not, but I think that we shall all agree that any effort is deserving of our support and countenance which has the object of making the Mother Country and the Colonies better acquainted with each other, and of strengthening that feeling which they already possess that they are all parts of one Empire."

The unaffected simplicity with which Lord Hartington takes his place in our ranks is very characteristic. "Some of us," he says. It is nothing less than complete identification of himself with the advocates of Imperial Federation! With his usual straightforwardness, he looks ahead, and, seeing that some kind of political Federation must eventually ensue from Federation of administrative functions, he boldly proclaims that he accepts the full consequences, and will not shrink from them. But there is nothing impulsive or reckless in his decision. He sees the rocks ahead; he feels that to reach the goal will be an arduous task—"that may be possible or it may not." Yet, in spite of difficulties and dangers, he will remain steadfast. He will give us his "support and countenance," and those who have experienced them well know how to value such support as Lord Hartington gives to his friends. It is no empty phrase, no ebullition of sentiment, nor meaningless platitude, but the promise of a man who has the old English habit of meaning what he says, and never deserting a cause once espoused until he has done his best to insure its final triumph.

WHAT THEY THINK OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE IN AUSTRALIA.

"THE exigencies of the Empire demand the absence of the head of the Government." In these striking words the Premier of South Australia announced his departure for Europe, to attend the Imperial Conference. Sir Robert Ross, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, had proposed "Success to the Imperial Conference" at a farewell entertainment attended by several members of the Ministry, and a large number of other members of Parliament. In reply, Mr. Downer made a remarkable speech, which ought at once and for ever to dispose of the insinuation that Colonists are indifferent to Imperial questions.

"I fully agree," he said, "with Sir Robert that it is impossible to appreciate or over-estimate the importance of this occasion. . . . I believe all English-speaking communities will recognise that when the Imperial Government asks the Colonies to come into conference, a great epoch has arrived in Colonial history—an epoch we have long struggled for, but which we had little hope of seeing so immediately realised. (Cheers.) When it is said this Conference is to be a purely consultative meeting, I ask what can any Conference be but consultative? What is a Conference of any representatives of Government but consultative? The ultimate decision rests with the governing bodies and not with the delegates. It may be that the delegate by his action may hamper or impede the deliberative bodies, but the ultimate decision rests with the latter. Those who read clearly between the lines can see what were the views of the Imperial Government in arranging this Conference. We are told that we are invited to the Imperial Councils to discuss subjects of the vastest importance to ourselves. The Government says the time has not arrived for Imperial Federation, and we all agree with that view for the present; but, pending the result of that, they invite us to a Conference on a subject which is one of importance, bearing not only upon ourselves but upon the whole Empire. They ask us to consider the best means for the defence of the Empire generally. They do this in a way most flattering; to us. The Government in their official despatch speak of this Conference as a great era in the history of the Empire, and the English journals treat it with equal seriousness."

Mr. Downer then proceeded to infer, from the terms of Mr. Stanhope's despatch, that the Home Government desired the assistance of men fresh from the Colonies, so that the Conference should represent "the present views and present feelings of the Empire." Granted that the Agents-General were unable to do this as well as a special delegate, the question arose whom to send. "It has been said," continued the Premier—

"that some member of the Government other than its head would have answered equally well, and as for my colleagues, many of them would have filled the duties cast upon me quite as ably as I can perform them, but that is not the question. The question is that this, the first Council between the Empire and the Colonies, should be surrounded with the greatest possible *éclat*, and the greatest possible *éclat* can only be attained by sending gentlemen who for the time being are the heads of the Governments. It is not a question of individuals, but a question of official position, and you will be able to understand whether or not the effects of this Council would be greater if some politician who for the time being did not occupy the first place were sent."

Not only had his colleagues in the Ministry urged Mr. Downer to go, but his constituents signified their approval:—"I am amongst them now, and I ask them to say whether or not they consider I have done them any injustice in the course I propose to take?" Hearty cheering was the immediate answer to that question. In conclusion he said:—

"There was one other consideration that made it a duty that the invitation contained in the despatch of the Secretary of State should be accepted. Not only is this the year of our own Jubilee, but it is the Jubilee of our gracious Queen. (Cheers.) That made it a specially appropriate time to endeavour to bring the Colonies and England to closer communication. We, who have grown up in her reign, who have had our being under her Government, and have realised the condition of perfect liberty which other nations have dreamt of, but which none have ever realised—will it be well for us when we see our gracious Queen extending her hands to us, saying, 'Come to me at this time of my Jubilee,' to hold back and say, 'We will remain in the background'? That is a position that no one in the Colony, I am sure, would advise us to take. In this Colony we are loyal to a degree, and the action now being taken will be a momentous thing in the history of the world, as it will show the federation in soul and mind of England and her Colonies. (Cheers.) I have no more to say. I felt while I was listening to the kindly

and eloquent speech of Sir Robert Ross that I was shortly leaving the Colony upon a mission that was beyond my utmost expectations. (Hear, hear.) I recognise that it is the result of my good fortune in standing for the time being at the head of the Government. I recognise the immense responsibility, but while I am away you may rest assured that I will always recollect that I am the representative of South Australia." (Loud cheers.)

Such is the spirit in which the Conference is being entered by the leading statesmen of Australia, men whose experience of practical politics is equal to any in this country, and whose acquaintance with the genuine wants and sentiments of the Colonies far surpasses our own. It is for the people of this country to see that expectation is realised, and to offer heartfelt thanks to these patriotic citizens of the Empire. They have abandoned political interests at home; they have left business and crossed the ocean at great expenditure of time and money, because "the exigencies of the Empire demand it." Let us take care that they are not permitted to leave our shores until some measures for the common weal have been resolved upon, worthy of this memorable year.

THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND EAGER FOR FEDERATION.

"THE alternative to Federation is Separation," says Sir Robert Stout, Premier of New Zealand, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March. Long ago, Mr. Forster laid the same principle down as the key-note of action for the League, and now no well-informed person would venture to dispute its truth. We need not follow Sir R. Stout in his argument to prove the evils of separation both to the Mother Country and the Colonies, but proceed to consider his views as to the prospects of Federation. First, then, he says, England must give up interfering in the Continental politics of Europe. That is easy to say, but not so easy to accomplish. So long as we possess India, which Sir Robert does not advise us to relinquish, we have an extensive frontier to defend, which is constantly being approached more nearly by a great European Power. It follows that the maintenance of our hold upon India involves a deep concern in the policy of Russia. But here Sir Robert Stout hints at a question which will materially improve our situation in this respect. India will, before long, become as valuable to Australia as to ourselves, and Australia will have an equal interest in its defence. Let us, then, amend the proposition, and say that Federation must be accompanied by the assumption of responsibility for India on the part of Australia, and that the distant parts of the Empire must in some respects draw nearer to Europe, rather than that England must stand altogether aloof.

The next point upon which the Premier of New Zealand lays stress is the necessity of a written constitution for a scheme of Imperial Federation. We heartily agree with him here; and, although the time may be far distant, we anticipate that this would be one of the least formidable difficulties to surmount when public opinion is ripe for the change. He does not think it necessary to discuss the form which union might take; for is it not better, he asks, to have the loosest kind of Federation than separation? "Mere names signify little. Is a union possible? Or is England to lose her Colonies?"

Turning to the means by which Federation may be brought about, we have a valuable foundation in the strength of the race feeling. Sir Robert Stout tells us that "those who have been born and those who have lived almost all their lives in the Colonies have as strong a love for England as her own sons." Coming from such a source, this evidence is of undeniable importance, and affords further refutation of those people who argue that Australians are forgetting the Old Country. As an incentive to Great Britain in the work of Federation, we are bidden to look at the matter from a selfish standpoint. Often in this Journal we have maintained that Federation can be amply justified on the ground of self-interest, and here is Sir Robert Stout, Prime Minister of a Colony that imports over £5,000,000 of goods from the United Kingdom annually, suggesting and holding out to us a promise of differential customs duties in favour of our goods, if we will inaugurate Imperial Federation!

Preceding complete union of the Empire, minor confederations of Colonial groups are advocated. Canada is already federated; let South Africa, both English and Dutch, do the same. We are afraid, however, that a great change in the attitude of the two nationalities will be necessary before Sir Robert Stout's views can be realised in Africa. A third Federation would be Australia, while it is proposed that New Zealand should remain a distinct State. Finally, "one grand Federation that would strengthen all and benefit all, might not be so difficult of attainment."

In concluding his thoughtful and interesting article, the writer points out the difficulties attendant upon an Imperial naval defence without some kind of Imperial representation, and suggests, as a useful measure towards the ultimate goal, an extension of the system of granting commissions in the Services to Colonial candidates. In the position of the Agents-General there is also room for improvement. They should be members of the Executive Council of their Colony, and appointed for a definite term, to avoid any danger of becoming too completely acclimatised in London.

In his last words, he cannot resist the temptation to picture a union of English-speaking people in both hemispheres. Of this we will only say that, whether visionary or not, it must infallibly be preceded by Federation of the British Empire.

HOW THE BOERS TREAT BRITISHERS.

WE understand that the gravest dissatisfaction exists among the gold-diggers in the Transvaal at the treatment meted out to them by the Government of the South African Republic. The influx of English miners during the last few months has been enormous, and it appears to be the intention of the Boers to mulct these enterprising hard-working men to the uttermost farthing. They arrange the tariff of Customs duties in such a way as to penalise every article which is required by the English. Pick-handles, for example, we are informed, are charged with a duty of a shilling each, and the same principle is followed over the whole list. Not content with extracting a large revenue, of many thousands sterling a month, where before the English immigration they could not raise a penny, the Government are signally failing to devote it to legitimate objects. The roads to the gold-fields are left unrepaired, bridges remain broken down, and even the mail-service is utterly inadequate to the requirements. The Governments of the Cape Colony and Natal are doing their best to counteract the baneful action of the Boers, by allowing a large rebate upon all goods entered for transit to the Transvaal, but this affords little compensation for the Boer tariff, conceived in a spirit of undisguised hostility to the English.

The British population of the gold-fields has already assumed large dimensions, and is daily increasing. If the irritation universally felt should unfortunately take open expression, in the shape of a defiance of the parody of law which the South African Republic pretends to administer, the miners will prove a hard nut to crack. It is just possible that they may turn the tables on the Boers who have so often encroached upon ground to which they had no legal claim.

WORK FOR THE OXFORD BRANCH.

SIR SAMUEL DAVENPORT, who represented South Australia at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition last summer, has been enthusiastically received on his return to the Colony. On the occasion of a public welcome in the Town-hall at Adelaide, he entertained his audience with some reminiscences of his stay in England, among which was the following anecdote:—"We were very much pleased," said Sir Samuel, "at what we saw at Oxford, where, of course, we expected to find some of the greatest literary lights, and a mass of concentrated knowledge not rarely to be found in other parts of the globe; but we were much amused at a little incident that occurred when we went to receive the address from the University and Mayor of Oxford. As we passed from the railway station to the town through a crowd who surrounded us we heard one man say, 'Lor, Jim, I thought them was black fellows, but they be white, joost like us'—thus showing that in the most enlightened locality on the face of the earth there are still spots of very lamentable weakness as regards the Colonies."

FEDERATION OF SCIENCE AND ART STUDENTS.

CIRCULAR FROM THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

A CIRCULAR has been issued from the Science and Art Department at South Kensington stating conditions under which Schools of Science and Art in the Colonies may avail themselves of the examinations held annually at South Kensington. Application must first be made by "the Colonial Government or Educational Department, or other public authority of the Colony." The Science and Art Department will then arrange for the examination of their schools, issuing certificates upon the results, as is done with such beneficial effect in this country.

The examinations will be held at the various centres of scientific education in the Colonies; the papers will be supplied from South Kensington, and the worked answers must be returned thither to be looked over by the next mail after the examination. All costs of carriage and examination must be borne by the schools themselves, and it is stated that the probable expense of looking over the papers will be 1s. for each paper in the elementary, and 1s. 6d. in the advanced stages of science. This fee, we understand, represents the actual sum paid to the examiners, so that the whole machinery of the South Kensington organisation is placed at the disposal of the Colonies free of charge.

There are, we believe, in New South Wales and Victoria alone nearly five thousand students of various subjects coming within the range of the Science and Art Department's examinations, and their instructors, many of whom are themselves certificated from South Kensington, will doubtless be anxious to be connected with an organisation which has been gradually built up to a world-renowned pitch of perfection, and possesses the services of an examining body which none of the Colonies can reasonably expect to match for many years to come. We hope, therefore, that a free response will be given to the invitation issued by the Department. If the idea is warmly taken up, the advantages of a uniform system throughout the Empire will be displayed in a new quarter, and those who feel the benefit of this phase of Federation will be found among the most intelligent portion of its inhabitants. We may be sure that when the value of the arrangement has been once appreciated, it will not be easy to persuade the beneficiaries to relinquish their privileges. And so this action of the Science and Art Department may prove an important factor in aid of the League's work, by adding largely to the number of those who are interested in maintaining the Imperial connection.

THE OUTLOOK FOR ENGLISHMEN IN CANADA.

WHILE the more distant of our Colonies are offering little or no encouragement to emigration, it is pleasant to note that from the great Dominion of Canada frequent appeals are made for more men to cultivate their boundless territories. For the modest sum of £3, it is possible to cross the Atlantic, and when the invitation is sent from a Colony far more accessible than those whose doors are closed, we think the response will not be long in coming. It is no small advantage to a man, whom circumstances have compelled to leave the land of his birth, that he should be able to ensure a hearty, unconditional welcome in a new country. That he can do so in Canada is plain enough; there is no jealousy of new-comers, no fear of wages being lowered by competition, no anxiety lest the population should outgrow the means of subsistence. Into Canada the stream of immigration may flow unchecked for generations, and still there will be room. The cry is for more men, and above all, for more Englishmen; unless every effort is made to secure the preponderance of men of British origin, the time may come when the influx of other nationalities, clustering together in exclusive and homogeneous colonies, will prove a serious difficulty for the Dominion to deal with. In the United States the different nationalities are being constantly churned up in the vortex of city life and stamped with the eagle brand; but in Canada, we read of complete colonies of Germans or Norwegians settling in lands far removed from the centres of

population, and as they grow and multiply, they will retain the traditions and sentiments of separate peoples, unless they are surrounded and impregnated with an atmosphere of Pan-Canadian patriotism. To accomplish this, the infusion of British stock must be strong, continuous, and all-pervasive. The natural facilities for the maintenance of British race-supremacy are enormous; the climate, the outdoor life, the short passage, combine to make emigration to Canada easier and more congenial to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom than of any other part of Europe. We need not dilate upon the enormous advantages to the Englishman of finding himself among people whose institutions he understands, and whose habits of life are identical with his own. But perhaps there is, after all, nothing which makes so much difference to the emigrant as the domestic associations pertaining to his new home. Lands may be fertile, Governments may be kind, but the question which concerns him most of all is how the neighbours will treat him. The fewer they are, the more he will need to be on the best of terms with them, to seek their advice, and often their practical assistance. Well, in Canada he may rely upon a hearty greeting wherever he goes; he will feel the firm grip of friendship, and see undisguised pleasure at his arrival in the faces around him.

From the plains of Manitoba only a week or two ago came a summons to leave the crowded estates of this country, and share the heritage of countless acres there. "If there is not room," so ran the message,¹ "for all in Scotland who wish to till the soil, there is here ample room for the balance, and also for all who cannot find land for themselves in England and Ireland as well—ay, for centuries to come." Is not this a magnificent invitation? Let us spread it far and wide. What nobler task than to carry the knowledge of so fair a prospect to every hopeless toiler in gloomy factories or workshop, and preach in every squalid alley of our great towns, where pure air is never breathed, the gospel of a boundless fertile prairie waiting for the spade and the plough? There starvation and disease are unknown, and the winds of heaven blow fresh and free. Who will dare to interpose between the working-man and his happiness? Who will dare to speak of expatriation or hardship, while the heart of Canada is loyal to the Empire, and the depths of English poverty are unfathomable? Let us rather urge and beseech, and give them the means to go; for by so doing we shall confer a boon that will never be forgotten.

BRIGHTER PROSPECTS FOR EMIGRATION TO NEW SOUTH WALES.

SIR HENRY PARKES, Premier of New South Wales, recently received a deputation from the Trades and Labour Council of that Colony, who presented to him certain resolutions in favour of the discontinuance of state-assisted immigration. One of their resolutions also contained an expression of approval of Mr. J. Norton's utterances in England, but the Premier simply refused to have anything to do with it.

On the main question Sir H. Parkes told the Deputation that the last ship for which provision had been made was on its way out, and that in the present disturbed condition of the working population of the country, he should not ask the Parliament to supply any other funds *at this time*. The words we have italicised caused some uneasiness to the Deputation, and one of its members remarked that it was their wish that no further sum of money should be taken for assisted immigration.

In their own interests they had better have left the matter alone, for the observation drew from Sir H. Parkes a statement which is eminently encouraging to us at home who grudge the thought of good lands lying idle while there are so many honest workmen to whom they might be a blessing. "The Deputation must observe," he said, "that I am dealing with the immediate question. As far as the difficulty is concerned now, I do all you ask. The other aspect of the question must be for the future. I do not wish to shirk it in any way whatever. *I am one of those who believe that if there were three millions of people in this country instead of one, and they were composed of the right kind of people, every-*

¹ Letter from Mr. J. Mather, Keewatin Mills, Manitoba, to the *Northern Ensign*.

body would be better off than now. It is preposterous to say that this country is over-populated." Here one of the deputation interrupted with the frank statement:—"We do not assert that." And here we are content to leave the question for the present. On the one hand is the Trades and Labour Council, with Mr. John Norton, trying to stop any increase of population in a Colony which they themselves admit to be under-populated, in order to keep their own pockets well lined. On the other hand stands Sir Henry Parkes, head of a Government just elected upon a broad basis of popular suffrage, maintaining the principle that the more good men there are in the Colony, the greater will be its prosperity. We have no doubt as to the final triumph of disinterested common sense against a narrow-minded, self-seeking opposition.

REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

THE conference of delegates and representatives from the principal Colonies will assemble on Monday, the 4th of April, at 11 o'clock, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Holland, G.C.M.G., M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies. The first meeting will take place in the Conference Room at the Foreign Office, when the Prime Minister and other members of the Government will be present, and a certain number of peers, members of Parliament, and other gentlemen of distinction connected with the Colonies will also be invited. The subsequent meetings of the Conference will be held at the Colonial Office, and will be conducted in private.

The names of the delegates expected to be present are as follows:—

DOMINION OF CANADA.—Sir Alexander Campbell, K.C.M.G. Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.G.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Hon. Robert Thorburn (Premier).

Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Sir Patrick Jennings (late Premier).

Sir Saul Samuel (Agent-General).

Hon. R. Wisdom.

VICTORIA.—Sir Graham Berry (Agent-General).

Hon. Alfred Deakin (Chief Secretary).

Hon. James Lorimer (Minister of Colonial Defence).

Hon. James Service (late Premier).

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—Sir Arthur Blyth (Agent-General).

Hon. J. W. Downer (Premier).

QUEENSLAND.—Sir Samuel Griffith (Premier).

Sir James Garrick (Agent-General).

TASMANIA.—Hon. John Stokell Dodds (Attorney-General).

Hon. Adye Douglas (Agent-General).

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Hon. John Forrest (Commissioner of Crown Lands and Surveyor-General).

Mr. Septimus Burt.

NEW ZEALAND.—Sir Francis Dillon Bell (Agent-General).

Sir W. Fitz-Herbert (Speaker of the Legislative Council).

CAPE COLONY.—Hon. T. Upington (Attorney-General).

Hon. J. Hofmeyer.

Sir Charles Mills (Agent-General).

NATAL.—Mr. J. Robinson.

The Conference will sit from the 4th of April to the 7th inclusive, and will then adjourn, probably until the 15th.

Mr. W. A. Baillie Hamilton, Private Secretary to Sir Henry Holland, has been appointed to act as Secretary to the Conference, and all communications on the subject should be addressed to him at the Colonial Office, Downing Street.

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE COLONIAL REPRESENTATIVES TO THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

OUR readers will be glad of the following information compiled from the most trustworthy sources, giving some account of the previous careers of the Colonial representatives at the Imperial Conference. We regret that the limits of our space have prevented us from doing more than giving a bare outline of the interesting careers of those distinguished Colonists, and that we have been unable to obtain any information concerning one or two.

SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Q.C., K.C.M.G., is the son of the late Dr. James Campbell, of Hedon, Yorkshire, and was

born in 1821. His parents went to Canada in 1823. He was called to the Bar in 1843. In 1856 he was created Queen's Counsel. He commenced his political career in 1858, when he was elected a member of the Legislative Council, in which he soon achieved a commanding position. He was made Speaker of the Council in 1863, and was Commissioner of Crown Lands from 1864 to 1867. Sir Alexander took an active part in the movement which led up to the great Confederation, and was a member of the Union Conference which met at Quebec in 1864. In 1867 he was called to the Senate, and since that date has been the Conservative leader in that House. Since 1867 he has held the following portfolios in the Dominion Cabinets:—Postmaster-General, Minister of Interior, Receiver-General, Minister of Militia and Defence, and Minister of Justice. Sir Alexander Campbell was appointed on March 5th to the important position of Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario, which has of course necessitated his retirement, for the present, from active political life. It will be seen from this brief record of an eventful and busy life that Sir Alexander has had a wide experience of Canadian affairs, and is admirably fitted to represent the Dominion in the discussions which will take place at the Conference.

MR. SANDFORD FLEMING, C.M.G., LL.D., was born at Kirkcaldy, Scotland, in 1827, and proceeded to Canada in 1845. He had studied engineering and surveying in Scotland, and followed that pursuit after his arrival in Canada. Mr. Fleming was connected with the construction of the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway (now called Northern Railway), and subsequently visited the Red River country, to examine the feasibility of railway communication between that region and Eastern Canada; in 1863 he came to England to make representations to the Imperial Government on the subject. The Intercolonial Railway, connecting the Maritime Provinces with Quebec and Ontario, was surveyed and constructed under his supervision; and when the great Canadian Pacific Railway became a practical question, his former services marked him out as the most suitable man in the Dominion to carry out the preliminary surveys and work upon that gigantic undertaking. He remained in the service of the Government as Chief Engineer of Government Railways until a few years ago, and since 1881 has been engaged in promoting the laying of a cable across the Pacific to connect Canada with India, China, Japan, and Australasia. His name is also associated with the establishment of a prime meridian for international use, and this proposal has been most favourably received in many countries, and at several International Conferences that have been called together to consider the question. He is Chancellor of the Queen's University of Canada, and the author of several valuable works.

THE HON. JAMES SERVICE was born at Kilwinning in Ayrshire, N.B., in 1823. For seven years prior to leaving Scotland, he was engaged in mercantile business in Glasgow, but in 1853, when the rush to the gold-fields was at its height, he resolved upon trying his fortune in Australia. He established himself in Melbourne, and for more than thirty years he remained a merchant of that city. His firm now occupies a position second to none in the Australasian Colonies. Mr. Service entered public life as member for East Melbourne in 1857, and first held office as Minister of Lands in 1859. During the Reform Bill agitation in Victoria, he was the recognised leader of the Constitutional party, and in 1880 he formed his first cabinet. In 1883 he united with Mr. Berry in forming the Coalition Ministry which held office until 1886, and is admitted to have been of incalculable advantage to the Colony. Its advent to power marked the reconciliation of the two Houses whose feuds had produced a deadlock in legislation. Mr. Service was President at the first session of the Australasian Federal Council in 1886, and has been a consistent advocate of Federation. He has been offered and refused knighthood.

SIR GRAHAM BERRY, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for the Colony of Victoria, was born at Twickenham, near London, on August 28th, 1822, was educated at Chelsea, and left for Victoria in 1852. In 1860 he was elected Member of Parliament for East Melbourne. At the general elections of 1861 and 1864 he was returned for Collingwood, an important suburb of Melbourne, but was not successful at the subsequent dissolution. He went to reside at Geelong in 1866, and in 1868 was elected member for that constituency, which he represented until his recent arrival here as Agent-General. In 1870, Sir Graham, who is a staunch Protectionist, first took office as Treasurer, but his Government soon afterwards resigned. On re-election in 1871 he took office as Treasurer and Commissioner of Customs, and it was while holding this portfolio that he became responsible for the present Protectionist tariff. At the general election of 1874 he was re-elected, and on the resignation of the Kerferd Ministry in the following year, he formed his first Administration, being Chief Secretary and Treasurer. In 1877 he was returned at the head of an overwhelming majority, and once more took the Premiership. While in office he passed several important democratic measures, including a land-tax on large estates, but failed to carry a proposal for the fundamental reform of the Legislative Council. He then visited England in order to induce the Imperial Parliament to take up the matter, but failed, though through

his efforts the question was eventually settled. On his return the general election of 1880 placed him in a minority, but he was subsequently restored to power, and carried some noteworthy reform measures. Again thrown out by a want of confidence vote, he entered a Coalition Ministry as Chief Secretary. Early last year Sir Graham, with the Hon. James Service, were the Victorian delegates to the first Federal Council, and shortly afterwards he was appointed Agent-General in London for Victoria.

HON. ALFRED DEAKIN was born at Melbourne in 1856. He was educated at the Church of England Grammar School and University in that city. He was called to the Bar in 1877, and first sat in the Legislative Assembly in 1880. He was for some time connected with the *Melbourne Age*. He has filled the offices of Minister of Public Works and Solicitor-General, and is now Chief-Secretary, having joined Mr. Gillies on terms of equality in the formation of the second coalition Ministry. Mr. Deakin is an acknowledged authority on the subject of irrigation.

HON. JAMES LORIMER was born in Dumfriesshire in 1831, and emigrated in 1853 to Victoria, where he became engaged in mercantile pursuits. He was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly in 1866, but entered the Council in 1878. He has been Minister of Defence since February, 1886, but has had considerable experience of the requirements of the coast in connection with the Melbourne Harbour Trust, of which he is ex-Chairman. He has also been President of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, and is a Freetrader.

SIR PATRICK ALFRED JENNINGS, K.C.M.G., was born in 1831 at Newry, Ireland. He entered business at Exeter, but in 1852 emigrated to Victoria, and met with success at the gold fields. He afterwards settled in New South Wales, and was nominated to the Legislative Council in 1866, but resigned in 1870 in order to enter the Assembly. In 1876 he represented New South Wales, Queensland, and Tasmania at the Philadelphia Exhibition; he afterwards visited Europe and was presented to the Pope, who created him Commander of St. Gregory the Great, and Knight Commander of Pius IX. In 1880 he was made K.C.M.G., and in 1883 he joined the Stuart Ministry as Vice-President of the Executive Council. He was Colonial Secretary in the Dibbs Ministry in 1885, and became Premier in 1886, which office he resigned in January last. He is a Magistrate of New South Wales, Queensland, and Victoria.

MR. ROBERT WISDOM, M.P., was born at Blackburn, Lancashire, in 1830, and was taken to New South Wales at a tender age. He was educated at the Sydney College. He first entered the Legislative Assembly in 1859, and now represents the constituency of Morpeth. In 1861 he was called to the Bar; he has acted as Gold Commissioner, Crown Prosecutor, and Attorney-General, and for nearly four years was Chairman of Committees in the Assembly.

SIR SAUL SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., was born in London in 1820. He left England at an early age. In 1854 he was elected to the Legislative Council, but two years afterwards transferred his services to the Assembly. He first took office in 1859 as Treasurer, and subsequently filled the posts of Vice-President of the Executive Council and Postmaster-General. In 1873 he was chosen delegate to the United States for the purpose of establishing the Pacific mail service, and on his return to Sydney received the honour of a public banquet. In 1880 he was appointed Agent-General for the Colony, and was knighted in 1881. Sir Saul Samuel has been intimately connected with the commercial interests of New South Wales throughout his career.

SIR SAMUEL WALKER GRIFFITH, K.C.M.G., was born at Merthyr Tydvil in 1845. His family went to New South Wales when he was but nine years old; he was educated at Sydney, and took a degree at Sydney University in 1863. He obtained the Mort Travelling Scholarship in 1865, which enabled him to visit Europe. In 1869 he was called to the Queensland Bar, and became Q.C. in 1876. His first introduction to parliamentary life was in 1872, as member for East Moreton; in 1874 he was appointed Attorney-General in the MacAlister Ministry, and subsequently filled the posts of Secretary for Public Instruction, Secretary for Public Works, and Colonial Secretary. For five years he was leader of the Opposition, and in 1883 became Premier of Queensland, which he remains at present. He represented Queensland in the Federation Convention at Sydney in 1883, and in the Federal Council at Hobart in 1886. In May last he received the honour of knighthood.

SIR JAMES FRANCIS GARRICK, K.C.M.G., was born and educated at Sydney. In 1859 he went to Queensland, and established a very successful legal practice there. At a later period he visited England, and was called to the Bar in 1873, having already achieved Parliamentary honours in the Colony. He subsequently became a Q.C. of Queensland, and filled various public offices; he has been Secretary for Public Lands and Mines, Colonial Treasurer, and Postmaster-General. In 1884 he was appointed Agent-General in London, and was knighted in 1885.

THE HON. JOHN WM. DOWNER, Premier and Attorney-General of South Australia, was born of English parents, in Adelaide, on July 6, 1844. He was educated at St. Peter's College, where he

earned distinction, and in 1862 obtained the first prize at the public Competitive Examination held at Adelaide, and open to all in the Colony under 21 years of age. In 1867 Mr. Downer was called to the bar, where he very soon took up a leading position, and in 1878 was appointed Queen's Counsel. In the same year he entered Parliament, and three years later became Attorney-General, an office which he held till 1884 when Mr. Bray's Administration was turned out. In 1885 Mr. Downer successfully moved a want of confidence motion in the Colton Government, and himself became Premier and also Attorney-General. Mr. Downer represented his Colony at the Federation Convention, which met at Sydney in 1883, and also at the Postal and Telegraphic Conference held last year in Melbourne. He has always ardently advocated the reform and simplification of the procedure affecting the administration of justice, and notably was successful in passing a Bill to enable prisoners in criminal trials to give evidence on their own behalf. This reform was carried out in South Australia before any Bill of a similar nature had been introduced in England or any other Colony.

SIR ARTHUR BLYTH, C.B., K.C.M.G., was born in 1823, and educated at King Edward the Sixth's Grammar School, Birmingham. His family emigrated to Adelaide in 1839, and he immediately entered business in the hardware trade. He took an active part in municipal affairs from the first, and during the Russian War excitement of 1854 he was chosen captain of the first Volunteer force organised in South Australia. He entered Parliament in 1855, and was one of the framers of the present Constitution. He was appointed Commissioner of Public Works in 1857, and has also been Commissioner of Crown Lands, Treasurer, and Chief Secretary. He first became Premier in 1864, and has filled the office twice since. In 1877 he was appointed Agent-General, and knighted in 1878. He has been a member of the English Church Synod in South Australia, and director of the National Bank.

HON. ADYE DOUGLAS was born near Norwich in 1815. He emigrated to Tasmania in 1839, but subsequently engaged in sheep-farming in Victoria. Returning to Tasmania, he practised at the Bar. He represented Launceston in the old Legislative Council, and, since the Constitution was granted to the Colony, he has represented as many as five constituencies. In 1884 he became Chief Secretary and Premier, and, retiring in 1886, he was appointed Agent-General in London. He represented Tasmania at the Federal Convention at Sydney, and the Federal Council at Hobart.

HON. JOHN STOKELL DODDS was born at Durham in 1848, and went young to Tasmania, where he was called to the Bar. In 1878 he entered Parliament as member for East Hobart, and was made Attorney-General the same year, which office he has continued to hold up to the present time. Mr. Dodds acted, in conjunction with Mr. Adye Douglas, as Tasmanian representative at the Sydney Federal Convention of 1883, and the Federal Council at Hobart last year. He has just been offered an appointment as Judge of the Colony, but it is not known whether he has accepted it.

HON. JOHN FORREST, C.M.G., the celebrated explorer, is a native of Western Australia. He entered the Survey Department of the Colony in 1865, and has done splendid work in the exploration of the interior. In 1870 he commanded an expedition in search of Leichardt's remains, and has since that date made other long and arduous journeys. In 1876 he received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society for his labours, and was presented by the Government with 5,000 acres of land in fee. He is now Commissioner of Crown Lands and Surveyor-General of Western Australia, and is the author of important works on the Colony.

SIR FRANCIS DILLON BELL, C.B., K.C.M.G., was formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives in New Zealand, and was appointed Agent-General for the Colony in 1881; we regret being unable to obtain any further information as to Sir F. Bell's career.

SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, K.C.M.G., was educated at Cambridge; he was elected a Fellow of Queen's College, and holds a diploma from the Royal College of Physicians. He emigrated to New Zealand in 1842, and has been twice Treasurer of the Colony. In 1867 he was sent to England as Special Agent, and since his return to New Zealand has been Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and latterly of the Council, a post which he still holds.

HON. THOMAS UPINGTON, son of the late S. Upington, Esq., of Lisleigh House, county Cork, was born in 1844. He is an M.A. of Dublin University, and was called to the Irish Bar in 1867. He was Secretary to the late Lord O'Hagan when Lord Chancellor of Ireland, up to the date of Mr. Gladstone's retirement from office in 1874. He then settled at the Cape of Good Hope, and since 1878 has been prominently identified with Colonial politics. During Sir Bartle Frere's Governorship he filled the office of Attorney-General in Mr. Sprigg's administration, and was also a member of the commission to inquire into native laws and customs. He was Leader of the Opposition during Sir T. Scanlen's administration, and in 1884 became Premier and Attorney-General. In December, 1886, he retired

from the Premiership, but remains Attorney-General. He is a Q.C. for the Colony, and Lieut.-Colonel commanding the 1st Cape Administrative Regiment.

SIR CHARLES MILLS, K.C.M.G., served in the 98th Regiment, and on the staff of Her Majesty's Army in China, India, and Turkey from 1843 to 1856. He then went to the Cape, where he resided until 1880. He was elected to represent King Williamstown in the House of Assembly, and filled many important posts. In 1880 he came to England, and was employed in connection with the adjustment of the expenditure incurred during the Kaffir War of 1878. He was appointed Agent-General for the Cape Colony in 1882, which office he still holds. He acted as Executive Commissioner for the Cape during the Colonial and Indian Exhibition last year.

THE HON. ROBERT THORBURN, the present Premier of Newfoundland, was born in Scotland fifty years ago, and emigrated at the age of sixteen. He has been engaged in mercantile pursuits at St. John's, the capital of the island, for the past thirty years, during which time he has also filled various representative positions in the land of his adoption. For over fifteen years Mr. Thorburn served as a member of the Legislative Council, resigning his seat only two years ago when, after a general election at which he helped to secure a large majority for the Government, he became Premier. Political and religious feeling ran high at that time in Newfoundland, and it is satisfactory to know that under Mr. Thorburn's administration the normal peace and quiet of the community have been restored. Mr. Thorburn is here at present on an important mission to Downing Street in connection with the Newfoundland Fisheries. Mr. Thorburn is a nephew of Mr. James J. Grieve, late M.P. for Greenock, and is cousin to Mr. Walter Thorburn, the present member for Peeblesshire.

SIR AMBROSE SHEA, K.C.M.G., Mr. Thorburn's colleague, is a native of Newfoundland, and for over thirty years has taken an active and leading part in the public affairs of the Colony. At a comparatively early age he was chosen Speaker of the Assembly, a post he occupied for some years, till he gave it up on becoming a member of the Government, though without office, which he has ever consistently declined. Sir Ambrose took a prominent part in the introduction of responsible government, which in spite of strenuous opposition has been established and is now accepted as an inalienable charter of Colonial freedom. Sir Ambrose was a delegate to the Commission which met at Quebec to consider the confederation of the British North American Provinces, and he has twice acted as Commissioner at Washington in connection with the fishery and trade relations between his Colony and the United States. He represented Newfoundland at the Fisheries Exhibition in London, and has been entrusted with several other missions to this country on questions of importance.

FEDERATION AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

WE have much pleasure in observing the success which has attended Mr. H. F. Wilson's efforts to promote the interests of Imperial Federation among the public schools. We hope Mr. Wilson will be encouraged to organise a regular campaign, and we shall be happy to hear from any head-masters or others interested in the question, who may be desirous of arranging for an address or discussion, for the purpose of putting them in communication with Mr. Wilson.

Eton.—On Saturday, February 26th, Mr. J. K. Stephen, gave a lecture to the Literary Society on the subject of Imperial Federation, which was treated in a broad and historical style. The lecturer was listened to with much interest by a large audience, which included several of the masters. Another address is, we believe, in contemplation.

Clifton.—A lecture on "Our Empire, and How we may Preserve It" was delivered to the Sixth and Fifth Forms, by Mr. H. F. Wilson, on Saturday, March 5th. It was illustrated by maps and diagrams representing the growth of the British Empire, and a large quantity of the League's literature was distributed. The head-master, the Rev. J. M. Wilson, was present, and after expressing his intention of joining the League himself, urged those present to take part in "the most important movement of our time." It is hoped that a branch of the League may be established at the school. Imperial Federation was recently discussed at the Clifton Debating Society.

Harrow.—The head-master, the Rev. J. E. C. Welton, has intimated his willingness for a lecture to be given on Imperial Federation, and negotiations with that object are in progress. The lecture will probably be delivered in the autumn.

On Saturday, March 5th, a lecture was delivered by Mr. H. F. Wilson to the upper classes at the Clifton High School, on the subject of Imperial Federation. The lecturer's remarks were followed with marked interest and attention, and at the close of his address he was subjected to a fire of intelligent enquiries by the girls and their mistresses.

IS MELBOURNE IMPREGNABLE?

IT has been often asserted that the Australian Colonies would be perfectly well able to take care of themselves if deprived of assistance from the Imperial Government, but we are firmly convinced that the real state of the case is very different from this optimistic view. It will be admitted that Victoria, with its large and wealthy population and a comparatively small area to defend, may fairly be supposed to have the greatest facilities for self-protection of any Australian Colony. It is also highly improbable that a leading newspaper would take an unduly desponding view of the situation. But if the *Melbourne Age* is right, the defences of the capital are in a lamentably incomplete state. We quote the following important testimony from a recent leading article:—

It is the official fashion to speak of the impregnability of Melbourne, but we venture to say that this optimistic view is not shared by the general public. The proper test is to ascertain whether the Admiral in command of a British fleet would deem the defences at the Heads any obstacle to an assault, supposing Melbourne were in the hands of an enemy. They would probably not deter him for a moment, and we have no right to suppose they would have any greater terror for a foreign commander.

The opinion gains force that we have been placing too much reliance on our submarine mines and our forts. The recent experiments at Milford Haven showed that an attacking squadron can always dispose of submarine torpedoes by counter-mines, and the insufficiency of the batteries already erected is admitted by the proposal to erect a new battery on the Pope's Eye Shoal.

If the latter be essential to our security, we must be in peril now, and destined to continue therein for the years during which the fort will be in course of construction. Moreover, the guns now in the existing forts not being mounted with a view to bringing a raking fire to bear upon an approaching vessel, the chance of their damaging fast steamers would not be sufficiently great to deter an adventurous enemy from running the gauntlet.

Our only reliable arm of defence is, therefore, the floating batteries. The *Cerberus* and the gunboats are excellent in their way, and would, no doubt, be found formidable opponents by an enemy. But they are insufficient in themselves to cope with such a squadron as might be pitted against them. If, as seems not improbable, the whole task of defending the harbour will fall upon the flotilla, its strength should be increased in a degree proportionate to the duties which may be required of it. Whether it be by an arrangement with the Imperial Government by which an ironclad would be maintained in Hobson's Bay, at the expense of the Colony, or by the purchase of additional vessels, it is obvious that no time should be lost in strengthening the force upon which the safety of Melbourne must mainly depend.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

A LIMITED number of copies of "Fifty Years' Progress," printed on special paper as presented to Her Majesty the Queen, can now be procured, handsomely bound in cloth boards, gold lettered, with marbled edges, price 2s., postage 6d. Early application to the Secretary is recommended.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

BRANCH SECRETARIES or others who have spare copies of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of IMPERIAL FEDERATION will much oblige by sending them to the Secretary of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1886 has been compiled, which will be shortly procurable for binding with the volume.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Our Readers will notice that the JOURNAL is being printed this year upon somewhat thinner paper than hitherto. This has become necessary owing to the large number of Subscribers at home and abroad to whom the JOURNAL is sent through the post; the JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

APRIL 1, 1887.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

AN assembly of paramount significance will meet at Westminster on Monday next. The Imperial Conference will, undoubtedly, constitute an epoch in the history of the British Empire, pregnant with the destiny of a great race. If successful in its object the Conference will be recognised as the foundation stone of a fabric of unparalleled magnificence. To contemplate the possibility of failure would be futile and ungracious; but it must be apparent that further efforts towards unity would be woefully retarded by such an event, if it did not lead to the reversal of much that has already been accomplished.

We hope that a difficulty which has been raised in some quarters, as to the proper title of the Conference, will be adjusted in accordance with the dignity and importance of the occasion. No one who has read Mr. Stanhope's despatch can be in doubt as to the fitness of designating the proceedings of the Conference as Imperial rather than Colonial. "Imperial Defence" and "Imperial Intercommunication" are specifically named as the subjects for discussion. It is the "first attempt to bring all parts of Her Majesty's Empire into joint deliberation." It is held in London, the capital of the Empire. The members consist of representatives from the Colonial Governments and from the Government of the United Kingdom also. The United Kingdom has, at the present time, a far greater interest in the army and navy, and in the Mail and Telegraph Service, than any of the Colonies. The Conference is purely consultative, and no one of the Governments represented thereat will enjoy a preponderance of votes or privileges. All stand on an equal footing, free to suggest, advocate, or

oppose whatever is brought forward; they are not met to discuss the defence of a single Colony, or of a group of Colonies, or of the United Kingdom; they are not concerned with inland or inter-Colonial postal arrangements, or with the routes of coasting steamers and local communications. They have to consider the best means of defending British towns and British commerce all over the globe, and of placing the mail service of the whole Empire upon a basis of economy and efficiency. We do not wish to lay undue stress upon the value of a name. But when a term is being sought for purposes of definition, and when the thing to be defined marks a great historical event, it is important that the definition should not be misleading. And it would be conspicuously misleading to speak of an assembly as a Colonial Conference in which the United Kingdom is represented by a Cabinet Minister, and in which this country has at stake greater financial, commercial, and strategical interests than any other. There is but one definition that can adequately describe the composition and objects of the Conference. There may be faddists who fight shy of a word that has been often misused, but still keeps a noble meaning; there may be a Government department which dislikes the idea of its own prerogative being overshadowed, and thinks it can assimilate the popular movement towards Federation by an extension of its own functions; but plain people who have no interest in the Colonial Office, and are not afraid of calling things by their right names, will feel that the only worthy title which supplies a sensible and correct definition is that of Imperial Conference, a Conference concerned for the Empire.

At the outset the omens are favourable; circumstances have combined to render a brilliant success feasible. The delegates to the Conference are men of the highest political rank. Nearly all have held portfolios, and several either are or have been Prime Ministers. The fact that men of this stamp have crossed the ocean in pursuance of the Queen's summons not only proves the high estimate formed in the Colonies of the work that lies before the Conference, but at the same time affords the best guarantee for the efficient performance of its duties. In the President's chair will sit Sir Henry Holland, a man whose sympathy with the general aspiration towards closer unity is grounded upon a life-time's experience of Colonial needs. He will be assisted, we hope, by Mr. Stanhope, the author of that now famous despatch, a Minister of tried capacity and statesmanlike appreciation of broad Imperial issues. Nothing, indeed, need be wanting to ensure success so far as the *personnel* of the Conference is concerned. The occasion is also particularly well-timed; apart from the universal desire to applaud and approve any event which so emphatically marks the progress of the Empire during Her Majesty's reign, there is much in the present condition of public affairs to invest the meeting of the Conference with a full measure of popular favour. The discredit into which parliamentary Government has temporarily fallen will cause the public to welcome a body that can deliberate for the good of the Empire unimpeded by the various obstacles to the transaction of business in the House of Commons. The deplorable revelations of extravagance and inefficiency in the public services, added to a fear that the worst has still to come, will open people's eyes to the urgency of re-constituting the defensive forces of the Empire upon a better system, and the futility of expecting even the barest security until the independent atmosphere of an Imperial council has been substituted for the enervating influences by which our permanent officials seem hopelessly lulled at present. Neither must the active exertions of the League to educate public opinion be forgotten. Our work during the last two years has contributed to the creation of a far more comprehensive knowledge of Imperial requirements than formerly existed; the energy of our supporters has already awakened an amount of enthusiasm for the cause highly encouraging to all who are striving for Imperial unity. There is, in short, a general predisposition on the part of Englishmen to regard the Conference with favour, and wish it a prosperous and useful career.

The work before it is of a twofold nature; part has been defined, and part remains indefinite. The programme would be sufficiently weighty were deliberation limited to the two problems of Imperial Defence and Imperial

Communications ; but we hope room will also be found for the admission of at least one other great question, we mean the development of Imperial commerce. This will be in the heart of every member of the Conference, even though his lips be sealed. To shirk the question would be a confession of impotence ; if diametrically opposite views exist, they cannot be reconciled by being ignored ; and if the Empire is to acquire closer cohesion, it is certain that commercial unity in some form or other will be adopted. In what form it will come we do not wish to predict. But no argument is needed to show that the first step towards agreement is to know what the differences of opinion are. This the Conference can and ought to elicit ; and we would impress upon every individual member the importance of insisting upon some opportunity being given for an exchange of views upon the subject, even though it be not officially brought forward.

But whatever particular matters the Conference may be called upon to discuss, its chief value will consist in formulating the opinion that uniformity of administration throughout the Empire is a desirable practical aim. We do not suppose that the restriction of its functions to the area of consultation will exclude the preparation of a report to which adhesion would be purely optional. This report would probably contain an expression of opinion as to the importance of united action for various Imperial purposes, and would naturally conclude with recommendations as to the means best adapted to ensure such unity. Since the indication of precise measures would involve so much controversial matter as to be impossible without voting, the report would have to confine itself to suggesting another assembly of delegates, empowered to elaborate a practical scheme. The appointment of a second conference with enlarged powers would be the next step towards Federation, and if that is the outcome of the first we shall be well satisfied.

There are but two dangers that threaten us on the threshold. There is the danger of not speaking out, of fearing to face unpleasant truths, and preferring to slur over a blot, rather than to acknowledge it frankly, and resolve to eradicate it. Tinkering has become a favourite trade with our statesmen, who are apt to be too fearful of responsibility. This is a danger from which our Colonial friends may save us by their out-spokenness and good old fashion of calling a spade a spade. There is also a danger wherein we may be of service to them. There is the danger of mutual jealousy ; should that evil spirit once appear, all efforts for the general good will be neutralised by the efforts of one Colony to "best" another. At present the position of this country enables it to be independent of such paltry motives, and it is earnestly to be hoped that by displaying a generous and magnanimous readiness to sacrifice, if need be, something of our individual interests for the common good, we may set an example of true patriotism which the Colonies, ever eager to mould their actions upon ours, may recognise and reciprocate, to the lasting advantage of the Empire.

THE ENGLISH POST OFFICE AND IMPERIAL POSTAGE.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON has at last drawn a declaration of policy from the Postmaster-General. The policy is in brief to advise the Colonies to enter the Postal Union, but Mr. Raikes makes some most extraordinary statements, which we can hardly credit as being the utterance of the head of a great public department. Is it really possible that a man who is nominally supposed to control the receipt and expenditure of millions of public money can gravely declare that "it is of no great importance, from the revenue point of view, whether in the case of a subsidy being paid, the grounds on which it is paid are set forth as Imperial or postal, or whether the money comes out of one vote or another? Under any circumstances it must come out of one purse, and be provided by the taxpayer." Carry this principle a little farther, and we shall be asked to dispense with any Post Office accounts at all ; to be satisfied with Mr. Raikes's assurance that the business is going on smoothly, and told that all taxes will be properly expended, but that the taxpayer must not trouble himself as to where

and how his money goes ! Surely, if public accounts are worth keeping at all, they are worth keeping well ; and it is obvious that such very elastic notions as to method and book-keeping are not calculated to win public confidence either for Mr. Raikes or his department. It is preposterous to say that the Exchequer of the country is to be debited with several hundred thousand pounds annually, without its being possible to assign the expenditure definitely to its right quarter. The Admiralty and the Post Office are sufficiently distinct, one would imagine, to avoid confusion in their respective spheres of action. The Admiralty is a War Department, the Post Office is a Peace Department. If the Admiralty wants a merchant navy, let it subsidise one ; if the Post Office wants letters carried, let it pay for them. The great railway companies are not paid according to the size and power of their locomotives. If an example is wanted to show how little an efficient service depends upon the mails, it will be found in the fact that hardly any of the fastest expresses on our great railways are mail trains.

A great deal of nonsense is also talked about "the special and peculiar conditions" under which letters are carried. What are they? What do they cost the steamship companies? The construction of a mail-room on board is a capital expense, on which interest may be demanded, but the sum is trifling ; the working expenses of supervision and transfer to and from the shore cannot be great. We should like to know how many extra men the *Etruria* or *Ormuz* carries on account of the mails? We believe that a slightly higher rate than that paid for other first-class freight should suffice for mails. Surely a first-class passenger is carried under at least as "special and peculiar" conditions as a letter. Yet a passenger weighing 10 stone gets his passage to Australia, including cabin and food, at the rate of 3½d. per half ounce, with some hundredweight of luggage thrown in !

Mr. Raikes says triumphantly that his opponent's letters are silent on the subject of the reduction of postage from the Colonies ; but "the Postmaster-General apprehends that this is hardly less important to the public than reduction to the Colonies." It is remarkable that with this fine appreciation of cheap postage from the Colonies, Mr. Raikes has not yet taken steps to alter his predecessor's ruling with regard to Queensland postage. The Queensland Government pay the British India Company £55,000 a year subsidy, and have reduced their homeward postage to 4d. per half-ounce—the cheapest rate between Australia and England. But how has this attempt at reduction been met by the English Post Office? By refusing to recognise the arrangement with the British India Company at all, and keeping up its outward rate at 6d. per half-ounce !

As to the difficulties arising from the United Kingdom and some of the Colonies being members of the Postal Union, we believe them to be of the flimsiest description. No international arrangements have any influence upon the internal administration of the British Empire. Indeed, the Postal Union has always adopted the line of contemplating the Empire as an indivisible whole, and any concessions on the subject have been unwillingly extorted. But we maintain most emphatically that neither the United Kingdom nor any of the Colonies can constitutionally enter into any international relations which do not bind the whole Empire ; and any such relations undertaken in error must be null and void. In spite of Mr. Raikes, we believe that, so far as treaty obligations are concerned, there is not the smallest impediment to the immediate organisation of an Imperial Penny Postage.

The "provoking anomalies" to which Mr. Raikes alludes are unworthy of the importance of the subject. Perhaps he will discover some day that the consideration of distance is not recognised as the prime factor in postal rates. The question is always treated as one of areas under a single administration ; this is the principle of the Postal Union, not less than of the United Kingdom. What has been already done in simplifying the European system can surely be done by the components of the British Empire. The Postal Union rates are primarily founded upon the cost of carriage by land, and only accidentally apply to ocean mails. The British Empire rates are primarily concerned with sea-postage, and ought not to be influenced by the excessive cost of conveyance on land.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE COLONIES.

THE Canadian Fisheries dispute, and the veto imposed upon the Newfoundland Bait Bill by the Imperial Government, bring into sharp relief the contrast between the immunity from control enjoyed by the Colonies in managing local affairs and their impotence in any international question. Whenever they are brought into contact with any foreign nation, the whole business at once passes into the hands of the Imperial Government. In diplomatic circles the Colonies have absolutely no existence; negotiation is only possible with the Foreign Office of Great Britain.

There are many advantages in the situation as it stands; the "arguments of a powerful neighbour" are less likely to be convincing when directed against the British Foreign Office than they would be if made use of in discussion with a small community. We may deplore the fact, but there is no doubt that in the present condition of international law the maintenance of rights depends very largely upon the material force behind. And perhaps the chief business of diplomacy is to point the moral of superior force in courteous and polite language.

There is also this much gain from the employment of somewhat cumbrous machinery in adjusting the relations of the Empire towards foreign Powers, that no hasty or inconsiderate step is possible, which might lead to unfortunate consequences.

The various stages of red-tapeism which have to be traversed before a final decision is reached, enforce the adoption of a deliberate, and, therefore, let us hope, generally a wise policy. Colonial legislatures are not accustomed to view with extreme anxiety the results of possible failure in their domestic measures. If a policy is wrong or unpalatable to the country, the evil is easily undone by a simple transition to another ministry, who will set sail upon a new course. No one, perhaps, is much the better for the change, but neither is any one the worse. A mistake can thus be remedied or a false step be retraced, before any great amount of harm has been done, and there is an end of the matter. Were the Colonies suddenly called upon to conduct their own diplomatic business, and shape their own foreign policy, the complacency with which they now regard hasty legislation would at first re-act with disastrous effects upon their method of dealing with foreign affairs. We say, advisedly, that the effect would be disastrous. For in diplomacy there is no withdrawing from a position once taken up, except with the consent of both parties, or in spite of the remonstrance of one. If a false step is made, the consequences must be awaited, for retraction is impossible, save upon one hypothesis. A change of ministry cannot annul the contents of a despatch, or indemnify a nation for a reversal of policy. The country must either make its words good, or accept national humiliation as the alternative. It must either go to war, or become the laughing-stock of the world. Of diplomatic errors, precipitancy is the fruitful source; to precipitancy Colonial politicians are especially prone, and war or disgrace follow upon the heels of a feeble diplomacy. Time and experience would no doubt teach discretion; but the teaching would be dearly bought.

Turning from the manifest advantages of an Imperial Foreign Office, we fail to see what the Colonies would gain by a delegation of its functions to themselves. It can hardly be maintained that the institution of a new department of State is likely to meet favour in the eyes of economical electors; nor are the persons who until recently grudged the smallest expenditure upon local defences to be counted as probable advocates of a change which would render the creation of a serviceable army and navy imperative.

There remains, however, one phase of the question—and it is a very important one—wherein the situation would be distinctly improved by entrusting the Colonies with the management of diplomatic relations. Indeed, we believe so firmly in the necessity of a change in this particular matter that we should be almost inclined to let it counter-balance every other consideration. A Colonial statesman negotiating with a foreign Power would approach all questions with full knowledge of the facts. He would be in touch with public opinion in the Colony; he would know

what points were worth insisting upon, and where he might safely make concessions. In short, he would have the case in all its bearings at his fingers' ends. This accuracy of information is absolutely essential. Without it no policy can be successfully conducted; one or two apparent triumphs may be secured, but the risk is immense, and ultimate disaster as certain, as in the most reckless forms of gambling. Fortunately, whatever blunders may be due to the want of it in the past, there is no reason why complete information, down to matters of the smallest detail, should not always be at the disposal of an Imperial Foreign Office. If for some unaccountable reason the [Colonial] Office fails to be in possession of it, it is possible for the Foreign Office, by despatching agents to collect evidence, or summoning deputies from the spot, to acquire an intimate acquaintance with the rights of any dispute in which a particular Colony may be concerned. If the present machinery is obsolete, it can be replaced with something better. We shall gladly welcome any change that may be necessary to bring Colonial opinion into closer relations with the executive heads of the department for foreign affairs. Everything done in that direction will tend towards the goal of Imperial Federation; but so long as our present constitutional system is unaltered the matter is provisionally one for an administrative arrangement by which all that is needed can be effected; and when there has ceased to be any danger lest material facts be overlooked, the immense advantages will again be felt of a Foreign Office that can speak with the authority of an united Empire, whether the question relates to the interests of the Colonies, or of the United Kingdom, or of all combined.

FEDERAL ACTION OF AUSTRALIAN BANKS.

THE great Australasian Banking Corporations have lately taken a step well calculated to promote the cause of Federation. After negotiations lasting for two months, the banks in New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand, South Australia, Tasmania, and Western Australia, have come to an agreement for a uniform reduction of 1 per cent. in the rates of interest payable on deposit. The rates are now 3, 4, and 5 per cent. for fixed deposits, for 3, 6, and 12 months respectively. We need not here dwell upon the appreciation of values likely to ensue from a lower rate of interest, but we desire to point out how this action of the once more Associated Banks proves their belief in the advantages of unity. It is expected that the Building Societies of Australia will soon follow the example of the banks, and thus a large class of the community will have a chance of becoming practically acquainted with the working of federal administration on an important scale.

There is seldom room for much sentiment in matters of business, and we are hardly likely to be told that the banks have decided upon taking common action simply for the sake of a name. But it is worth while referring to a matter which shows that serious deliberation took place, and conflicting views had to be harmonised before the final resolve was taken. The Queensland banks have stood aloof from the arrangement; we may be sure, therefore, that they regarded it as one of extreme significance, for they would not have refused to join with the rest, unless they had very special reasons for doing so. Moreover, the other banks must have been firmly convinced of the value to themselves of united action, or they would never have persisted in a decision which involved the exclusion of so important a factor in Australian commerce as the Queensland National Bank.

States are modelled upon the pattern of private organisations, and if the public service were administered with the same regard to economy and efficiency that distinguishes great commercial houses, the taxpayers would soon feel the benefit. Month after month we find Federation adopted by important bodies, whose judgment and perspicacity in matters of business are notorious. How long must we wait before the various States, which compose the British Empire, have learned to adjust their differences of system, and adopt uniformity of procedure in those public concerns, which are only private enterprises "writ large"?

THE EMPIRE IN COUNCIL.

"DE MINORIBUS REBUS PRINCIPES CONSULTANT, DE MAIORIBUS OMNES."—
Tac. Germ. c. xi.

'MID Frisia's sandy wastes of old
Our sires in conclave met,
Long years before on Britain's shore
An English foot was set :
Nor king, nor priest their manhood bound
With chains of silk or steel,
But unconfin'd, each spoke his mind
To serve the common weal.

And when within this storied isle
Their rule they reared again,
Superbly proud they strove, uncow'd,
With Norman and with Dane :
Upon their white untarnish'd walls
Spain flung herself—and fail'd ;
And frenzied France, with rash advance,
Before their lightnings quail'd.

But in their narrow wave-girt home,
Disdaining to be pent,
In distant lands, on foreign strands,
Their valour found its vent :
A stalwart race they fought, they fell,
They swarmed on every sea ;
And round the world their flag unfurl'd,
The symbol of the free.

Now half-distraught, and big with fate,
Our country travails sore,
And at her call, her children all,
Flock round her as of yore :
From younger Englands, far and wide,
Her "Witan" take their way ;
May Heaven send a happy end
To crown their trysting day !

H. F. WILSON.

THE DEFENCES OF NEW ZEALAND.

THE available forces of New Zealand are composed of (1) the armed constabulary reserve ; (2) the volunteer force. The armed constabulary is a permanent paid force, which it is the policy of the Colony gradually to reduce.

In May, 1886, the constitution of this force was as follows :—

Artillery	120
Engineers	20
Torpedo Corps	50
Rifles	160
	350

This force was maintained at a cost of £143,229.

The artillery and torpedo corps are intended when on a peace footing to consist of the fewest men sufficient to keep the guns, stores, machinery, and electrical instruments at all times fit for use. The two corps are to be distributed, in complete detachments, at the principal ports, and utilised for the instruction of volunteers.

Each nucleus would be capable of expansion in war-time, by the enrolment of volunteers, as care is taken to retain thoroughly competent non-commissioned officers and artificers. It is stated that in every district the corps might be enlarged in a few days by the enrolment of excellent recruits.

The engineer corps are at present entirely engaged upon the construction of fortifications. They will not probably be released to more purely military duties until the end of 1888.

The Rifles are to be employed in native (Maori) districts and upon the fortifications. At present there are only two places in native districts—Kawhia and Opunake—where it is thought necessary to maintain any force. The remainder of the "Rifles" supply the labour required upon the works in progress at Wellington.

If required for service, the Rifles will be formed into two companies ; but the organisation will comprise smaller subdivisions, each capable of expansion into a company at short notice.

For complete efficiency upon the lines of the policy laid down, it seems desirable that the whole of the permanent force should, as soon as possible, be released from work upon the fortifications, and take up its proper duties, as the artillery has already done.

The training of the torpedo corps has suffered greatly from lack of appliances. These requisites were on order from England for a year, but in May, 1886, none had arrived. Owing to this dilatoriness, it became necessary to make shift and improvise, and even to purchase in Melbourne certain instruments at an enhanced cost of 30 per cent. But instruction has been impossible, except in the most elementary parts of torpedo

training, on account of the failure of the supplies ordered from home.

A favourable report is given of the officers in the permanent force ; and General Sir G. S. Whitmore, commander of the forces, states that in the creation of the scientific corps it has not been necessary to go outside the Colony for officers, instructors, or men.

The volunteer force of New Zealand consisted on March 31, 1886, of 141 corps, containing 8,253 of all ranks. There were also 27 cadet corps, with 1,667 members.

The distribution of the various arms in the two islands is as follows :—

		North Island.	South Island.
Garrison Corps.	Cavalry	347	197
	Mounted Infantry	47	40
	Naval Artillery	602	638
	Artillery	285	498
	Engineers	48	124
	Rifles	1,098	1,640
	Country Corps	720	1,157
	Honorary	396	416
		3,543	4,710
	Cadets	529	1,667

The cadet corps are chiefly established in connection with the public schools.

Twelve compulsory drills per annum, of which four must be daylight drills, are prescribed for the garrison corps. This compares with thirty in England.

The volunteer force is rapidly improving in efficiency ; great enthusiasm prevails in many districts, and the stipulated number of drills is nearly always exceeded. The cavalry are well mounted, and the naval volunteers work admirably, and are ready to learn torpedo-work. The shooting of the infantry, however, is not first-rate, owing chiefly to the want of good ranges and proper instruction. The force is armed with Snider rifles, and some Martini-Enfields are on order, for issue to the best shots as an encouragement.

The company officers are elected by the corps.

The chief requirements of the volunteer force in New Zealand are :—

- 1 The examination of officers, as a supplement to election by their companies, before a commission is issued ; some systematic instruction both in drill and musketry for the officers, who cannot be expected to make themselves thoroughly efficient without it.
- 2 A proper supply of ammunition : at least a million rounds should be always in store, as the regular annual allowance of ball cartridge for practice is 100 rounds for each of the 9,000 rifles on issue. In May, 1886, General Whitmore reported : "The magazines throughout the Colony are now quite bare." Recently, owing to the impossibility of obtaining a supply of ammunition from England, "in spite of many letters and cablegrams," a local factory has been established at Auckland for the manufacture of cartridges, although the cost is 30 per cent. above the home price. The powder is all imported from England.
- 3 A proper supply of guns for the artillery : it is reported "they have much to discourage them in the want of enough suitable arms." At an inspection at Oamaru, "the field battery had a reasonable ground of complaint, having but one howitzer to drill with."
- 4 Proper equipments. Most of them are a legacy from the Imperial army, and are 25 to 35 years old. Great impatience is caused by the impossibility of exchanging worn-out useless belts for new ones. Buff-belts cannot be got in Australasia, and orders from home "are very long in arriving."
- 5 There does not appear to be any organisation for transport, commissariat, or ambulance corps.

The defence works of New Zealand are under the superintendence of Major Boddam, who is said to be an officer of singular energy and ability. The estimated cost of the defences is £313,735, and they will not be completed until next year, although they are making rapid progress. Major Boddam is of opinion that it would be unadvisable to alter the scheme of defence in any way whatever, that it is unnecessary to add to it, and that the original estimates of expenditure will cover all requirements.

The chief defences are being undertaken at the ports of Wellington, Auckland, Dunedin, and Lyttelton. The following was the distribution of garrison artillery on May 13, 1886 :—

		R.M.L.		
Place.	7 ton, 7 in.	64 lb.	64 lb. converted.	
Wellington	...	3	...	—
Auckland	...	3	...	5
Dunedin	...	3	...	—
Lyttelton	...	2	...	—

There were also on order from Sir W. Armstrong twenty-

three 6 in. and 8 in. guns, the works for fifteen of which were to be completed by the end of 1886. Magazines, gun-pits, garrison accommodation, shell-proof coverings, &c., have been formed, and designs prepared for mounting the whole of the machine-guns provided. There will also be sufficient machine-guns to arm a guard-boat at each port, and if the carriages of the field-guns in the Colony were so altered as to enable them to be used in arming the local launches, it is believed that an efficient defence could be made against any boat attack for the destruction of wharves or shipping. The submarine defences have been arranged on an approved scheme, and the necessary appliances were already ordered from the War Department in May last. It is stated that in three days all the torpedo defences can be laid down. At Auckland, Wellington, and Lyttelton electric search-lights enable the defence of the harbours to be efficiently carried out during the dark hours.

It is of the first importance in considering the future requirements of New Zealand defences, to remember that the chief object of an enemy would be to levy contributions upon the principal towns. A permanent occupation is not to be feared, and indeed it would also be impossible to protect so extended a coast-line against a determined attempt at invasion by an enemy who had the command at sea. Although she possesses four torpedo-boats and a couple of despatch vessels, New Zealand seems to have made no efforts to establish a sea-going navy, and will doubtless rely upon the Imperial fleet in time of war. What has been done consists in protecting the chief ports against a surprise; in pursuit of this policy, it will be necessary to extend the system of defences concurrently with the growth of new ports. At present many of those which are rapidly increasing in importance are practically undefended, and there seems a disposition to concentrate the defensive forces of the Colony at the older ports, forgetful of their younger rivals. Another point to be noticed is the urgent necessity of a Depot for Warlike Stores. It would be impossible, in time of war, to rely with certainty upon a depot at Sydney, or any other point in Australia; but with a number of ports exposed to attack, the demands upon ammunition, submarine mines, &c., would be exceedingly heavy. The formation of a well-appointed depot seems to be the most indispensable requirement of New Zealand defence, and it would be a question for consideration whether there ought not to be a branch upon whichever of the two islands failed to secure the benefits of the main establishment.

It should be stated that the foregoing information is derived from documents issued in May, 1886, and that allowance must be made for any changes that may have occurred since that date.

THE DEFENCES OF CANADA.

THE total number of the active militia of Canada, according to the most recent statistics available, is about 37,000 men, composed of—cavalry, about 2,000; field artillery, about 1,500; garrison artillery, about 2,000; engineers, about 200; infantry, about 31,000. In addition to this there is a small force of engineers connected with the Royal Military College at Kingston (a most excellent institution, and highly spoken of by military authorities), and a permanent force of about 1,000 men at the various military schools throughout the Dominion. The cavalry school is at Quebec, the artillery schools at Kingston and Quebec, and infantry schools at Fredericton (New Brunswick), St. John's (Quebec), and Toronto (Ontario). There is, besides, a mounted infantry school at Winnipeg, and a school of artillery is in course of formation in British Columbia. These schools afford courses of instruction to the officers and men of the militia battalions.

Canada is divided into twelve military districts, each under the command of an Adjutant-General. The whole military force is under the control of the Minister of Militia and Defence, and is commanded by a general officer of the Imperial service—at present, Major-General Sir Frederick Middleton, K.C.M.G. The militia is entirely a volunteer force. It is called out for twelve days' drill every year or two, and officers and men are paid for the drills on these occasions out of the public funds. This does not, however, represent the whole of the work performed, as drillings, meetings, and shooting competitions take place, as in Great Britain with the volunteers, the whole year round.

The total expenditure by the Dominion Government upon the militia for the year 1885 was about £200,000, exclusive of the expenses incurred in connection with the outbreak in the North-West Territories in that year.

The Acts of Parliament under which the militia is organised provide that the force may be increased to 45,000 men, and for a *levée en masse* if occasion should require.

As regards naval strength, Halifax is the headquarters of the North American squadron, and Esquimaux of the North Pacific squadron. The Canadian Government possess a few small cruisers for fishery and lighthouse services, and there is a splendid reserve in the 50,000 hardy fishermen that are em-

ployed upon her coasts. Besides, it must be remembered that the Canadian Pacific Railway is a most powerful factor in the defence of the country. Over £20,000,000 have been spent on this great work, and the Inter-colonial Railway, by the Canadian people. Its Imperial as well as local advantages have often been commented upon, and it is to be hoped that they will be appreciated not only by Her Majesty's Government, but by the public at large.

HERE AND THERE.

THE distance by rail between Adelaide and Melbourne is 500 miles, and is covered by the mail trains in nineteen hours, thus saving many hours in the delivery of letters from Europe to the Eastern Colonies.

THE Government of Western Australia are said to be favourably disposed towards an extensive scheme of emigration to the Colony.

THE news was telegraphed from Adelaide on March 2nd that the South Australian Parliament had been dissolved.

THE HON. J. TUDHOPE, Colonial Secretary in the Cape Ministry, has announced that the Government will bring in a Bill for extending the Kimberley Railway to the Vaal river.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, Dominion Minister of Finance, has been again appointed Acting High Commissioner in London for Canada. He will not, however, leave Canada until the close of the Parliamentary session.—*Reuter's Telegram*.

THE Brennan torpedo has been purchased by the British Government for the sum of £110,000. It can be accurately directed, and its movements controlled from the shore. It is stated that whereas the cost of mounting a ten-inch gun is £15,000, the installation of the Brennan torpedo costs only £5,000, and that it will be fully as effective for the protection of coasts and harbours.

SIR ROBERT HAMILTON, lately appointed Governor of Tasmania, reached Hobart on March 11th.

THE Queen's Jubilee will be celebrated in Canada on the same day as in England.

IT is stated that the defences of the Cape Peninsula are to be increased by several additional batteries commanding the entrance to Table Bay.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS the DUKE of CAMBRIDGE has accepted the invitation of Lord Bateman to meet the representatives of the Colonial Conference, Her Majesty's Ministers, the Agents-General for the Colonies, and a distinguished party at a banquet at the St. George's Club, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, the 20th of April next.

A BILL will be introduced in the South Australian Parliament enabling the Colony to join the Federal Council of Australasia. It is expected that a similar measure will be introduced in New South Wales.

A PARTY of 208 lads sailed a fortnight ago for Canada under the auspices of Dr. Barnardo.

A PAPER on British Columbia was read before the Royal Colonial Institute on March 8th, by the Bishop of New Westminster.

MR. JOHN NORTON has returned to New South Wales. Of course he went in a German steamer.

THE London Chamber of Commerce has offered prizes of fifty guineas each for the best specimens of tobacco grown (1) in the United Kingdom, (2) in India or any British Colony or Dependency.

IT is reported that Newfoundland is contemplating the possibility of entering the Canadian Confederation.

THE Earl of Dunraven will start shortly upon a prolonged tour in the Colonies.

LITERATURE.

Guide to Emigration and Colonisation. By Waldemar Bannow. (One vol., 1s. 6d., Walter Scott.)

THIS little book is chiefly interesting as showing how enthusiastic it is possible to be upon the subject of emigration after prolonged personal experience of Colonial life. The writer offers special comfort to the much-maligned race of clerks, who are so often told, officially and otherwise, that they are "not wanted" in the Colonies. Mr. Bannow points out very truly that it is hard to obtain employment as *Clerks*, but that men who are ready to turn their hand to anything that offers, and "to work away at it, as if it was a race for life," need feel no discouragement on the score of their business training; inferior physique, too, is a misfortune soon remedied by a healthy open-air life. The book is divided into sections, of which those on Emigration and Colonisation are the most prominent. As we have already indicated, Mr. Bannow's personal experiences seem to us considerably more valuable than the historical and theoretical parts of his work.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

BRADFORD.—Friends' Essay and Discussion Society.—At a meeting held February 25th, 1887, the President (Mr. John E. Wilson) in the chair, a debate took place upon the subject of Imperial Federation. The subject was introduced by Mr. Walter Jesper, the Secretary of the Society, who proposed the following resolution:—"That the closer union of England and her Colonies is desirable; and that Federation is likely to accomplish this result." In the course of his remarks, Mr. Jesper maintained that unless some closer form of union was brought about, separation would ultimately and inevitably ensue, substantiating this belief by citations from statesmen of this country, and from the colonists themselves. He referred to the many cases for dissatisfaction with our past and present attitude towards the Colonies, not merely from their being debarred from having any voice in the management of Imperial affairs, but also from the most unsatisfactory misrule and mismanagement by Downing Street and the Colonial Office exhibited on many occasions. Having endeavoured to point out the weakness of the present link of connection, Mr. Jesper went on to show the great desirability of a closer union, and, while pledging his support to such a scheme of Federation as may in due time be decided upon, refrained from denoting any particular line of immediate action, especially as an Imperial Conference upon the subject was shortly to be called together in London. Mr. James E. Tuke, not caring to subscribe his name as a follower of Mr. Goldwin Smith, did not move a direct negative to the resolution, but proposed the following amendment:—"That a close union between England and her Colonies is desirable; not to be achieved by any measure of legislation, but by the natural workings of good feeling and common interests." He contended that there was no danger of separation. Mr. H. Priestman, Mr. W. L. Jefferson, Mr. T. A. Guy, Mr. J. H. Heighton, Mr. Howard (member of the League), and Mr. Henry B. Priestman also spoke. Upon the vote being taken, after a reply by Mr. Jesper, it was found that the resolution was carried by a majority of three, eight being for and five against. Members only were allowed to vote, or the numbers would have been larger.

ENFIELD.—An interesting address on Imperial Federation was recently delivered by Mr. J. C. Wheeler at a smoking concert at Enfield. The chair was taken by Colonel Bosanquet. Mr. Wheeler said that of all the great causes for which the present century would be memorable, the one which was most important and which would have the greatest influence on future generations was Imperial Federation. After urging the importance to England of friendly relations with her Colonies, he went on to call attention to the position of Mr. Goldwin Smith, who, in 1878, professed himself willing to stake his reputation on his prophecy that Canada would join with the United States, and who now, in the columns of his paper, the *Montreal Star*, was coming round to the other side. Mr. Wheeler then made some quotations from the League's publication, "Fifty Years' Progress," and finally declared his conviction that Imperial Federation would be one step towards the millennium for which so many were sighing.

GLENFERRIE, VICTORIA.—A lecture on Imperial Federation was given a short time ago to the members of the Augustine Young Men's Improvement Society, by the Rev. A. Gosman. In the course of a most interesting and spirited address, the lecturer said that the first requirement was that Australians should have some voice in the foreign policy of the Empire and some representation at foreign courts. The four millions of people in Australia must have something to say in the creation of Imperial sentiment. Things could not be left as they were. Some suggested that they should "cut the painter," and set up for themselves. He would not like to remain in the boat when the painter was cut. With many others he would prefer to go back to the old ship. Britain was the very source of their life and present protection. He would rather see the Australians in the hands of a foreign Power than setting up a pinchbeck shoddy democracy. There was one painter he would cheerfully cut—that of a boat containing disloyal members of Parliament, and men of that kidney. Federation meant a representative assembly for the Empire, existing within certain lines and for a common purpose. There were one or two conditions necessary for its success. It would not do to force Federation upon any one. Every one must understand it thoroughly. Neither Australians nor Englishmen would have a thing thrust down their throats. When told directly to do a thing, they took an exquisite delight in doing the very opposite. But in face of these lesser difficulties, there was a great basis for union in the fact that there was no more loyal people on the face of the earth than Australians. It was a grand thing, in his

opinion, to be in a big concern, and the very consideration of the question of Imperial Federation, even were there no hopes of seeing its realisation, was sufficient to raise enthusiasm. It opened up a new ambition for Australians, and he had no belief in the man who was utterly without ambition and always willing to sit on the lowest step. He had no respect for the meek man who said, "I'd be obliged to you if you would trample upon me." Australians would aspire to a place not alone in their own legislatures, but to that higher mission of going home and taking a place in the Imperial Parliament as one of the representatives of an Empire of fifty-five millions of people.

HULL.—At a recent meeting of the West Hull Liberal Club, Mr. Grainger in the chair, Mr. E. Cohen read a paper on "Imperial Federation." The essayist believed that the commercial interests of this country would be greatly enhanced by the adoption of some form of Federation, and moved, in conclusion, the following resolution:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the political relations between Great Britain and her Colonies must inevitably lead to Federation or Disintegration; to avoid the latter and to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is necessary, but that no schemes shall interfere with the rights of local parliaments to manage local affairs." An amendment was moved by Mr. Davis, and seconded by Captain Fowler. After a hearty discussion the Chairman took the vote, and declared the resolution carried. A vote of thanks to Mr. Cohen and the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

LIVERPOOL.—At a meeting of the Toxteth Habitation of the Primrose League, Professor Strong, late Classical Professor at Melbourne University, gave an instructive lecture on Imperial Federation. He expressed himself in favour of the Colonial Agents-General being entitled to vote in the House of Commons, and advocated the establishment in London of a permanent council of representative Colonists for the management of Imperial concerns.

LONDON (HAMPSTEAD).—On March 9th, Capt. Colomb, M.P., gave a lecture to the members of the Hampstead Constitutional Club on Imperial Federation. Mr. Preston was in the chair, and on introducing the lecturer, pointed out that Capt. Colomb, as a member of the executive committee of the League, was well fitted to address them on the difficult question of Imperial Federation. Capt. Colomb, after explaining that the League was no political association, but had been formed for the common good of the Empire, went on to show that the question of trade was one of the many things which could be best settled by means of Imperial Federation. He argued that if the great British Empire is to be sustained the future must be faced, and in Imperial Federation, he was convinced, lay the greatest strength and stability of the Empire.

LONDON (WILLESDEN).—At a recent meeting of the Willesden Local Parliament, Mr. R. Scott introduced a series of resolutions in favour of the various principles of Imperial Federation. Mr. Scott drew attention to the fact that for twenty years past the Royal Colonial Institute had steadily kept in view the grand idea of Imperial Federation, and expressed his opinion that the Colonial Conference would prove one of the greatest events of the century as being the practical beginning of Federation. A number of members took part in the debate which followed; and in the division which followed the whole of Mr. Scott's resolutions were carried by a majority of nineteen.

MANCHESTER.—At the Owens College Debating Society (Victoria University), on February 4, Mr. C. T. Needham read a paper on Imperial Federation. There was a large attendance. In introducing the subject for the evening's debate Mr. Needham said there were many schemes advocated to celebrate the Jubilee, but he ventured to think that any or all of them, when compared with that for the consolidation of the Empire, were insignificant, and none would so completely celebrate the unique event as the accomplishment of some well-considered scheme of Imperial Federation. He then went on to say the question was not in any way a party question, and asked the members to treat the question on its own merits absolutely. What they wished to do by Imperial Federation was to so weld together into one unanimous whole the component parts of the Empire, that they might present the front of an United Empire to the world. The question which immediately presented itself was, "Is the end worth working for?" The answer to this he said from responsible statesmen of all ranks was, "Yes." He then urged those present to bring to bear a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together for the consummation of such an end. What did they seek to confederate? What they wished to make as ours was a fifth part of the habitable globe. Dealing with the objection that this should have no weight in deciding the answer to the question proposed, he pointed out that our home trade was undergoing a very decided change in its outside relations. He first approached this from an English commercial point of view, and showed that the trade of England with the other portions of the world was rapidly declining, while the only quarter in which it was increasing was with the Colonies, clearly pointing to the conclusion that their trade followed their flag, and that they must look to their Colonies for future support. Mr.

Needham then discussed other leading features of the movement for Federation, and, in conclusion, he urged them to remember that their Colonies were flesh of their flesh, bone of their bone; that they were a people with one history, one tradition, one purpose, bound together by ties of the strongest nature. He urged them not to allow themselves to be cajoled into believing that separation was the natural and normal outcome of our Colonies. He said the idea of separation was as hateful to the Colonists as to them, and asked if they were prepared to abandon the priceless legacy of times gone by, urging them to band together, and never lay down their arms until what they worked for was at last accomplished. After a vigorous discussion, lasting two hours, many members speaking, the following motion was carried—"That in order to maintain the permanent unity of the Empire some form of Federation is required."

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—Under the auspices of the Newcastle Liberal Club, a lecture was delivered not long ago by Mr. M. Dodd, of Leamington, on the subject of Imperial Federation. Mr. A. S. Stevenson presided, and there was a good attendance. The lecturer stated that he agreed with the late Mr. Forster in believing that unless Federation were adopted, the Colonies must separate from us and become independent nations. He admitted that modern ideas regarded Federation favourably. This was seen in Germany, Italy, the United States, Austria and Hungary, and the Argentine Republic. The growth of population in Europe was such that without Federation Great Britain must cease to be a first-class Power; but with Federation we could defy any combination. The connection with our Colonies brought trade to us, and in that sense it was important to keep our kindred in alliance with us. But in addition to trade there was the question of defence. The Colonies took in hand their own defence within their own bounds, but outside of the Colonies the cost of defence fell upon us, and we could not make the Colonies contribute without giving them some share in the administration of affairs. When we took the Colonies into counsel on matters of policy, then we would have a right to expect assistance outside from the Colonies. Our interests were with our Colonies, and less and less in the affairs of Bulgaria and its recent petty potentate, and of other parts of Europe. He had no proposal to make on the manner in which Federation should be carried out. There was a splendid national feeling at this moment between ourselves and our Colonies, and it would be better to wait fifty years for a good solution than to take half-measures, which might only result in friction. Depend upon it, if our Colonies and ourselves kept hold of the notion that we must never separate, then some solution would eventually be found. Votes of thanks closed the proceedings.

OXFORD.—A lecture on "Imperial Unity" was delivered on February 21st by J. F. Heyes, Esq., M.A., F.R.G.S., in the rooms of the Church of England Young Men's Society, Cornmarket Street. The lecturer said that the Imperial Federation League did not put forward any legislative scheme, but confined its efforts to spreading information about our Colonies, with a view to educating public opinion. Our Colonies were bound to us not through subjection, but by a loyal reverence, and for mutual advantage in peace and mutual protection in war. Historical objections were made to Imperial Federation, but the British Empire was unique, the Roman Empire and the less-known one of Genghis Khan extending almost entirely over unbroken land surfaces. Ours was disconnected, but by the aid of steam and electricity was brought nearer together. Reference was made to the desire of European nations to get parts of Africa. The proposed affiliation of Indian and Colonial Universities with Oxford was mentioned as a hopeful sign. The usual votes of thanks were accorded.

TORONTO, CANADA.—In the February number of the *Englishman's Journal*, Toronto, appears a full and revised report of an address delivered by Mr. George Hague before the Montreal Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada. It is impossible in the limited space at our disposal to present our readers with an analysis of Mr. Hague's long and interesting paper, in which he gives an accurate and carefully considered statement of the position held by Canada in relation to various questions connected with the main issue. The upshot of the whole is that, in Mr. Hague's judgment, the utmost which can be done *at present* in the way of Federation is close defensive alliance between Great Britain and her Colonies, and that proper effect to such an alliance an Imperial Council should be formed.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—At the annual general meeting of the St. George's Branch of the Wolverhampton Conservative Association, an address on Imperial Federation was delivered by Mr. G. W. Tonks. After explaining the meaning of Federation, and dilating on the enormous value to England of her Colonies, the lecturer said there was no real partnership at present between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and to bring about such a partnership was the object of Imperial Federation. This end would be furthered by inviting Colonial representatives to a discussion in London, which would result in the strengthening, not in the giving up, of the rights of England. In conclusion, Mr. Tonks dwelt on the question of tariffs, and said that commercial federation was really the most important consideration.

EVIDENCE FOR THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF AUSTRALASIA UPON COLONIAL DEFENCE.

LITTLE more than a year ago the question of Colonial Defences was under discussion, during the first session of the Federal Council of Australasia. Although the particular matter proposed for consideration was the protection of King George's Sound in Western Australia, the opportunity was utilised for a general expression of opinion upon the subject of Australasian Defence, and the principles upon which the Home Government and those of the Colonies should approach it. Several of the members of the Federal Council have been accredited to the Imperial Conference, at which the same question in its broader aspects has been specially named for discussion, and we have therefore made the following extracts from the official report of the speeches made at the Council, as not only exhibiting the personal views of several prominent representatives to the Conference, but also affording valuable evidence of the drift of Colonial sentiment in regard to Imperial Defence.

The HON. ADYE DOUGLAS (Premier and Chief Secretary of Tasmania).

This Colony (Tasmania), when the proper time has arrived and the subject has matured, and when we know what is intended as a general system of defence, will, as it has always done, join with the other Colonies in doing what is desirable for the defence of Australasia. . . . The Tasmanian Government will be willing to join the other Australasian Colonies in paying a fair contribution, whatever it may be, but it will be for those entrusted with the management of the matter during the recess to see also that the Mother Country bears her full share of the burden. England is interested in this matter far more than any of the Colonies. If a war breaks out we shall find means to get our goods to England in some other way. A war would be detrimental to us, but it would be far more so to England. We send our raw materials to England, which employs her population, and we in return get her goods in a manufactured condition.

The HON. S. W. GRIFFITH, Q.C. (Premier and Chief Secretary of Queensland).

Some people seem to think that it is not our function to defend ourselves, and in this respect I do not fully agree with the hon. member from Tasmania (Mr. Douglas). We ought, in my opinion, to take up to a great extent the position that it is our duty to defend ourselves. I do not know a community in any part of the world which is so free from expenditure for self-defence as the Australasian Colonies. What do we spend on our defences? I cannot give an exact estimate, but it is a mere trifle to what is cheerfully borne by other nations of the world, which, however, still consider themselves to be lightly taxed for war purposes. We ought to recognise as a nation that, just as the first duty of every man is to defend himself and his house, so the nation should be prepared to protect itself from invasion by the enemy. I wish that sentiment more widely and distinctly pervaded the Australasian Colonies.

I maintain that not only with regard to land defences, but also with respect to naval defences, it is our duty to assist. We ought to assist in the maintenance of a squadron which belongs to Australasia, the ships of it belonging to the Australasian Colonies, and manned and maintained at their expense, and which are understood to be expressly set apart for the defence of our shores. As many hon. members in this Council are aware, considerable correspondence has taken place during the last twelve months on the subject, but I do not propose to go into it at length. We cannot here give effect to any proposition of the kind, but I think I am at liberty to mention a few suggestions I made. They are as follows:—

1. That a fleet of six fast cruisers be raised and maintained at the joint expense of the Australasian Colonies in proportion to their population. If New Zealand declines to join, the number to be reduced to four.
2. The ships to be built at the joint expense of the Colonies in the same proportion; type and armament being agreed to by the Admiralty and Colonial Governments.
3. The ships to be employed solely for the defence of the Australian coast and the protection of British interests in Australian waters, unless with joint consent of all Australasian Governments.
4. The ships to be commissioned and recommissioned in all respects as other ships in Her Majesty's Navy, of which it would form an integral part, to fly the white ensign (with a distinguishing badge to be devised for the purpose), and to be under the command of the Admiral commanding the Australian station.
5. A sufficient number of torpedo vessels to be provided on the same conditions.
6. A due regard to be paid to the admission of Australian boys as cadets on the ships of the Australian fleet. This should be a subject of express stipulation with the Imperial Government.
7. An Australian arsenal and dockyard to be established and maintained at the like joint expense. Having regard to the natural advantages of the harbour of Port Jackson, and its nearness to the best supplies of coal, I suggest that the arsenal should be established in that harbour.
8. A permanent Appropriation Act, to be passed in each Colony, providing the necessary funds to give effect to these proposals; the Act to be in force for ten years, except by the mutual consent of all the Governments, or of all but two, and, in that case, until after one year's notice to the dissenting Governments.
9. A Commission, consisting of three members, each being a member of the Government of one of the Colonies, to be appointed to

represent the different Colonies, and to supervise the expenditure in connection with the admiral.

10. In times of assured and profound peace one or more of the ships to be put out of commission or employed on other services to be agreed to.

I wished to take the opportunity of saying a word or two on this question as to whether the defences should be maintained by ourselves in the sense I have used the words, or by making a money contribution, or paying a money subsidy to the Imperial Government. I do not think that it is in accordance with the spirit of the times in these Colonies that we should contribute to the revenue of Great Britain by a distinct money payment. That we should share in the responsibility as to defence I firmly believe. I think we are old enough, and strong enough, and capable enough to ask to have, in fact to claim to have, some voice in the expenditure of the money we contribute, though the contribution could hardly be made as money for maintaining part of the fleet.

The HON. JAMES SERVICE (Premier and Treasurer of Victoria, President of the Federal Council).

There is a tendency amongst all our legislatures, and I think it is a most proper and justifiable tendency, to scrutinise very carefully any expenses for defence purposes. Not that we actually grudge the expenditure, but the tendency is to think there is not much necessity for it when there is no enemy actually on our coast. That is where, I fear, the great blunder lies in connection with our Australasian system of defences. Instead of putting our house in order so thoroughly that we need have no anxiety whatever happens, the tendency is to be scared by an exceptional news telegraphed to us from Europe or Asia, and then when the scare has died away to grumble at the outlay of money which has been reasonably expended. We must set before ourselves as a united people some distinct plan which we must carry out from year to year, so that we can feel perfectly secure whatever happens

I think it is of considerable importance that I should bring under the notice of the Council a suggestion which was made to me some time ago, and which has since been the subject of correspondence between the Government of Victoria and that of Western Australia. The suggestion was made to me by a gentleman who was formerly a Minister of Lands in Queensland, but who is now a resident of Sydney—Mr. E. W. Lamb. . . . I do not know Mr. Lamb personally, but I have indicated his views to the Government of Western Australia The letter I wrote to Western Australia was as follows:—

PREMIER'S OFFICE.

Melbourne, 7th September, 1885.

SIR,—Mr. E. W. Lamb, of Sydney, at one time Minister of Lands in the Government of Queensland, has communicated to his Government a proposition for establishing what may be termed an Australian Federal Defence Fund for defence and other objects, by means of the setting apart for that purpose by the Imperial Government of a portion, say 50,000,000 acres, of the waste lands of Western Australia, the lands so reserved to be administered by and for the joint benefit of the several Colonies concerned. Mr. Lamb expresses the opinion that the proposition which he advances would probably not be distasteful to Western Australia, having regard to the enormous extent of her territory, also to the comparatively small value at present of the lands proposed to be set apart, and to the fact that we should largely participate in the advantages to be derived from their appropriation for defence and other purposes. I deem it to be necessary, preliminary to any consideration of the matter, to bring the project under your notice in order that the views of the Government of Western Australia in relation thereto may be ascertained. I enclose copies of letters by Mr. Lamb on the subject, also an excerpt from the Sydney *Morning Herald* of 22nd November, 1884, referred to in these communications.—I have, etc.,

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

To the Hon. the Colonial Secretary of Western Australia, Perth.

I think we might in regard to this fairly bear in mind that Western Australia is still a Crown Colony, and that in point of fact the Imperial authority—of course influenced by an expression of opinion from the Legislature or people of the Colony, but still the paramount authority over these lands—might be induced, seeing that Western Australia does not object to the principle of the grant, not to throw any great difficulty in the way of the concession being made. If that could be done, it would, I think, be an immense step in the way of rendering the defences of the Australasian Colonies so perfect and complete that it would hardly be looked upon as a necessity at all in the future to apply to the local budgets to contribute towards fortifications, submarine mines, or torpedoed. The following was the answer from Western Australia:—

WESTERN AUSTRALIA, COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

Perth, 17th December, 1886.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 7th September last, requesting the opinion of this Government upon a proposal to set aside 50,000,000 acres of the waste lands of this Colony, to be administered for defence and other federal purposes, I am directed by Governor Sir Frederick Broome to inform you that this Government would probably support such a proposal on condition that a federal loan of, say £5,000,000 were raised for the purpose of constructing a railway connecting Perth with Adelaide.

2. Some federal organisation is clearly required before any steps can be taken either as regards the land or the loan, but Sir Frederick Broome is of opinion that Mr. Lamb's suggestion is valuable, and that if the scheme indicated in the letter could be carried out it would be a great benefit to the Continent.—I have &c.,

M. A. SMITH, Acting Colonial Secretary.

The Hon. the Premier, Victoria.

MEETING OF THE MONTREAL BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE.

A VERY successful meeting was held on February 23rd, of the Montreal Branch of the League. There were present Mr. Henry Lymn, in the chair, Messrs. John Lewis, J. B. McLea, Thomas Macfarlane, William Hobbs, R. and H. H. Lyman, Alexander Robertson, W. G. Beers, William Angus, J. Bethune, Dr. Baker Edwards, Messrs. Cladbold, Strathy, Nicolls, McGoun, &c.

An essay upon the subject of Imperial Federation was then read by Mr. Thomas Macfarlane, F.R.C.S., of Ottawa. He said that one of the strongest proofs we could have that the policy of drift and disintegration had been utterly abandoned was to be found in the fact that an Imperial representative Conference was soon to meet. He referred to their opponents in this country, secessionists of all shades, the so-called Nationalists among French-Canadians, and those who prefer independence or annexation to Federation, and said that if they did not scruple to put forward their views and preach sedition, the Federalists should administer an antidote to their poison. The speaker, having considered the question of an Imperial Senate, then gave in detail his plans for raising a sufficient amount to meet the expenses of Federation, and the sum that each Colony would have to contribute. Concluding, he said, "It is only by adopting a simple plan, universally applicable, advantageous to the whole commonwealth, and favouring neither free trade nor protection, that a satisfactory Imperial budget can be devised and a strong united Empire established."

On motion of Mr. Strathy, seconded by Mr. Angus, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Mr. Macfarlane.

MAJOR A. C. E. WELBY, of the Scots Greys, of London, England, was called on by the Chairman. He said people were beginning to see that the unity of the Empire must be kept above the pulling of parties in the House of Commons and elsewhere, which itself endangered this unity. At the last election in England, Federation was often brought forward, and the feeling in its favour was strong. In his own address to the electors (Major Welby was a Conservative candidate in one of the East End boroughs of London—Poplar), he had put in a paragraph referring to it, and many men who did not agree with him on other subjects put their finger on that and said, "That is my policy." And not only Conservatives but Liberals, and decided and advanced Radicals did this.

Let the idea work in the public mind, and when public opinion was ripe, when the people here and in the United Kingdom, in Australia and other places, came to see that their defence, their commerce, their interests and their future, were matters of common concern, it was certain that a scheme of Federation, in all its justness and thoroughness, would be evolved from the mind of the people. Major Welby was warmly applauded when he closed.

After remarks by Mr. Macfarlane, Dr. Baker Edwards, Mr. Alex. Robertson, and other speakers, the meeting was brought to a close with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE.

A MEETING in connection with the Cambridge Branch of the University and Town Branches of the Imperial Federation League was held on March 10th, in the Guildhall, Cambridge, when Professor Seeley took the Chair, and there were present—The Vice-Chancellor (the Rev. the Master of John's), the Rev. the Master of Jesus, the Rev. the Master of Clare, the Mayor (Mr. W. B. Redfern), Lord William Compton, the Rev. Dr. Bryan Walker, the Rev. G. F. Browne, Rev. J. J. Lias, Canon Scott, Captain Going, Lieutenant Mansfield Smith, Professor Adams, Dr. Waraker, Count Strickland, and Messrs. W. R. Bright, R. Ellis, Neville Goodman, A. Simmons, and others.

The CHAIRMAN alluded to a previous meeting of the League, when the late Mr. W. E. Forster was present, and he spoke in terms of great regret of Mr. Forster's death. He then touched upon the subject of emigration, and said that that was a question of equal importance to the Colonies and the Mother Country. They partly recommended Federation in order that the Empire might be better defended from common enemies, but there were also many works which might be carried out in concert by the Colonies and the Mother Country, not the least of which was colonisation. (Applause.) The Colonies were not drifting away from England, but meant to stick to the old flag; the cause which alienated Colonies from us a long time ago existed no longer; and if those Colonies of ours should draw nearer, instead of drifting away, how easy, how simple, how happy would the process of emigration become—in fact, it would cease to be emigration, and would become migration. How fond some people were of speaking of England as overcrowded, and too small! There were 35 millions of people here, and before long there would be 70 millions, and the increase would not stop there. This England was small, but taking England in the other sense, including Australia, Canada, and South Africa, what an enormous and thinly-peopled country was that of England. (Applause.) In England there was a population clamouring for land, and there they had land, so to speak, clamouring for population, or, as had been said, "Here you have idle lands, and there you have idle lands." (Applause.)

LORD WILLIAM COMPTON then spoke in favour of the scheme of State-directed colonisation, and Mr. SIMMONS also spoke in favour of the principle of Federation, and at the conclusion of his remarks, on the motion of the VICE-CHANCELLOR, seconded by CAPTAIN GOING, a vote of thanks was accorded to a deputation from the Colonisation Society (Lord W. Compton, Mr. Simmons, and Lieutenant Smith) for their presence.

The vote was acknowledged by LIEUTENANT SMITH.

The MAYOR then moved a vote of thanks to PROFESSOR SEELEY for presiding.

The resolution was seconded by the REV. G. F. BROWNE, and carried, and the meeting separated after singing the National Anthem.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

FEBRUARY 19—MARCH 19, 1887.

POSTAGE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

Feb. 22.—In the House of Commons, MR. KING asked the Postmaster-General whether the rate of postage to India and China from France, Belgium, and Germany, by British steamers subsidised by the British Government, was 2½d. per half-ounce, while the rate from England to the same countries for letters carried in the same British steamers was 5d. per half-ounce; whether the English Government received, under the International Postal Convention, as consideration for the carriage of letters to India and China in steamers subsidised with English money, the sum of 1½d. per half-ounce, and whether there was any loss on such carriage; and, if so, why the Government undertook to carry at a loss for foreign countries, while declining to reduce the double postage charged upon the people of the United Kingdom and India.

MR. RAIKES: My answer to the hon. member's first and second questions is in the affirmative. On the third point I may say that there is no loss on the carriage of these foreign letters to India and China, because the Post Office pays a fixed subsidy to the British contractors for carrying the Indian and China mails, and if we did not get the foreign letters even at the cheap rate of 1½d. each, our receipts would be so much the less, and our yearly loss so much the greater.

THE NEW HEBRIDES.

In answer to Mr. G. O. Morgan, Commander Bethell, and Mr. Johnston, SIR J. FERGUSSON said: There has been no confirmation received by Her Majesty's Government of the statement that the French are about to construct new forts, to increase the number of their troops, and to build new barracks in the New Hebrides. On the contrary, Her Majesty's Government have been informed that the French posts have been much reduced. Her Majesty's Government are in correspondence with the French Government with a view to arrangements under which they will be removed altogether.

COLONIAL SERVICE (PENSIONS) BILL.

Feb. 24.—In the House of Commons, SIR H. MAXWELL, in moving the second reading of this Bill, said that when Colonial civil servants accepted Governorships their service as Governor did not extend towards pension, and the object of this Bill was to make that service count towards pension. The pensions granted would be calculated on the basis of the Civil Service scale.

The Bill was, after a brief discussion, read a second time.

INDIAN TELEGRAMS.

Feb. 25.—In the House of Commons, MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that telegraphic messages from England to Australia were charged from Bombay to Madras 500 per cent. more than local messages over the same lines; and would he take steps to remedy the grievance.

SIR J. GORST: Telegraphic messages are charged from Bombay to Madras 75 centimes per word. Local messages are charged, if urgent, 45 centimes; if not urgent, 22½ centimes. The Government of India object at present to incur the loss of revenue which a reduction of the rate on Australian messages would cause.

LORD SALISBURY'S LETTER TO MR. ARNOLD WHITE.

MR. O. V. MORGAN: In the interests of our fellow-countrymen in South Africa I desire to ask the Colonial Secretary whether the letter in the *Times* of Tuesday, bearing the signature of Lord Salisbury, is authentic.

SIR H. HOLLAND: The letter referred to by the hon. member is authentic. The language clearly indicated that Lord Salisbury regretted and deprecated the feeling which, however, the occurrences of the last few years led him to believe existed in the minds of many members of Parliament, but that he thought the existence of such feeling should be noted.

MR. O. V. MORGAN: May I ask whether the opinion expressed in the letter is also the opinion in general of Her Majesty's Government? SIR R. N. FOWLER: Before that question is answered, may I ask whether Lord Salisbury's letter was marked "confidential?"

SIR H. HOLLAND: I have stated fully and clearly, I hope, the effect of the language of Lord Salisbury, and there can be no doubt that that is also the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. SIR R. N. FOWLER: The right hon. gentleman has not stated whether the letter was marked "confidential."

SIR H. HOLLAND: That I am quite unable to say.

[Mr. White wrote to the *Times* of the 26th, saying that he had received permission from Lord Salisbury to publish the letter, and that Lord S. himself revised it for the purpose.—ED.]

INDIA AND CHINA MAILS.

Feb. 28.—In the House of Commons, MR. KING asked the Postmaster-General whether, in view of the fact that, as lately stated by him, the price of postage of letters to India and China was only charged at the rate of 1½d. per half ounce to the Governments of France, Belgium, and Germany, while the price to British merchants was as high as 5d. per half ounce, any steps were being or would be taken to abolish this anomaly and to reduce the rate to India and China to 2½d. per half ounce.

MR. RAIKES: The low sea rate charged to foreign countries for letters carried by British mail packets to India and China is fixed by the Postal Union Convention, and, as a matter of reciprocity, this country has the right to send letters on equal terms to parts beyond sea by foreign steamers so far as they are available. The hon. member is perhaps, not aware that the sea conveyance is only part of the cost incurred by this country in sending letters to India and China. There is besides a foreign transit rate for the accelerated train service through France and Italy, amounting to another 1½d. per half ounce, a charge which is not incurred by either France or Italy for their own letters.

The question of reducing the British postage from 5d. to 2½d. is one for the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

DEFENCES OF SINGAPORE.

March 1.—In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Henniker Heaton, MR. E. STANHOPE said: A large proportion of the guns required for the defence of Singapore has been sent out. Of the remainder all but two will be despatched during the present year. I am sure that my hon. friend will see that it is not desirable for me, in the interests of the public service, to give details of the work.

ANNEXATION IN WEST AFRICA.

March 3.—MR. HANBURY asked the Secretary for the Colonies whether it was contemplated to include any fresh territory in the British Protectorate on the Gold Coast, and, if so, to what extent, and on what conditions.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Two additions have recently been made to the Gold Coast Protectorate. 1. The small territory of Krikor, a strip of land about 20 miles by six, lying to the east of the Volta, between Awoonah and Afioo, both of which were already under British protection. It was desirable to accept the offer of Krikor for administrative and fiscal reasons, and the treaty was ratified by the late Government in June last. 2. On the North-west confines of the Protectorate, adjacent to Gaman, an independent State, the addition of the kingdom of Sefwhi to the Protectorate was authorised by my predecessor. The object was to secure the freedom of the roads through it, as they are important trade routes, and the necessity of securing them has been strongly urged on Her Majesty's Government by merchants interested in the Colony. The principal conditions are freedom of trade routes and cessation of slavery. No responsibility is involved of defending the country against any native aggression.

AFFAIRS OF MALTA.

March 4.—In the House of Lords a debate took place on the question of enlarging the constitutional privileges of Malta. In the course of his reply to Earl Delawarr, LORD BRABOURNE said there were two principles which must underlie any action of the Colonial Office with regard to Malta. Nothing must be done which would impair the position of Malta as a great naval and military station of England, or at all interfere with the direct Imperial control of the forces. Subject to that, and consistently with the interests of the country, he would say that it was most desirable that the national aspirations of the Maltese people should be favourably considered, and that the development of representative institutions should be encouraged. Up to the present time the reformers in Malta, even the most violent of them, had been very moderate in their demands—namely, for the gradual development of representative institutions without clashing with the Imperial Government of the island, and he hoped that the Government might be able to see their way to concede the wishes of the people of Malta without in any manner compromising the character or strength of the island as a great fortress. (Hear, hear.)

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

March 10.—In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. O. V. Morgan, SIR H. HOLLAND said—All the Colonies under responsible Government—i.e. Canada, the Australasian Colonies, the Cape, and Newfoundland, and also the Colony of Natal—will be represented. About 24 or 25 representatives are expected. The Crown Colonies will not be specially represented, unless in any case a question should arise in reference to which any person from the Colony happening to be in England could give useful information. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, or in his absence the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, will preside at its sittings. Other members of Her Majesty's Government or departmental officers will attend if the subject under discussion renders their attendance desirable. The sittings of the Conference will be held at the Colonial Office. Most of the Colonial representatives must return at an early date for the Sessions of their Parliaments, so that the Conference cannot continue for more than a very few weeks. The subjects proposed for consideration in Mr. Stanhope's despatch inviting the Conference are—(1) Defence, (2) postal and telegraphic communications, (3) any other important question which in the general opinion of the Colonial Governments may properly and usefully be brought under consideration. Political Federation is expressly excluded from discussion at the Conference.

POSTAGE TO AUSTRALIA.

March 15th.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Henniker Heaton, MR. RAIKES said,—I am quite aware that letters can be forwarded by French packet to New Caledonia for a postage of 4d. each, while 6d. is charged for a letter to Australia by any route, and whether by British or by French packet. The explanation is that New Caledonia (a French Colony) is in the Postal Union, and enjoys its advantages, while the Australian Colonies are not in the Union. The question of the Australian Colonies joining the Postal Union is one entirely for the consideration of the Colonies themselves. Hitherto they have not thought it expedient to do so. As the Conference of Colonial representatives about to meet in London is expressly invited to consider this and other questions, I should think it scarcely courteous to the Colonial Governments to anticipate any recommendations which that Conference may make by instituting an inquiry by a committee of this House at this moment.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

March 18th.—In the House of Lords, the EARL OF HARROWBY called attention to the forthcoming Conference, and the importance of a due representation of the Crown Colonies thereat. The EARL OF ONSLOW stated in reply that he would take care that any Crown Colony which did not send official delegates should be properly represented. A letter had been issued stating that if he were informed of the names of any public men resident in England during the sitting of the Conference he would arrange that each gentleman should be present when any question concerning his Colony came under discussion. Her

Majesty's Government had made inquiries as to which of the distinguished persons from the Crown Colonies were now in England or could arrive in time for the opening of the Conference, and the result of those inquiries had been to show that there would be a representative from very nearly every Crown Colony, who would be invited to attend at the opening meeting. (Hear, hear.) Her Majesty's Government had endeavoured to carry out the proposition contained in the question of the noble Earl. Preference would be given to those members of the local Legislatures who took an interest in the affairs of their own departments in the Crown Colonies.

SINGAPORE.

In the House of Commons, in replying to Mr. De Lisle, MR. NORTHCOTE said:—The Colony of Singapore has fulfilled its part of the contract for the security of the Colony, and there will be no unnecessary delay in the fulfilment of the Imperial share. In the meantime, although the defences of Singapore are not absolutely complete, they are very strong, and leave no practical doubt as to the safety of the coaling station. The two guns, which will not be completed in 1887-8, are being made at Elswick.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL ON IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

THE Postmaster-General has sent the following reply to a letter on the subject of Imperial penny postage which Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., addressed to him on the 1st of March:—

General Post Office, London, March 17.

Sir,—The Postmaster-General desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst., which, together with your previous letters on the subject of "Imperial penny postage," he has very carefully considered.

At the outset I am to say that Mr. Raikes yields to no one in the desire to promote by every means the union and good feeling which bind England and her Colonies together, and that he thinks a reasonable reduction in the cost of communication between the different parts of the Empire is a subject which is well worth the attentive examination not only of England, but also of her Colonies.

He hopes, therefore, that you will understand that any criticism of your opinions is directed rather to throw full light on the question than to disparage the idea of cheaper postage.

Your contention apparently is that—(1) An Imperial ocean penny postage is wanted; (2) that it is practicable; (3) that it would be self-supporting.

As regards the general desire for such a post, it may be taken for granted that, as a rule, anything that is cheap is popular, provided it is efficient, but it is the duty of those who, like the Postmaster-General, are in responsible positions, to see that this important qualification is kept in view.

As regards practicability, it is necessary to consider treaty obligations and the question as it affects the Colonies themselves.

Those parts of the British dominions which are included in the Postal Union constitute not one, but several Union States—*i.e.*, States which have separately given adhesion to the universal Postal Union.

Under the International Convention of 1878 the rate of postage between any two countries in the Union cannot be less than 25 centimes (about 2½d. more or less according to currency).

The Colonies themselves are all alike interested in the homeward rates, which in most cases they retain, and many of them are interested in the outward rates, so far as the postage collected is divided between them and the British Post Office.

Your letters are silent on the subject of the reduction of postage from the Colonies, but the Postmaster-General apprehends that this is hardly less important to the public than reduction to the Colonies.

A penny post could not be made applicable to all parts of the British Empire, but even if it could, the proposition that it would be on the whole self-supporting is one which requires very close examination; and Mr. Raikes regrets to say that a careful scrutiny of the ground upon which you base the theory leads him to an opposite conclusion.

He cannot admit that letters can be compared with freight, or be treated in all respects like freight.

Parliament has recognised the fact that letters have to be conveyed under special and peculiar conditions, a point which is illustrated by the power vested by law in the Postmaster-General to pay gratuities per separate letter (and not according to bulk or weight) to the masters of vessels for ship mails entrusted to their care.

It is on this very power that you appear to rely in a great degree in arguing for the abolition of subsidies, but in fact it only applies to such vessels as may be leaving ports in the United Kingdom, and could not be used for mails going from Brindisi, Naples, or other foreign ports to British possessions in the East. Hence, even if it were desirable to strain the power in question to the uttermost, it could only be made available so far as the East is concerned for the less rapid communication by the long sea route through the Straits of Gibraltar, while it would not help the Post Office in any case to obtain a regular service with fixed days and hours of departure in exact correspondence with the various land services utilised for the conveyance of mails.

Too much importance cannot be attached to regularity and speed in the delivery of letters, and the experience of the Post Office shows that the mercantile and other classes will not permit such considerations to be sacrificed.

This brings me to the important subject of subsidies, and to the methods by which you propose to cheapen the cost of conveyance.

Briefly, you propose either to sweep away all subsidies and use the statutory powers of the Postmaster-General to compel the masters of ships to carry mails cheaply; or if subsidies still be necessary, to charge

the expense, or some of it, to some department of the Government other than the Post Office, a transfer which certainly would not afford any relief to the taxpayer.

Mr. Raikes readily admits that, wherever competition in the carrying trade is sufficiently active to afford the facilities required, the Government should avail itself of that circumstance to enable it to dispense with postal subsidies; but in the absence of such activity it becomes an absolute necessity to grant subsidies in order to ensure regularity and speed, and even, in some cases, the existence of any means of postal communication.

These cases can only be dealt with on their merits as they arise; and it is of no great importance, from the revenue point of view, whether, in the case of a subsidy being paid, the grounds on which it is paid are set forth as Imperial or postal, or whether the money comes out of one vote or another.

Under any circumstances it must come out of one purse, and be provided by the taxpayer, and it is for Parliament to decide how far that section of the letter-writing public which communicates with the Colonies should be relieved of the cost of their correspondence at the expense of those taxpayers who write no Colonial letters.

The present plan has, at all events, the advantage of charging a certain sum to those persons who get the *quid pro quo*.

In regard to distance, Mr. Raikes cannot accept the view that long distance occasions little, if any, increase in the cost of the carriage of letters by sea.

It is evident that if regularity and speed are to be maintained—and this is what the Post Office really pays for—the element of distance is an important consideration to the owner of the steamer.

To satisfy the demands of the public in these respects the vessel must not only carry sufficient supplies of coal, but also be expressly constructed with that view.

To illustrate this I may mention that in a recent case a demand of the Post Office for an increase of speed of not more than three-quarters of a knot an hour was declined on the ground that the steamship company concerned would have been compelled to build an entire new fleet to meet the requirement.

It is clear that to maintain a high rate of speed over a long course must be more costly than to maintain the same rate of speed over a short course, because, apart from wear and tear of ship and machinery, a larger quantity of coal is consumed and more accommodation for carrying it is required, to the exclusion of cargo.

It is stated in one of your letters that the German steamers to Australia carry letters at 2½d. per letter. This low rate, however, applies only to letters put on board the steamers at Bremen before they start for their eastern voyage. For letters sent *via* Brindisi the German charge is 60 pfennigs, which is more than equivalent to the 6d. charged in this country for the same service.

You ask, moreover, why it should sometimes be cheaper to send a letter to a British colony from either France or Germany than from England. The answer is simple—namely, that in cases where the letter is conveyed by a service paid for and maintained by England, neither France nor Germany is put to any expense in respect of that service, but each country has a right, under the Postal Union Convention, to send its letters by a service maintained and paid for by another country, while only contributing a trifling portion of the postage, far from adequate to pay for the service rendered. This, however, is a reciprocal right of which advantage is taken by this department, so far as foreign packet services are available for the conveyance of British mails to parts beyond sea.

It is easy to see that if France and Germany incur no expense they can send a letter at a cheaper rate than the country which has to pay for the service.

In the important case of India and the other British possessions in the East, it is necessary to bear in mind that the sea service is only a part of the expense incurred. There is, besides, a foreign transit rate for the accelerated train service through France and Italy, amounting to about 1½d. per letter—a charge which is not incurred either by France or Italy for their own letters.

To create a system under which the cost of a letter in the United Kingdom would be 1d.; the cost between Dover and Calais, a distance of 21 miles, 2½d.; the cost between England and Australia, 10,000 or 12,000 miles, 1d.; the cost between England and Canada, 2½d.; and the cost from Australia to England, from 4d. to 9d., would be to establish a number of anomalies more provoking than those you are anxious to remove. The conclusion, therefore, to which Mr. Raikes comes is, that the suggestion which you make would, if adopted under existing circumstances, produce considerable confusion and probably widespread discontent.

According to his views, the direction in which this country ought to move at the present time is one which would have for its object the attainment of uniformity and freer communication, not only between England and her Colonies, but also between Colony and Colony, and the other civilised nations of the world. This principle has animated the periodical Conferences which have discussed and from time to time continue to discuss, with an ample knowledge and abundant experience, the numerous postal questions which affect the inhabitants of all countries alike.

In the Postal Union Convention there appears to have been found a basis upon which future improvements may be grafted, and the first step seems to be to endeavour to persuade those Colonies which have not yet entered into the Postal Union to join that Federation, in the hope that a reasonable reduction of postage may in consequence be safely achieved without sacrificing the important advantages which admission to the Union confers.

This is one of the questions which will no doubt be taken up at the Colonial Conference which has been convoked to assemble in London next month, for the consideration, among other things, of the "development of the postal and telegraphic communications between this country and the Colonies."—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

S. A. BLACKWOOD.

J. Henniker Heaton, Esq., M.P.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 1886.

43, ST. MARGARET'S OFFICES, VICTORIA STREET, S.W., March 24, 1887.

1. With the beginning of the year 1886 commenced the issue of the Monthly Journal of the League entitled *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*. This publication has been regularly produced during the past fifteen months, and has been of the utmost assistance in spreading the information which it is the object of the League to afford, and in keeping its Members fully acquainted with the work which the League is doing.

Thirty-six thousand copies have been distributed during the year throughout the Empire. The number of subscribers now exceeds seven hundred, and is steadily increasing.

2. The Members of the League have had to deplore the great loss which they sustained on the 5th of April, by the death of their first Chairman, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster. Up to the last Mr. Forster's interest in Imperial Federation was fully sustained. Messages were received from him at the Meeting of the Executive just before his death, giving counsel and advice regarding the suggested action and work of the League.

The following Resolution was passed by the Executive Committee at a Meeting held a few days after his death:—

"That we record our deep sorrow at the death of our first Chairman, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., to whom the Imperial Federation League owes its existence, and under whose guidance it has, in sixteen months, spread throughout the Empire he so faithfully and conspicuously served. We hereby express our conviction that the Members of the League will most suitably mark their sense of his great services by special exertions to increase the influence and power of the Association which he founded, to further its objects, and to advance the cause with which Mr. Forster's name will ever be identified, the permanent unity of the British Empire."

At the funeral service held in Westminster Abbey, the League was represented by a deputation from the Executive Committee, composed of members from Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and the Mother Country, who laid upon the coffin a wreath of laurels entwined with the Union Jack.

Your Committee, at a subsequent meeting, passed a resolution expressing its opinion that a suitable Memorial to Mr. Forster should be raised by the League. This matter, having been placed in the hands of a Special Committee, has grown into a public memorial, for which subscriptions are now being received by the secretary; and it is earnestly hoped that every member of the League will join in promoting this National Memorial.

3. At a meeting of your Committee held in June, a Vice-Chairmanship of the League was created. The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery consented to become Chairman, and the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., Vice-Chairman.

4. Early in the year the Executive Committee had under consideration the desirability of taking advantage of the presence in England of the many visitors from other parts of the Empire, in order to obtain from them an interchange of views and expression of opinions upon Imperial Federation.

It was accordingly resolved that a Conference should be held in the month of July, and a Special Committee, with Lord Brassey as chairman, was appointed to make the necessary arrangements for carrying out this resolution. A banquet was directed to be held at the same time, in order that the members of the League from the Colonies should have an opportunity of social meeting with those in the Mother Country.

The Conference took place on the 1st and 2nd of July, at the Conference Room of the Colonial Exhibition. The occurrence of the General Election at this time deprived its meetings of the presence of many members of Parliament and other public men who would otherwise have taken part in it. In spite of the political exigencies of the moment, and of his holding office as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Earl of Rosebery, the Chairman of the League, at considerable personal inconvenience, opened the Conference; and the first address was given by Professor Seeley. The three subsequent meetings were presided over by Sir John Lubbock, Sir Henry Barkly, and Sir Rawson Rawson. At each of these respectively papers were read by Sir Alexander Gilt (who crossed the Atlantic for this purpose), on the best means for promoting Federation, by Captain Colomb, on Imperial Defence, and Mr. J. G. Colmer, on Emigration. Discussion followed each paper, and in every case was continued to the extreme limit of the time allotted to the subject.

The Banquet, at which Lord Rosebery presided, was held on July 3rd, at the Freemasons' Tavern, and the League was honoured by the presence of the Duke of Cambridge as a guest. The day fixed for the Banquet happened to be the first day of polling for the Metropolitan Boroughs, so that a large number of those who had intended to be present were unavoidably prevented. Notwithstanding this, the Banquet was attended in all by 151 persons. The expenses were of course covered by the sale of tickets.

5. By order of your Committee, advantage was taken of the General Election to address to every candidate for Parliament a circular asking for an expression of his views upon Imperial Federation. The replies received were in nearly every case favourable to the objects of the League, which was all the more gratifying as the writers fully recognised the difficulties that would have to be surmounted.

6. Early in the spring the Executive Committee had under consideration the practical steps which it would be desirable to take during the current year towards the attainment of the objects of the League.

It finally adopted a resolution proposed by Captain Colomb, M.P., in which Her Majesty's Government were asked to summon:—"An Official Conference of accredited representatives, appointed by the Government of the United Kingdom and the Colonies having responsible Governments, to consider on what basis and by what mutual arrangements joint action for the organised and efficient defence of the Commerce of the Empire in time of war can best be secured."

This suggestion having been generally approved of by the Branches in the Colonies to whom it was submitted, the Delegates from those Branches were invited in the month of July to meet the Executive Committee, in order to decide upon the line of action to be taken.

A Resolution of a more extensive character, proposed by Mr. McGoun, Secretary of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, and supported by Sir Alexander Galt, to the following effect was adopted:—

"That a deputation of the League shall attend upon the Prime Minister or Colonial Secretary, urging him to call a Conference, or to appoint a Royal Commission, to be composed of accredited representatives of the United Kingdom and of each of the self-governing Colonies, for the purpose of suggesting some practical means whereby concerted action may be taken (1) for placing upon a satisfactory basis the defence of the Ports and the Commerce of the Empire in time of war, (2) for promoting direct intercourse, Commercial, Postal, and Telegraphic, between the several countries of the Empire in time of peace—and any other means for securing the closer federation or union of all parts of the Empire."

Accordingly a deputation introduced by Lord Brassey, which consisted of upwards of seventy members of the League, including statesmen and other prominent representative men from all parts of the Empire, attended at the Colonial Office by appointment on August 11th.

Lord Salisbury, who was accompanied by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, was addressed by five speakers, three of these being representative of Canada, Australasia, and the Cape of Good Hope respectively. The reception of the deputation was of a most encouraging nature, and the Prime Minister gave in his reply the unusual undertaking to submit the proposals of the deputation to his Cabinet.

7. The direct outcome of this deputation showed itself in the concluding paragraph of Her Majesty's speech on the Prorogation of Parliament, which was as follows:—

"I have observed with much satisfaction the interest which in an increasing degree is evinced by the people of this country in the welfare of their Colonial and Indian fellow-subjects; and I am led to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire. I have authorised communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest."

In pursuance of this announcement, a despatch was issued by the Secretary of State in September last. In it he invited the self-governing Colonies to appoint representatives to attend a Conference in London for the purpose of considering the following subjects:—(1) Defence; (2) Postal and telegraphic communications; (3) Any other important question which, in the general opinion of the Colonial Governments, may properly and usefully be brought under consideration.

Simultaneously, a letter was issued by the Earl of Rosebery, as Chairman, addressed to the branches of the League; in this he urged all its members to use their utmost endeavours to secure for the proposals of the Government a favourable consideration in their respective Colonies. Of this letter ten thousand copies were circulated throughout the Empire, accompanied by a pamphlet, "The Record of the Past," setting forth the matters which might be usefully discussed by the Conference; and also summarising the past work of the League and pointing out what yet remains to be done.

The response of the Colonial Governments to the invitation of the Secretary of State, has been of a most gratifying nature. Representatives were speedily appointed, and in every case men of the highest political reputation have been selected. In some instances three or four statesmen of note have been deputed by the same Colony.

Your Committee attach the highest importance to the meeting of this Conference, not so much on account of the immediate effect of its deliberation upon the question of Imperial Federation, as for the great value of the precedent established by this the first meeting of the Empire in Conference—a precedent which, since it has been thus once established, your Committee cannot doubt will be repeated to the great advantage of all concerned, and to the gradual accomplishment of the object of the League.

Your Committee calls attention with the greatest satisfaction to the fact, that it is through the action of the Imperial Federation League, that so unprecedented and necessary a step has been taken, and it acknowledges with special gratitude the complete fulfilment by Her Majesty's Government of the pledge given by Lord Salisbury to its deputation.

8. With a view to marking the occurrence of the fiftieth year of Her Majesty's reign, your Committee ordered the production of a special publication, entitled "Fifty Years' Progress," designed to impress upon the public the importance of the growth of the British Empire in wealth, in education, in area, and in population, during the past fifty years. The action of the laws of political development as exemplified in such orderly, though almost unconscious growth, emphasises the need for the deliberate adoption of the federal principle, if the various members of Great and Greater Britain are to continue to advance together in the future as an organic whole.

One hundred thousand copies of this publication have been produced, and the cost has been defrayed by a Special Fund raised for this purpose.

9. The following Branches have been affiliated to the League since the commencement of the year:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Cambridge University. | 5. Cradock, South Africa. |
| 2. Cambridge Town. | 6. Haslemere. |
| 3. Oxford University. | 7. Kensington. |
| 4. Ingersoll, Ontario. | 8. Dudley. |

The members of the League, exclusive of those belonging to various branches, now number over eight hundred.

10. Your Committee feel that it is desirable that some changes be made in the constitution of the League with a view to rendering its organisation more effective and more representative of the whole body, and it has therefore requested the Executive Committee to draw up and submit to it proposals having this object in view.

The total number of publications of various kinds, exclusive of the Journal, which have been issued during the year is 150,000, of which 95 per cent. have been distributed gratis.

11. The League is daily receiving accessions of strength by important additions to its membership of leading men from the Colonies and the Mother Country. The condition of its funds, however, is a source of grave anxiety to your Committee. The financial statement calls for strenuous exertions on the part of all members to increase its revenue both by adding to the amount of subscriptions already made, and by the enrolment of new members and subscribers.

Your Committee would refer to and emphasise the resolution of the Executive Committee of July 14th of the present year to the effect that "the Committee being convinced that the work of the League requires, in order to be effectively carried on, an income of not less than £1,000 a year, appeals to the friends of the movement to use their best exertions to increase the number of annual subscribers of £1 and upwards."

Your Committee has become strongly impressed with the absolute necessity, if the work of the League is to be usefully prolonged, of a Capital Fund sufficient to ensure an income, independent of subscriptions, of at least £500 a year.

The cost of producing and of distributing the League's publications over the vast area from which the demands for them are so rapidly increasing is one that inevitably augments, as also does the expenditure entailed by the indispensable provision of lecturers and speakers to spread the knowledge of facts concerning the material growth and political progress of our Colonies, and of the necessity for appreciating these facts as deeply affecting the strength, happiness, and prosperity of all parts of the Empire. In short, to popularise fuller knowledge regarding the condition and circumstances of the Empire is the best and surest means of promoting the objects of the League. This involves heavy outlay for staff, printing, additional labours at the Head Office, and the necessity of publishing the Journal in an attractive and readable form.

If the work of the League is to be carried on to the fullest advantage, it becomes imperative that it should have the immediate disposal of an income of £1,500 a year from all sources; and your Committee are of opinion that, if this amount were now assured, such good work might be done as would be followed in future years by an increase of subscriptions, to keep pace with the increase of work.

Your Committee acknowledges the commencement which has been made by the handsome donations from Lord Brassey, of £500, and from Lord Winnamleigh, of £100. Other donations have also been promised to the extent of £1,000, contingent upon a Capital Fund being established.

Your Committee therefore appeal to all members of the League to render generous assistance at this important stage of its career for disseminating and popularising information as to the objects sought to be attained, and as to the absolute need of some form of Federation if the permanent unity of the Empire is to be secured.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

A QUOTATION FOUND.

TO THE EDITOR OF *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*.

SIR,—The words commencing "English yet! Should ever trouble enter your dear mother's door," the source of which is asked for in "Here and There" in your March number, are to be found in the December number of the *English Illustrated Magazine*, and are by the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Yours truly,
19, Lily Crescent, Newcastle-on-Tyne. JOHN MUNDILL.

Imperial Federation.

MAY, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WE publish with this number a Special Supplement, in which will be found full reports of the speeches made at the Annual Meeting on March 31st, and at the Banquet on April 2nd. We have added a report of the opening meeting of the Imperial Conference, from which members will perceive how thoroughly the representatives were imbued with the spirit of the League's principles in approaching their great undertaking.

It seems that the subject of a uniform census for the Empire has asserted its right to be discussed at the Conference. Not long ago we strongly advocated the desirability of making the administrative changes necessary to secure so obvious a reform, and we are glad to find that our suggestion has been thought worthy of consideration. We are convinced that no serious argument can be produced in opposition; the money for census-taking will be expended by England and her Colonies in any case, and it is gratuitous extravagance to fail in obtaining as much as possible for the outlay.

THE subject of Imperial Federation is creating considerable stir at Quebec. We have received news of a lecture by MR. R. R. DOBELL before "a very large and critical audience," at Morrin College. The chief point insisted upon was the disastrous effects to the trade of the Empire caused by the tariff regulations at present existing between the various components of it. We believe MR. DOBELL expresses the general feeling in Canada, in advocating strongly some discrimination by England in favour of Colonial products. But he was not very sanguine, and looked more hopefully for a reciprocal arrangement with other Colonies. "If," he said, "we cannot induce Great Britain to change her policy, we might try to have closer trade relations with several of our sister Colonies. With this in view I hope that the commissioner lately appointed to Australia may be able to have some of the barriers removed that now exist between us. Also that with the Cape and Australia we should endeavour to have a freer intercourse. They exact a very heavy duty on our lumber; why should we not try to have this lowered or removed entirely by reciprocating in some articles they export? In this way, I believe, our industries would flourish, and our manufactories be fostered."

WE note with pleasure the hopeful view of the future expressed by our contemporary the *Echo* in commenting upon the work of the Conference. "How best," it says, "to defend the Colonial ports and our commerce with the Colonies in time of war; to increase and maintain cable communication; to amend postal regulations with the object of quickening communications; these are some of the questions with which the Conference will have to deal, and they are all of great importance alike to England and the Colonies. If these matters are settled satisfactorily, the time may come when the question of Imperial Federation may be discussed officially with advantage." We have occasionally found reason to differ with our contemporary in the past, but the passage we have italicised seems to mark a step forward, and indicate, at all events, an impartial attitude towards the

work of the League. The satisfactory settlement, however, of the matters referred to by the *Echo*, can hardly be spoken of as preceding Imperial Federation, for they form a material part of the question themselves.

"THE gentlemen who have been meeting at the Foreign Office do not represent the Colonies, and they know they do not, hence their halting and hesitation." We take this curious paragraph from an article in *Reynold's Newspaper*, in order that our readers may see what is said on both sides of the question. As to "the halting and hesitation" we need say nothing until the result of the Conference can be compared with the problems it had to work out. But we must protest against the statement that the delegates do not represent the Colonies. They have, in every instance, been appointed by the Ministry of their respective Colonies, without any interference from the Governor. The Ministry represent the majority in the Colonial Parliaments, and the Colonial Parliaments represent the entire population, generally upon a basis of manhood suffrage. Surely no more complete chain of effective contact between the delegates and the people could be devised.

UNDER the heading of "An Imperial Imposture?" a letter appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, just before the assembling of the Conference, which seems to have had a considerable effect. The writer, who signed himself "Australasia," protested in vigorous language against the rumoured intention of the Colonial Office to throw cold water upon the Conference. We regret having to believe that the rumour was not entirely without foundation; but the timely protest of "Australasia" has wrought a great change in the official attitude, and we gladly recognise that the Conference has assumed the same dignity in the eyes of the Government as it has always possessed in the popular mind.

SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH was interviewed the other day by a correspondent of the *Newcastle Leader*. He stated that in Queensland the question of Imperial Federation had not been discussed. We have reason to believe that in other Colonies also our aims and principles are imperfectly understood. We are often asked, What is the Colonial sentiment in the matter? But it is necessary to remember that the idea of Federation is not a cut-and-dried affair in the Colonies any more than in England. The idea has not emanated from one side or the other, but is the spontaneous sentiment of thoughtful people all over the Empire. The work of defining and shaping the idea for practical objects lies with the League. We recognise the necessity of spreading the light in the Colonies as well as at home. The whole Empire is our field of action, and the fact that Queensland or any other Colony has not yet been aroused to discuss Federation is only an argument for more strenuous exertion on the part of our members.

THE PREMIER of QUEENSLAND further expressed himself as not clearly understanding what was meant by Imperial Federation. But in the same breath he practically dispelled his own uncertainty. A solid basis will, at any rate, be laid for Federation, if SIR S. GRIFFITH succeeds in accomplishing the work he thus foreshadowed:—"What was wanted," he said, "was to bring the people of England to understand the other parts of the Empire better. The people of the Colonies were loyal enough, and were, he thought, just as much attached to the throne as any of the people in Great Britain, probably more so in many instances;

but what irritated them was the feeling that they were misunderstood by the people at home. There was a want of knowledge of their condition, which led to many things being done and said which never would be done and said if people at home understood the subject they were dealing with. The Colonies had now been so long accustomed to governing themselves that they did not regard themselves as children. They considered themselves as grown-up partners in the concern, and not as children who were to be told what to do." When the Colonies have asserted their position as *grown-up partners* in the Empire, Federation will not be far to seek.

THE *Melbourne Age* is by no means an enthusiastic advocate of Federation, and its comments upon MR. BRIGHT'S opposition are therefore of more than ordinary value, as disproving his rash and ill-considered statements. "MR. BRIGHT," says our contemporary, "does not very accurately gauge Colonial public opinion when he says that the Colonies will insist upon separating from the Empire if the mad foreign policy of England should involve them in war." The manner in which they have devoted large sums to the purpose of defending themselves against the Empire's enemies shows that the Colonies are in no way desirous of shirking their responsibilities as British communities.

MR. LABILLIÈRE has lodged MR. GOLDWIN SMITH in an awkward dilemma. The latter asserted recently that "not a single politician of eminence in Canada had countenanced the idea of a Federation of the Empire." MR. LABILLIÈRE states that he was present at the Conference in the Westminster Palace Hotel on November 18, 1884, when SIR JOHN MACDONALD moved the appointment of the general committee which formed the first governing body of the Imperial Federation League. He was also present at the latest meeting of the general committee on March 24, 1887, when SIR ALEXANDER GALT took the chair. It is plain that MR. GOLDWIN SMITH has two courses open to him. Either he can deny the truth of MR. LABILLIÈRE'S statements—in which case we shall be happy to supply him with affidavits in proof of their correctness—or he can deny the claim of SIR JOHN MACDONALD and SIR ALEXANDER GALT to be politicians of eminence in Canada. We shall be curious to know which alternative he prefers.

WE are glad to see that the *Englishman's Journal* has undertaken the task of representing the interests of the Imperial Federation League in Canada. It has opened its columns for discussion of our principles, and expressly invites contributions from members of the League. We are so frequently indebted to Canadian correspondents for assistance in our own columns, that we hope some English members of the League will return the compliment by communicating with our Canadian contemporary. The *Englishman's Journal* is published fortnightly at Toronto; the subscription is one dollar per annum.

It appears that SIR HENRY HOLLAND'S argument for refusing assent to the Newfoundland Bait Bill, on the ground that notice ought in justice to be given to the French, is of the weakest description. The Bill was passed in April, 1886, and the French fishermen interested, as well as the French Government, were made acquainted at the time with the passage of the measure. The Bill was transmitted to England in May, 1886, and has been hung up in the Colonial Office from that time to this. Under these circumstances, we do not think the *Times* speaks too strongly in saying:—"We cannot congratulate the Colonial

Office in its treatment of Newfoundland in this matter. It has been dilatory, inconsiderate, and not altogether straightforward."

THE War Office also owes an explanation of the proceedings referred to in the following extract from the *Canadian Militia Gazette*:—"One expression in the new Imperial army puzzles us. Whenever an officer is referred to as being engaged on extra regimental duty at home, the occupation is styled an appointment, but when the unfortunate man is employed by a Colonial Government he is described as filling a 'situation.' The wording throughout the warrant is so consistent that the distinction is evidently purposely made, and we feel inclined to resent it, so far as this 'Colony' is concerned. Does the War Office gain any dignity by dubbing the positions of the major-general commanding our militia, or of the officers in our military college, situations, as if the occupants were so many flunkies? We submit, with all due deference, that such a mode of procedure is neither calculated to increase the dignity of the Imperial officers filling the appointments nor to strengthen the sentiment of Imperial Federation."

MR. H. J. BARRETT, who speaks with the authority of an old Colonist, has written to the *Hull Daily Mail* of April 14th a long article in continuation of a former letter, upon the defence of the Empire. He goes into considerable detail as to the nature of the protection required, and proposes that the contributions of the various Colonies should be settled on a basis of comparative exports and imports. At the conclusion of his letter MR. BARRETT foreshadows the possibility of combining with the recognised functions of the Imperial Institute some of the duties of an Imperial Council, for which purpose he proposes the formation of a body of one hundred representatives to deal with Colonial questions as they arise.

It is worth recording that SIR HENRY PARKES, speaking on February 23rd at Moama, New South Wales, said in reference to the despatch of a contingent to the Soudan in 1885, that "he was the only man in the Colony who at the time raised his voice against the proposal." Our readers may remember how MR. JOHN NORTON tried to mislead the English public by asserting that the expedition had been generally condemned.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., has addressed another long letter, dated April 11th, to the POSTMASTER-GENERAL. Following up a hint contained in our last issue, MR. HEATON has dived into the intricacies of the correspondence upon the Queensland postage question, and gives a full summary of the dispute. It is a pity, however, that his information as to the "extraordinary success" of the Torres Straits service, and the 4d. per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. rate, is somewhat antiquated, dating only to June, 1882, when 53 per cent. of the whole correspondence from Brisbane to London went that way. In 1883 as much as 76 per cent. was forwarded by the Torres Straits route, but in 1885 the amount had dropped back to 23 per cent. Will MR. HEATON tell us why?

MR. JEHU MATHEWS has written a capital letter to the *Toronto Mail*, answering the attack made upon our cause by that journal. We should like to see the leaders of the Imperial Federation movement in England a little more prompt in taking up the cudgels on our behalf in the Press. For instance, with the notable exception of MR. LABILLIÈRE, not a single protest was raised in answer to MR. GOLDWIN

SMITH's latest epistle until Mr. CASTELL HOPKINS's powerful letter was despatched from the other side of the Atlantic. We would impress upon members of the League the importance of never leaving an attack unanswered. The Press is generally favourable to our cause, and the public are anxious to hear what we have to say. When Mr. GOLDWIN SMITH's fulminations are allowed to pass uncontradicted, there is a danger of the popular judgment "going by default." However strong our case is, we cannot afford to let damaging statements remain unchallenged.

THE *Newcastle Chronicle*, speaking of the Imperial Federation League, says:—"The objects of this organisation ought to be the objects of all who desire to see the greatest possible development of the resources of the Mother Country and her Colonies for the maintenance of interests common to every corner of the Empire, and for the benefit of all English-speaking peoples."

THE Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, at a "Cambridge dinner" given the other day by the Lord Mayor, stated "that the last extension of University teaching was a kind of Imperial Federation of seats of learning." Not only was the University of New Zealand affiliated last year, but negotiations are now in progress for a similar affiliation of the University of Calcutta, which is said to control the education of 120,000,000 of people. The community of interests thus established will form one of the strongest amongst those unwritten laws which hold the Empire together.

MR. FRANCIS CANCELLOR, Master of the Salter's Company, appreciates at its proper value the importance of maintaining the unity of the Empire. He presided the other night on the occasion of SIR HENRY HOLLAND's admission to the freedom and livery of the Company, and expressed the universal sentiment of satisfaction at the assembly of the Imperial Conference which SIR HENRY is so successfully conducting. We are rejoiced to read that the Secretary of State declared that he himself anticipated great benefit from it. "I feel quite sure," he said, "that it is a good thing for those coming from a distance to be brought face to face with Her Majesty's Ministers. It is one thing to administer a Colony on paper, and another to bring men face to face to argue out their case." We may take it for granted, after this, that the Conference has already established itself as a successful precedent for others.

THE following representatives at the Imperial Conference have been honoured with appointments as Knights Commanders of the Order of St. Michael and St. George:—

SIR ROBERT THORBURN, K.C.M.G.
SIR JOHN WILLIAM DOWNER, K.C.M.G.
SIR THOMAS UPINGTON, K.C.M.G.
SIR JAMES LORIMER, K.C.M.G.
SIR ROBERT WISDOM, K.C.M.G.

THE false marking of merchandise is a fraudulent practice which justly rouses the indignation of all honest traders. British goods, from their high reputation, are particularly subject to imitation, and Sheffield is falsely claimed as the producer of large quantities of inferior hardware manufactured abroad. The best way of putting an end to the evil is to prohibit the importation of goods marked with false indications of origin, and a resolution to this effect was passed last spring by the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property. Unfortunately

neither Germany nor the United States are yet parties to the Union, and to them we can only appeal in the name of common honesty. But much may be done, as MR. HERBERT HUGHES has well pointed out, by our own Colonies. Surely we shall not look in vain for their assistance in passing joint measures with the Home Authorities to stop the scandal. If they bring themselves into line with us, some of the best markets in the world will be closed to falsely-marked goods, and the reputation of British manufactures, which the Colonies are themselves beginning to share, will be saved from further damage, at least within the limits of the Empire.

WHAT may prove to be a very valuable discovery has recently been made in Victoria. Thirty years ago a party of miners, sinking for alluvial gold, hit upon an iron lode at a depth of forty feet. They carefully covered it in, and kept the matter a profound secret until a few weeks ago, when one of the original party returned and took possession of the ground. The lode has been re-opened and the ore assayed at the Ballarat School of Mines. It contains 59 per cent. of pure iron, which is considered excellent. At present the production of iron in Victoria amounts to about £4,000 annually, while the imports of ironwork of various kinds just reach £1,000,000.

ADVANTAGE should be taken of the presence of SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH, Premier of Queensland, in this country, to come to a definite understanding upon the harassing question of New Guinea. The question is really a simple one; the Australian Colonies, each and all, want the existing protectorate to be merged in annexation, and the Colonial Office is opposing their wish. The reason why the Colonies want annexation is that at present there is no power to redress wrongs or to guarantee property. The objections of the Colonial Office are ostensibly founded upon the estimated cost of administration. SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH is personally acquainted with the whole of the facts, and Queensland is the Colony which would naturally become responsible for the Government of New Guinea. It has been suggested that the Home Authorities are in doubt as to the treatment of natives if New Guinea was administered by Queensland. But surely distrust of our Australian cousins, whose love of justice and humanity is identical with our own, is altogether unworthy and inconsistent. We have trusted them in greater things already, and not found them wanting.

MEMBERS of the League will be pleased to hear that our ally, MR. W. McMILLAN, has been elected for the division of East Sydney at the recent general election in New South Wales. It is probable that more will be heard of MR. McMILLAN before long, for he is looked upon as one of the most rising men in the Colony. We therefore present the following extract from his election address on this, the first, occasion of his entering Parliament:—

I may say that for all the difficulties which beset the new Government, and which are undoubtedly the heritage of the last few years, we must look far below the surface for the real cause before we attempt any new experiments or superficial remedies. It is to be traced to the low moral tone of our public life, the want of a sense of responsibility in the high functions undertaken, the petty, municipal, Lilliputian attempt at statesmanship, without any large conception of general interests, or any due regard to the infinite possibilities of a country teeming with such natural resources. If we elevate the tone of our public life, if every man will recognise his right to vote as a sacred privilege instead of a useless one, and if those who have the largest stake in the country will cheerfully submit to a fair share of necessary taxation, we shall hear no more of misgovernment and of deficiencies, while New South Wales will return to her normal condition as one of the happiest and most prosperous countries on the face of the earth.

THE OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

BY ONE WHO WAS PRESENT.

THE bright sunny weather which began with the 4th of April was a happy augury for the future which was being entered upon by the Empire at the first meeting of its representatives in conference that morning.

Our thoughts as we walked over to the Foreign Office, in pursuance of Sir Henry Holland's invitation to be present at the opening, were fully occupied. The past—the small beginnings of the League, the jeers, and still more the apathy, with which the expression of a desire for unity of the Empire was at first received, the anxious thought, the steady progress made, the Conference and discussions of last year, the carefully-considered proposals and deputation to the Prime Minister—all those steps, painful and laborious as they seemed at the time, though culminating in the assembly which in a few minutes we were to see created, came back to us in review.

Then in the future we saw foreshadowed a series of such conferences as this; year by year the first statesmen of the Empire meeting to discuss and devise the best means of establishing and promoting her welfare, each meeting adding form and shape to the proceedings, and each meeting proving more clearly the necessity for such an assembly to her existence; an assembly in which "party" should be unknown, where "*all were for the State*."

As we entered the Foreign Office it was evident that something unusual was afoot. Visiting at the Foreign Office does not in ordinary times commence before three o'clock, and the officials, used to the ways of Foreign Ambassadors, must have been shocked at the early hours kept by the representatives of Greater Britain, for there, at eleven o'clock, were rapidly assembling the members of the Conference and the numerous persons of distinction who had been invited to meet them.

Inside the hall were congregating noble lords and M.P.'s. Colonial magnates, political and mercantile, all wearing a look of happy expectancy, which evidenced in many cases deep satisfaction at the approaching realisation of desires long entertained. For wherever we turned there met us the countenances of well-known workers in the cause of Federation. At the top of the steps was Captain Colomb listening to the grievances of a pressman who had not been fortunate enough to secure an invitation, and near him might be heard Mr. O. V. Morgan roundly declaring to another that his omission from the list was well deserved by the neglect of matters Colonial which was habitual to his journal. Mr. Frederick Young and others were there watching the arrivals. Presently as the Hall rapidly filled a move was made to the Conference Room on the first floor of the palatial offices in which the foreign relations of the Empire are maintained.

This splendid apartment has been specially arranged for the occasion. The centre of the room on the east side is occupied by a table with a broad space in front of it flanked on either side by blocks of chairs capable of seating each some forty persons. All round the room are seats or ottomans placed against the wall. Behind the table, which, though at present deserted, is evidently to be the centre of attraction, is a semicircle of chairs, and on either side of this are tables for the Press, at which reporters are already closely packed. The front seats in the blocks have each their tenants allotted to them, cards bearing the names being laid upon the chairs.

A general conversation is going on, and, while people move freely about and greet one another, many a hearty congratulation is exchanged upon the fulfilment of long-cherished hopes and wishes by the event of the day.

Here we come upon our members faster than we can name them, and almost feel ourselves in Victoria Street again; but, as the hands of the clock point to eleven, people begin to take up more permanent quarters, and those fortunate enough to have appointed seats take possession of them, others making the best arrangements they can for themselves on the couches.

It is then easier to reckon up those who are present, and we notice Sir Donald Currie, Sir W. Crossman; Mr. Henniker Heaton, looking as though the hour of his

triumph over the Post Office obstruction must be near at hand; Mr. Howard Vincent, who regrets that the opening ceremony was not held in the most fitting place, Westminster Hall, where William was wont to meet his lords in council; Mr. Seton-Karr; Sir Samuel Wilson. Here enters that practical Federator and good member of the League in Canada, Mr. Sandford Fleming, who tells us he has only been in London three hours, having arrived at Liverpool the preceding night, delayed by a snowstorm in Nova Scotia. He looks well, and, we hope, means to let the Imperial value of the Canadian Pacific Railway be fully understood before the Conference breaks up.

Sir Fowell Buxton is here, and Sir Alexander Galt, who has prolonged his stay in England by a few days in order to be present. The subject in which he takes the deepest interest—commercial union—is not likely to reach discussion at this Conference, but he looks to many succeeding ones, and knows that it must come. Sir Robert Fowler, fresh from his own Imperial tour, comes in late and takes the corner of a couch.

Every member of the League regrets the absence of its chairman, the Earl of Rosebery, from this meeting, as from the banquet of the League on Saturday. Lord Rosebery had fully intended to be present on both occasions, and had made his arrangements accordingly. Matters of importance necessitated visits to Berlin and Vienna, for which allowance had been made in timing his return to London. A heavy fall of snow in Italy, however, compelled Lord Rosebery to return to Rome after he had started for Vienna, and there to exhaust, in waiting for the line to be cleared, the week which would have brought him home in time to preside at our dinner, and to be present at the Conference.

The Earl of Carnarvon, too, another of the most distinguished members of the League, was unable to be present, being completely incapacitated by the east wind.

Some ten minutes after the hour of invitation, the door at the far end of the room is opened, and Sir Henry Holland appears, followed by the Marquis of Salisbury, the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, Lord G. Hamilton, Earl of Cadogan, Earl Granville, the Earl of Onslow, and many other Ministers and ex-Ministers, closely followed by the representatives of the self-governing Colonies, and a number of Colonial Governors and ex-Governors, among them the Marquis of Normanby, Sir Henry Barkly, and Sir George Bowen. Mr. W. H. Smith enters the room a few minutes later.

Sir Henry Holland, as President of the Conference, takes his seat at the centre of the table, Lord Salisbury being on his right. Other ministers and ex-ministers occupy the chairs around, and the Delegates take up the positions selected for them in front, on the right and left.

Everyone feels the fitness of the President's brief but impressive appeal for the blessing of Almighty God upon the deliberations of the Conference, and more than one "Amen" testifies to the genuineness of this feeling. Sir Henry then proceeds, with the shortest possible preface (good augury for the business character of the assembly), to ask the Prime Minister to address the Conference.

In tones and manner which fully express his appreciation of the vast importance of the occasion, and which sensibly impress the same upon his hearers, Lord Salisbury, after welcoming the delegates to the Conference, proceeds to foretell that this meeting is not to be an isolated event, but "*the parent of a long progeniture*," a prophecy which finds an echo in the heart of every federalist present.

It is not possible for the Prime Minister, in addressing such a gathering, to say many sentences without finding himself in contact with Imperial Federation, and, before five minutes have elapsed, he is speaking of our cause as "*that great aspiration*," pointing out that there is no great gulf fixed between such an aspiration and "*actual practical undertaking*;" and then with an application of the language of chemistry, which recalls the laboratory at Hatfield, goes on to declare that though they are hazy enough now, these aspirations are "*the nebulous matter that in course of much less than ages will cool down and condense into a material from which very practical and business-like results*" may be expected.

After a comparison between the case of the German Empire and our own, the noble Marquis went on to state that though not immediately practicable, a Customs Union

is "*not in the nature of things impossible*"—words of hope and encouragement to many a member of the League who looks upon commercial union as the most beneficent part of Imperial Federation, and as the key-stone, without which the structure must be incomplete.

Pointing out in plain words that increase of wealth and prosperity are in themselves invitations to attack, he asked with reference to Imperial defence, the pertinent question, "*Suppose that the Colonies were not a part of the Empire, do you think they would be safe?*" And repudiating the intention of making any charge against European Powers, he uttered the following pregnant sentences:—"*Where there is liability to any attack, attack will come. The English Colonies occupy some of the fairest and most desirable portions of the earth's surface. The desire for Colonial and foreign possessions is increasing among the nations of Europe.*"

Lord Salisbury's address was closed by the expression of a hope—"That we may by our organisation, by our agreement, present to the world the spectacle of a vast Empire founded not upon force nor upon subjection, but upon a hearty sympathy and a resolute co-operation, in attaining all those high objects of human endeavour which are open to an Empire such as this"—which elicited murmurs of applause and assent from his hearers as he resumed his seat. It was remarked by more than one of the members of the League who were present how closely this peroration of the Prime Minister paraphrased the last words upon Imperial Federation expressed in public by the first chairman and founder of this League, the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster, when speaking at Bradford. The expression has often since been quoted in these columns and elsewhere, but as it may be interesting to our readers to note how fully the Prime Minister has caught the spirit in which this League was founded, we repeat the words:—"If there is one thing more than another that I hope to live for, it is that before I die I may see the British realm a realm extending all the world over, and her children, whom she has sent out themselves self-governing communities, united together in a bond of peace that shall be an example to the world."

Lord Salisbury's speech was followed by an admirable address from Sir Henry Holland, in which, after asserting that the Queen's Jubilee would be celebrated by no such fitting memorial as the assembling of this Conference to discuss Imperial matters, he proceeded to trace what he described as the "*extraordinary upward progress*" of the Empire during the last fifty years, to point out its connection with the Conference, and to express his belief that this is only the first of a long series of such Conferences which will tend to consolidate the unity of the Empire. He expressed his great satisfaction at the exclusion of party feeling from the occasion, and then went at length, but with great lucidity, into the subjects to be brought before the Conference, the larger share of attention being given to Imperial defence. Postal and telegraphic communications, the removal of sundry legal anomalies, and certain burning questions affecting particular Colonies, such as New Guinea, the New Hebrides, the Canadian Fishery question, Newfoundland Bait Bill, &c., were included in the programme, and we noted with satisfaction an undertaking that the opinion of the Conference should be invited upon the desirability of taking the census of 1891 on the same day and in the same manner in all parts of the Empire. This last was urged upon the Government by the Executive Committee of the League at the commencement of this year, and has been the subject of considerable correspondence.

Earl Granville, as a Liberal Colonial Secretary, then congratulated the Government on the summoning of the Conference, making the only allusion which etiquette permitted to the part played by the League in the following brief sentence: "*In pursuance of proposals made last summer from influential quarters, Mr. Stanhope assembled this Conference.*"

Admitting in a humorous manner that there were differences on home politics between himself and Sir Henry Holland, he strongly asserted for himself and others that these would not prevent them from co-operating with the Government on great Imperial questions such as those referred to by the President. His lordship concluded by wishing the Conference God-speed, and expressing an earnest

hope that "*the result of the Conference may be not only to retain but greatly to increase the links of steel and of silk which bind the different portions of this great Empire together.*"

Newfoundland being the oldest of the Colonies, its Premier, the Hon. Robert Thorburn, was the next speaker; and after describing the commanding position and resources of his Colony, he "*ventured to predict that if the grand project of Imperial Federation ever became a reality, the Conference would prove to have been the school from which the finished project emerged,*" a prophecy which was received with applause.

Sir Alexander Campbell, who represented the Dominion of Canada, spoke of the delight with which Mr. Stanhope's despatch was responded to in Canada, and of the satisfaction with which they met their fellow Colonists at this Conference. He strongly commended the selection of subjects for discussion, which our readers will remember are those put forward by the League. "*A good understanding on these subjects would,*" he said, "*pave the way to another and closer union. . . . It would step by step unite all into one grand union for the consolidation, defence, and prosperity of the Empire.*"

Sir Patrick Jennings, late Premier of New South Wales, alluded to a telegram which had appeared in the papers, purporting to instruct the delegates from New South Wales to take no part in the discussion of Imperial Federation, quoting the remark of the Chief Secretary for Victoria on Saturday at the banquet of the League, he added that it seemed to him that "*the points set down for discussion were ten parts, the sum of which was Imperial Federation.*" Protection of Imperial trade by a joint system of naval defence, if it were the only result of the Conference, would be a great and useful work. He concluded by expressing a desire to confer "*in a spirit of conciliation and compromise, and with a desire to do what was best for the whole Empire.*"

Mr. Stokell Dodds, representing Tasmania, considered "*that the subjects set down for discussion, though very important, sank into comparative insignificance when compared with the higher result of bringing the Colonies closer to the Mother Country,*" and spoke of "*the work of which they were now possibly laying the foundation—the foundation of a united Empire.*"

Mr. Thomas Upington, Attorney-General of the Cape of Good Hope, after announcing that he was specially authorised to thank Mr. Stanhope for calling the Conference together, asserted on behalf of himself and his colleagues, "*that they were going into that Conference heart and soul to do business in a business-like way.*"

Mr. John W. Downer spoke of the strong loyalty of South Australia to the Throne, and thanked Her Majesty on behalf of his fellow Colonists for having summoned the Conference. "*They would bear in mind that all individual interests must be subordinated to the welfare of the Empire generally, and to the preservation of its unity.*"

Sir Francis Dillon Bell, Agent-General for New Zealand having impressed upon the Conference "*that their duty lay in assisting, and not in embarrassing Her Majesty's Government by adding to the tremendous care that already weighs upon it,*" Mr. Alfred Deakin, Chief Secretary of Victoria, made a strong speech, in which he indulged in some plain speaking with regard to "*the inertia of a Government Department,*" in allusion to the Colonial Office, whose officials he said he "*would be the last to blame for evading a difficult question when possible.*" The people of Victoria, he said, were anxious for a spirited Colonial policy, and repudiated any distinction between Colonial and Imperial interests.

The Premier of Queensland, Sir Samuel Griffith, assured the Conference that in no Colony was Mr. Stanhope's invitation more warmly received than in Queensland. It was taking a new step in the history of the Empire. He expressed a strong hope that the presence and words of Lord Granville might be taken to indicate for the future a continuity of Colonial policy, which, he asserted, was no less important than a continuity of foreign policy.

Mr. Stanhope, vice-chairman of the League, then briefly offered, in well-chosen words, a hearty welcome to the members of the Conference, and expressed his gratification at the kind expressions which had been used with reference to himself, adding, "*But I am much more grateful to the*

Colonies for, and I am proud of the manner in which they have responded to the invitation which on the part of Her Majesty's Government it was my privilege to send." Mr. Stanhope observed with pleasure that one of the great subjects to be considered by the Conference specially concerned the War Office, over which he now presides, and promised every assistance to its deliberations from that department.

Sir Henry Holland, after announcing the programme of the Conference for the week, invited those present to luncheon in the adjoining room, remarking that it had been said of England that "*no business could be satisfactorily transacted there without either lunching or dining.*"

Sir A. Campbell asked leave to propose, before the meeting broke up, that a loyal address of congratulation upon the jubilee year of her reign should be presented to Her Majesty by the Conference. This was unanimously carried, amid cheers. The members and guests then adjourned to the spacious corridor leading into the conference-room, where a luncheon had been provided at a long buffet. The Secretary of State for the Colonies proposed the only toast, "The Queen," which was enthusiastically received.

The conversation then became general, and warm congratulations were exchanged on all sides upon the complete success of this gathering of the Empire. And complete it certainly was; it would be very difficult to exaggerate the sense of unity and loyalty to one another and to the Throne which was forced upon the meeting as speaker after speaker, from every part of the Empire, got up and uttered sentences which from the nature of the occasion could not have been unpremeditated, assuming their share of responsibility for the interests of the Empire, and in every case looking forward as a matter of course to unity as its future.

Probably nothing was more remarkable of this first meeting than the persistent way in which, though Imperial Federation was said to have been ruled outside of the subjects for discussion, no single speaker was able to keep clear of it, and when once in contact with it, dealt with it as the aim and object of the Empire.

As a matter of fact, it was "*political federation,*" the discussion of which at this Conference was deprecated by Mr. Stanhope in his despatch, and which, if it mean the establishment of an Imperial constitution, was properly excluded from discussion, being only a part of Imperial Federation, and the part which must in the nature of things be the last to be attained. As both Sir Patrick Jennings and Mr. Deakin have pointed out, combination for defence and for the other matters under the consideration of the Conference is Imperial Federation, and that of the best and most practical kind; and this was evidently felt by all the speakers.

We cannot conclude this account of the first meeting of the Imperial Conference without tendering our sincere congratulations to Mr. Stanhope, our vice-chairman, who originated and so ably designed this Conference, and to Sir Henry Holland, an active member of the League from its inception, who has so loyally and successfully carried out the scheme of his colleague. The range of subjects has been considerably enlarged since the issue of the despatch, and the delicate questions which arise on such a unique occasion for which precedents do not exist must have cost the Colonial Secretary much anxious thought at a time when other matters of urgent importance were also claiming his attention. He has, however, we trust, an ample reward in the success which we hear on all hands the Conference has become under his presidency, and in the business-like and statesman-like spirit in which the matters under discussion have been approached by its members. Lastly, we may heartily congratulate the members of the Imperial Federation League upon the complete success which has attended the carrying out of the suggestions which they placed before the Government last year. It is without contradiction that the initiative in the summoning of this Conference was that of the Imperial Federation League, the objects for discussion were named by it, and the proposals contained in Mr. Stanhope's despatch were supported by the League in every Colony to which it was addressed. The League can therefore honestly claim an important share in bringing about this Assembly, which has met for the first time under such happy auspices, and which seems destined to play a part in the future of the world to which it is impossible to place a limit.

THE BANQUET TO THE COLONIAL REPRESENTATIVES.

THE brief announcement in the papers, some days before, stating that all the tickets for the Banquet had been sold, prepared us for a large and successful gathering on April 2nd. The reception-room at the Freemasons' Tavern was none too large for the throng of guests assembled to do honour to the Representatives at the first Imperial Conference; but when all had taken their allotted places in the banqueting-hall, the arrangements proved to have been calculated to a nicety, and, although the space was filled from end to end, there was no inconvenient crowding at the tables. It too often happens at public dinners that, for the sake of providing a few additional places, every one present is made to suffer from close quarters; and we think the Committee showed a wise discretion in not attempting to exceed the proper capacity of the hall. Everything passed off without a hitch of any kind, and at the close of the evening Mr. Loring was warmly congratulated upon the excellence of the entertainment. This was no more than his due, for the organisation of a banquet on so extensive a scale is a task requiring great care and tact. We are heartily glad that his efforts were so completely crowned with success.

The League may well be proud of having been the first body of Englishmen privileged to entertain the members of the first Imperial Conference; the Banquet will form a landmark in history, and take rank with other famous occasions when great national events have been celebrated in like manner. Had it not been for the unfortunate, but unavoidable, absence of the Canadian representatives and Sir W. Fitzherbert, who did not reach London in time, there would have been no gaps in the complete circle of Colonial delegates; but New Zealand was well represented by Sir F. Dillon Bell, and we know that, had it been possible, Sir Alexander Campbell and Mr. Fleming had every intention of being present.

The speeches were of a particularly interesting character. We confess that we do not share the views of some of our contemporaries, who have said that the standard of Colonial speaking on the occasion was far higher than the English; but certainly nothing could have been more skilful or better delivered than the speeches of Mr. Deakin, Mr. Upington, and Mr. Downer. The arrangement of the hall at the Freemasons' Tavern is not in our opinion very conducive to fine oratory, and some difficulty was experienced in hearing some of the speakers at the extremities of the room; but, on the whole, there was little to complain of in this respect.

As a consequence of Lord Rosebery's absence on the Continent, the chair was taken by Mr. Stanhope, who was enthusiastically received as the real author of the Conference on the eve of assembling. His speech was intensely interesting, and proved how high an estimate he had formed of the status which the Conference would assume. We were particularly glad to hear him insist upon the high standing of the Colonial representatives. It has, perhaps, not been sufficiently recognised in this country that the Colonies have, as Mr. Stanhope said, "sent us many of their foremost men, many of their Prime Ministers, ex-Prime Ministers, and leading Ministers of State, who have come to us at the cost of great time and trouble, because they believed that they were called upon to share in the discussion of matters of Imperial importance." Nothing but that belief would have drawn them to England; but now that they have come, let us hope that they will appreciate the truth of another remark Mr. Stanhope made, that "one meeting is worth many years of official correspondence." If this is made evident, the first Conference will not be the last, and the League will have established a precedent for a banquet which may in time to come be a recognised preliminary to the Imperial assembly, on a par with the Mansion House dinner to Her Majesty's Ministers at present.

The effect of the gathering at the Freemasons' Tavern cannot fail to be felt in the accession of fresh sympathy and support to the League. The public will be struck with the fact that the representatives of every Colony in the British Dominions showed by their presence at the Banquet that they were animated by the friendliest feelings towards the cause of Imperial Federation. It is true that the League has no

party, but its aims and objects are perfectly well known and distinct. We have put forward no definite scheme or plan, and we may be quite sure that had we done so, the Banquet would never have been held. The representatives could not possibly have accepted an invitation which would have hampered or compromised their future action. But thus far they have gone; they have, so to speak, heard the question put to the Colonies from England, whether or not they desire to be drawn nearer to the Mother Country; and they have answered in the affirmative. Their presence on April 2nd proved at least this much. The League, therefore, may well be content with having secured the alliance and sympathy of men who, when they return to the Colonies, will have immense power to forward or retard the spread of our principles, and to form public opinion, as well as to carry its edicts into execution.

WANTED, A SALE OFFICE FOR COLONIAL PUBLICATIONS.

MR. ALFRED DEAKIN, in his speech at the St. George's Club banquet, complained that the press of this country bestowed too little attention upon Colonial affairs, and pointed, by way of contrast, to the ample treatment accorded by Colonial journalists to every political and social movement in the Mother Country. But the comparison seems to us hardly just, for English newspapers have to summarise day by day the affairs of thirty millions of people, while Sydney and Melbourne journals represent about one million each. External matters can never in the long run take the same hold upon public attention as domestic concerns, and it is obvious that the space which the London press can afford to assign for external news must always, under the present disparity of population, be insignificant in proportion to that available at Melbourne; for it must be remembered that the editor of the *Argus* or the *Sydney Herald* has to provide nearly as much matter as the most popular London sheet.

But there is another consideration which we commend to Mr. Deakin, as possibly explaining any lack of interest in Colonial affairs; we mean the insuperable difficulty of getting timely and correct information upon important Colonial questions. The Agents-General are marvellously kind and patient in doing their utmost to answer any inquiries put to them. But it is not their duty, nor could any reasonable person expect them to spend their valuable time in the work of instructing English journalists, even had the latter got leisure for the necessary correspondence or interviews. And with all the good will in the world, the information at the disposal of the Agents-General is often woefully antiquated. Official returns and Parliamentary papers from the Colonies seem to take many months on the voyage. A few weeks ago we had occasion to seek access to certain facts and figures, but in only one case could we obtain documents bearing a more recent date than 1885; we believe that the Victorian Year-book for 1885-86 has not yet reached London. So long as the Colonies are dilatory in sending home official papers, it is impossible for English journals to approach the study of contemporary Colonial affairs with any hope of success. The rapid rate of progress at the Antipodes nullifies statistics within a wonderful short period after their compilation. To take a single instance, how could an opinion of any value be formed upon the subject of Colonial defences, based upon documents of 1884 and 1885? The Russian scare in the latter year made an enormous difference in the position, but, prior to the assembling of the present Conference, when the English public were really anxious for enlightenment on the question, no more recent reports were obtainable. We venture to think that if the Colonial Governments will promptly and regularly supply the Agents-General with all Parliamentary papers and public documents, despatching them by the first mail after publication, the result will be to remove much of the apathy which Mr. Deakin perceives around him.

But something more is required than the supply of information to the Agents-General, for they are not, in our opinion, a legitimate fount of knowledge except in special and complicated cases. Before the English public, and those who cater for them in the press, can be expected to

study Colonial problems for themselves, the same facilities must be available as already exist for mastering affairs at home. A few public institutions, and a few public men, should be supplied with copies of Colonial documents on the same basis as they receive copies of our own Government publications. A reciprocal arrangement might be made for the despatch of a certain number from home to each of the Colonies in exchange, and we feel convinced that the money would be profitably expended.

But most important of all is the establishment in London of a Sale Office for Colonial Government publications. People who have neither time nor inclination for troubling the Agents-General would then be able to obtain what they wanted; authentic official information would be substituted for the second-hand evidence of Colonial journals, and we could hope to discuss Colonial affairs with some prospect of comprehending them. We do not deny that the supply of documents, some of which might remain on hand unsold, would involve a trifling expense. But the amount would be infinitesimal compared with the good results that would follow. At present we can all fairly excuse our ignorance of Colonial affairs upon the plea of inability to obtain the materials for study even if we want them. Some of us have long felt this as a grievance, and it is a little hard that the Chief Secretary for Victoria should blame us for a failing the remedy for which is in the hands of the various Colonial Governments.

COLONIAL REPRESENTATIVES ADVOCATING FEDERATION.

SPEECHES AT THE ST. GEORGE'S CLUB.

THE speeches at the dinner given by Lord Bateman to the Colonial representatives at the Imperial Conference contained some noteworthy passages in favour of Federation.

SIR J. DOWNER assured the company that in no part of Her Majesty's dominions could the feeling of loyalty to the Royal Family be greater than in the Australian Colonies.

In proposing the toast of the evening, "The Prosperity and Advancement of our Colonies, and Welcome to the Colonial Delegates," H.R.H. the DUKE of CAMBRIDGE claimed that he had one qualification at least for the performance of that duty—there was no man in the Empire who felt more strongly than he did the importance of Federation. In cordially welcoming all the Colonial delegates, he expressed his fervent hope that the result of their intercourse with their fellow-subjects at home might be the consolidation of the great Empire of which they were all proud, and which they trusted never to see impaired.

In responding to the same toast the HON. ALFRED DEAKIN declared that he "could hardly express how strongly Colonists shared the hope which His Royal Highness had expressed with reference to the Federation of the Empire." At the conclusion of his speech he said that the Colonies "had always shown a disposition to make the quarrels of the Mother Country their own quarrels, and her interests their interests. He hoped, therefore, that the Imperial Government would study in conjunction with the Colonies to promote their common interests, and to strengthen and conserve the unity of the Empire, of which the Colonies were proud to be constituent members."

SIR T. UPINGTON maintained on behalf of the South African Colonies that "they were thoroughly at one with the country of their birth and origin. In those Colonies there was a population most remarkable in its characteristics and most diverse as regarded nationality. But they were animated by a universal feeling of loyalty to the Queen as the common Sovereign of the Mother Country and its dependencies." The Cape, he asserted, was "as sound and substantial a portion of the Empire as even the ultra-loyal Colony of Victoria. So far as South Africa was concerned the unity of the Empire was an established fact." He concluded with a warm eulogy of the success which was attending the Imperial Conference; henceforward it might safely be said that the fear of any danger of separation was completely set at rest.

The delegates have evidently discovered that the experiment of a Council of the Empire has been justified by the result. Now that they perceive the practicability of working together in Federal Assembly, they recognise more frankly the advantages to be derived from Federation. An attitude

of cautious reserve was natural enough while success hung in the balance, but all doubt is at least dispelled, and we prophesy that when the delegates return home an enormous impetus will be given to the spread of our principles in the Colonies.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE ON ITS DEFENCE.

SIR FREDERICK ABEL'S address at the Royal Institution will not go far to reassure people as to the usefulness of the proposed Imperial Institute. Boiling down the vast mass of verbiage in which the speaker indulged, we obtain the following outline of the scheme. There is to be a museum of Colonial products, from which loan collections will occasionally be distributed in the provinces. There is to be a department for assisting in the organisation of technical and commercial instruction, and for promoting scientific training among elementary school-teachers and young artisans; this will be effected apparently by grants of money and scholarships, for Sir F. Abel states that the Institute will not take "any direct part in the duty of education." There will also be an inquiry office at which students coming from the Colonies and India to this country may receive advice "to aid them in selecting their place of work and their temporary home." There will be "Libraries of technology, inventions, commerce, and applied geography." There will be a Commercial Intelligence Department, maintaining a system of correspondence with all parts of the Empire, for the collection and distribution of commercial statistics. There will be an Emigration office with which smaller offices in the Provinces are to be affiliated; this office, besides giving information to emigrants, is to undertake the invidious task of giving advice as to the investment of capital in distant parts of the Empire. Lastly, there will be a department for promoting "Scientific Federation of the Empire," by the "establishment of a system of interchange of meteorological and scientific observations."

Now, can it be maintained that half a million or more of money will be wisely expended in securing these results? It appears to us that the Institute will become a gay bird only by decking itself in borrowed plumes. Almost every one of its functions properly belongs to some already existing institution. A judicious extension of the South Kensington Museum would embrace the collections of Colonial products; the Science and Art Department might properly assume the direction of technical and commercial instruction; the Board of Trade, with its consular system, possesses all the materials for a commercial intelligence department; the Emigrants' Information Office at Westminster does not need a supplement at South Kensington; the Library of the Colonial Institute might easily be made sufficient for all requirements in regard to Colonial progress; the Meteorological Office or Greenwich Observatory furnish a fitting centre for the very limited "scientific federation" indicated. We admit that there is at present no authority chargeable with the duty of advising Colonial students as to the selection of a "temporary home" in this country.

Sir F. Abel endeavoured to support the South Kensington site by urging the advantages of proximity to the Government Museums, School of Science, etc. We confess that the connection is not immediately apparent to us, unless on the ground that the management of the Institute is to be vested in what is known as "the South Kensington ring," who would doubtless find the position convenient. Certainly neither commercial men, nor artisans, nor intending emigrants will be benefited by the remoteness of the Institute from their habitations and places of business.

We are seriously afraid that the Institute bids fair to become a huge useless pile of bricks and mortar; that in endeavouring to arrogate to itself the duties of other organisations it will cramp and impede their action by a spurious competition without replacing them with anything better; and that this grandiloquent proposal for a jubilee memorial will in years to come dwindle into a mere sight-seer's edifice, famous only as a notorious monument of reckless and unprofitable expenditure. How different might the result have been, had not this infatuation for the South Kensington site blinded the eyes of authority!

A RESERVE SQUADRON OF BRITISH MERCHANT STEAMERS.

IN considering the part played by the Royal Navy in the history of our nation we must not forget that of the mercantile marine. In the days of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, the ships that traded to the Spanish Main and round the Cape, although termed *de jure* merchantmen, were *de facto* ships of war. Even in the earlier days of the East India Company, and, to a lesser extent, of the Hudson Bay Company, the ships flying these companies' flags were for all practical purposes not only auxiliary war-ships, but, in the former case, to a great extent occupied the position which is now held by our Indian troopships and cruisers.

In a recent article in this journal¹ I ventured to draw attention to the unsatisfactory basis on which our mail subsidies were arranged, and contended that it was unjust to saddle the Post Office with the whole of the charges which were included under the heading of mail subsidies, and which were in many cases retaining fees for auxiliary troop and store-ships and even swift cruisers in embryo. Our Government have, however, during the last few weeks entered upon two new departures. In the first place, in arranging for the future conveyance of the American mails they have divided the amount to be paid into two distinct parts; concurrently with a moderate sum as mail subsidy, there is also an annual allowance for war service. The vessels thus subsidised belong to the Cunard and White Star lines which consist of some of the largest and fastest boats afloat, and thus, at a comparatively small cost, our Empire has secured the nucleus of a reserve fleet of armed cruisers, troop and store-ships of great speed, and, after some necessary alterations, of formidable fighting power. The subsidy also includes an allowance to the Inman, Cunard, and White Star lines, for building new vessels of great strength and speed divided into numerous water-tight compartments, thus minimising the risk of disablement. The ships are to be built under the supervision and in compliance with the requirements of the Admiralty, and half the crews are to be drawn from the Naval Reserve. One of the most satisfactory results of this arrangement will be, that in future in case of the outbreak of a war or even the existence of a war scare, our fastest steamers will not be taken up by some foreign Government, and our Admiralty obliged to pay panic rates for the charter of swift steamers, as was the case a couple of years ago. What has been done with reference to the American lines will, no doubt, be the forerunner of what will be carried out with the Australian and Cape lines of steamers which are subsidised by the Government; and what is now lumped as "postal subsidies" should be divided into a moderate amount for mail and the remainder for war service—the former for the conveyance of our correspondence, and the latter for the protection not only of our coasts and those of the Colonies, but also of our large floating population and property in the shape of ships and merchandise. By the reduced amount allowed for purely postal services the Postmaster-General will, no doubt, see his way to the adoption of a scheme of Imperial Penny Postage—a consummation that would go a great way towards the realisation of an Imperial Federation.

The other new departure of the Government has a direct bearing upon the question of Imperial Defence, and is the formation of what is called a Naval Intelligence Department, amongst the duties of which are:—

1. To keep a record of the distribution of fast British merchant steamers.
2. The distribution of fast foreign steamers.
3. The state of defence of the British coaling stations in all parts of the world.

These innovations will be hailed as steps in the right direction; it being a matter of surprise that they have not been taken sooner. At the present moment there is being fitted out in the Black Sea, as an armed cruiser, what a short time since was the most powerful of the Castle Line of steamers—the *Kinfauns Castle*, now called the *Moskova*—having been purchased by the Russian Volunteer Association to form part of their fleet. Just lately, one of the fastest of the so-called Atlantic greyhounds, the National steamer *America*, has been sold to the Italian Government for £131,500; and it is an open secret that other Governments have been in treaty for some of our other fastest boats, two or three of which in the hands of a hostile nation could completely paralyse our commerce, especially in the present defenceless state of our coaling stations.

Not only have we the ships, but we have the men. The merchant service has always been a nursery for the Royal Navy. At the present moment a large number of the commanders of our merchant ships, especially of the larger mail steamers, hold rank in the Royal Naval Reserve. And we can turn with satisfaction to many of our Colonies, those on the Atlantic seaboard of America in particular, and recognise in our descendants on the coasts of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, etc., the future backbone of an Imperial Navy.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.

JOHN MUNDILL.

¹ "Postal Anomalies and Mail Subsidies." December, 1886.

THE SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

WE reserve detailed comment upon the work of the Imperial Conference until the conclusion of its sitting and the publication of an authorised report. Since the opening on April 4th, up to the time of writing (April 23rd), ten meetings have been held, and discussion has taken place on the following subjects:—The naval defence of Australasia; the enforcement of Colonial judgments in the United Kingdom; the resealing of Colonial probates; the better preservation of life at sea; the inability of trustees to invest in Colonial Inscribed Stocks; the treatment of unclaimed dividends on Colonial Stocks in the same way as on Consols; the composition of stamp duties upon transfers of Inscribed Colonial Stocks; the amendment of the Marriage Laws; Colonisation in South Africa; Imperial postal communications; Imperial telegraphic communications; and Australasian land defences.

SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY ON THE CROWN COLONIES.

IMPORTANT INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR OF MAURITIUS.

SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY, who reached London the day after the Imperial Conference assembled, has been interviewed by a representative of the Press Association. His experience has been so great, and his opportunities so varied of becoming acquainted with an important branch of our Colonial Empire, apt sometimes to be overshadowed by the self-governing communities of Australia and Canada, that we think our readers will peruse with interest Sir John Hennessy's opinions as to the relations between the Crown Colonies and the Mother Country. He thought that the Conference would be especially useful in calling attention to the government of the Crown Colonies, for hitherto public attention had been mainly devoted to questions affecting Australia and Canada, and the Crown Colonies had not received the recognition that they deserved.

THE CROWN COLONIES AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

At the Colonial Conference the Prime Minister very wisely remarked that the Colonies might reasonably be expected to take a fair part in providing for their own defence in the shape of furnishing men and money; and Sir Henry Holland, too, touched upon that very same question when he remarked that the Conference would have to deal with questions relating to the employment and training of local or native troops to serve as garrisons of works of defence. Now, he should like to illustrate from his own experience how far Lord Salisbury's sound principle had or had not been carried out. For instance, in the case of the important Colony of Hong Kong, to say nothing of the Mauritius and other Crown Colonies of the first importance, they did not find that any corps drawn from the native population had been organised for defensive purposes. Indeed, so far from that being the case when he was at Hong Kong, the General in command of the troops there placed upon record his opinion that in the event of England being engaged in war it would be well to serve upon all Chinamen living in the Colony notice to quit in twenty-four hours. He, on the other hand, formed the opinion that a very useful local corps might be formed of the Anglo-Chinese—men born in the Colony, and well fitted, under proper training and with good officers to lead them, for the defence of the territory. He was perfectly convinced that Lord Salisbury's maxim held good in Hong Kong, and that not only the money but also the men could be provided for the defence of the island. That same statement held good with regard to the Mauritius, where they had a large population of European descent. Some of the Governors of that Colony who preceded him had placed on record their opinion that it was impossible to form a Volunteer corps there, inasmuch as the men from whom the force would be drawn were of French descent, and could not be relied upon. His own opinion was that in any British Colony where they had a population upon whom they could not rely for the formation of a Volunteer force, there must be something wrong in the government of the Colony. He firmly believed that Lord Salisbury's idea of a Colony furnishing both men and money could be carried out even in the Mauritius, provided our system of government were such as would render the population really loyal and devoted to the British Crown.

WHAT MAURITIUS WANTS.

Now, when he first went to the Mauritius he found a strong prejudice existing against British administration. The French population of the Colony had an affection for the Queen, but

they had a great dislike to the Bureau Coloniale in London. What really these Colonies wanted was to have the management and control of their own local government. They thought they could transact their own business better than other people—better, even, than the Colonial Office in London. One certain remedy for the widespread discontent that prevailed was to give to the Colonists in the Mauritius and elsewhere far more control than was now permitted them over their own affairs. In fact, what they wanted was an extension—a real extension—of the principle of local self-government.

UNPOPULARITY OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE SYSTEM.

Beyond that he would like to suggest a reform nearer home. The Colonial Office, whether rightly or wrongly, was very unpopular in the West Indian Islands, and likewise in our West African possessions, and in his opinion one great cause of that unpopularity was to be found in the fact that the department in London was not strong enough to deal with the large and important mass of business that came before it from the Colonies. No doubt, as Earl Granville remarked on one occasion, they had a highly-trained body of men in the Colonial Office—some of them men of first-class ability, but then the total staff, including the Permanent Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, and Clerks, only numbered forty-eight. Now, in the India Office the clerical staff of the same description was 180 strong. But beyond that again, there was an important difference between the two, for in the India Office they had in addition a Council, consisting of fifteen men of large experience and tried ability. The appointment of such a Council to deal with Colonial matters generally, he was sure, would tend greatly to the efficient working of the Department now presided over by Sir Henry Holland. Another grievance which the Crown Colonies had was in the matter of patronage, for all appointments, except those of over £200 a year, rested with the Colonial Office. This occasioned great indignation in the Colonies. The outcome of such a policy was that all the appointments were filled by strangers, and, as an illustration, he might mention that on his arrival in the Mauritius he found that of the eight official members of the Colonial Government, only one was a Mauritian. What he had said on the subject of Colonial patronage applied to all the Crown Colonies, some thirty in number, and it was only too evident that some reform must be made in the direction of the reforms accomplished in the Home and Indian Civil Services. He had no doubt as to the loyalty of these Colonies, if they were justly and properly administered.

OFFICIALS SHOULD BE NATIVES OF THEIR COUNTRY.

Referring to the subject of the employment of natives as officials in the Colonies, Sir John illustrated the case of the disastrous war in the Transvaal, and said he was convinced, if the Government had had reliable information to act upon, they would never have thought of annexing the Boer territory. In all such cases the Government were far more likely to receive accurate information from the officials who were natives of the country, and who were identified with the moral and material welfare, than from gentlemen who might be sent out from Downing Street, and who, partly from inaccurate information and partly from a desire not to say that which might be unpleasant, were apt to mislead the Secretary of State. He was convinced that the great majority of our Colonial wars might be traced to that cause, and that alone. On the whole, said the Governor of Mauritius, in conclusion, he viewed with great satisfaction the calling of this Colonial Conference. Looking to the utterances of Lord Salisbury, Sir Henry Holland, and Earl Granville, it was manifest that changes would, before long, take place in our system of Colonial administration—changes, he believed, in the direction he had indicated in the course of his conversation with the interviewer, and changes which, for many years, so long as he had had any public experience, both as a member of Parliament and a Colonial Governor, he had always held to be desirable, as improving our system of administration in the Colonies, and thereby strengthening the Empire as a whole.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

APRIL 4, 1887.

O ENGLAND, royal mother of a line
Of princely sons, whose ample destinies
In isles and continents beyond the seas
Time will unfold with fortune fair as thine.
Thy heart beats proudly, quick to note the sign
Of manhood's purpose in their fearless eyes,
Thy children thou dost hail with glad surprise,
Children no longer—nor wilt thou repine.
Thine was no fond, ignoble mother's mood
To gather by thy side a callow brood
Of constant nestlings. "Britons shall be free,"
Of old thy chosen watchword, waves renewed
As ensign of the grand Confederacy,
Whose linked councils crown the Year of Jubilee.

H. W. J.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Our Readers will notice that the JOURNAL is being printed this year upon somewhat thinner paper than hitherto. This has become necessary owing to the large number of Subscribers at home and abroad to whom the JOURNAL is sent through the post; the JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

MAY, 1887.

THE LEAGUE JUDGED THROUGH THE CONFERENCE.

THE remarkable collection of extracts which we publish in another column affords conclusive testimony that the nation has formed a true estimate of the importance of the Imperial Conference. We believe that no single journal of eminence throughout the country has failed to bestow unqualified approval upon the objects of the convention, and to confess hearty sympathy with the movement for unifying the British Empire. It has been impossible, in the space at our command, to give a tithe of the valuable comments with which we have been inundated since the opening meeting; but the few passages we have reproduced are a fair sample of the opinions which found expression in a vast number of powerful organs throughout the kingdom.

A general review of the sentiments of the London and provincial press upon the assembly of the Conference leaves an unmistakable impression as to the attitude in which the English people are placed in dealing with Federation. In the first place, the claim of the League to be the originator and founder of the movement in its practical shape has been fully and fairly recognised. We are credited with the only "authorised programme" on the subject, and in the frequent comparisons drawn between the aims of Federationists and the actual progress made towards their realisation, the standard chosen for aiding decision is the standard of the League, and the men whose language is assumed to be authoritative are the League's officers and supporters. Thus it may be reasonably concluded that we have at last established ourselves in the eyes of the world as the head and front of a great popular movement, now spurring to

action, now checking ill-timed impetuosity, but always controlling, directing, and organising the progressive tendency towards Imperial unity. To have definitely asserted the right of the League to consideration as the official representative of all who are interested in Federation is an important step gained. Henceforward the public will not be in any danger of mistaking the action of free-lances who skirmish on our flanks for the deliberate policy of headquarters. We owe much to free-lances, but the same enthusiasm which enhances the value of their services is apt sometimes to carry them too far and too fast. In future we shall feel all the benefit of their activity, without being involved in responsibility for their indiscretion. The fact that the League has been formally recognised as the pivot of the Federation movement will also enable us to speak when occasion demands in a tone of uncontested authority; the whole weight of our supporters throughout the Empire will be concentrated, and our voice will be listened to and our opinions awaited with increasing respect. Already we are beginning to feel the benefits of the position; the League has been formally admitted to representation at the Conference, and no gathering for discussion or social purposes in connection with Imperial Federation is considered complete without the presence of some of our members.

The reason of the importance now assigned to the League is not far to seek. It arises from our having never outstripped the pace at which public opinion was willing to follow our lead. We find this clearly exemplified upon continuing a review of the popular sentiments enunciated in the press. The two chief points of sympathy with the Imperial Conference, apart from its essential principle of unity, lie in the fact that it is animated by no partisan spirit, and in the fact that its programme has been conceived with the utmost caution. These two points appeal with irresistible strength to Englishmen of all denominations. Party politics are recognised to be, at best, a necessary evil; and especially at a time when the rancour and acerbity of domestic politics is extreme, the relief and exultation can hardly be exaggerated with which people hail a movement wherein all can work together for the common good, and where a successful issue would even hold out a prospect of permanently lifting Imperial affairs above the immediate influence of party strife. The opening of the Conference has supplied a crucial test as to the genuineness of the League's boast that it had kept Federation out of the political arena; and the presence on that historical occasion of distinguished Liberals and Conservatives, vying with each other in applauding the event, has proved the truth of our contention, and shown the wisdom of the course we have persistently adopted. The result has been to fix the idea of Federation deep in the hearts of the people, and to make it the goal towards which all may aspire, not as Liberals or Conservatives, but as British citizens.

But we have not only appealed successfully to the patriotism which underlies and precedes the development of party-spirit; we have always paid due regard to the instinctive caution of Englishmen. In private enterprise, bold even to rashness, our citizens have rarely been persuaded to take a leap in the dark upon any great question of public policy. Opinion takes a long time to mature, and the common sense of the country refuses to ratify what it has not learned to understand. Our work has been hitherto for the most part a work of instruction; and although we are beginning to see practical business ahead, the spread of information must still be continued. Herein lies the secret of the confidence inspired by the League in all with whom it has come in contact. We have always been on the side of caution, of not going too fast. In the opinion of some, we have not gone fast enough; but the comments which greeted the assembling of the Imperial Conference have amply justified our reserve. At length the country has had an opportunity of pronouncing upon a programme and a policy identical with our own. And the country has unanimously endorsed that programme and approved that policy. It is the first time that the fire of public criticism has been concentrated upon our position; the Conference is our creation; it represents our aims and principles: assent to its programme equals assent to our own, and we find programme, aims, and principles commending themselves to the universal good sense of the nation.

The League, to sum up, has at length assumed its proper dignity as the recognised official centre of the great Federation movement, and, through the judgment passed upon the Conference, it has secured what may be looked upon almost as a *plébiscite* in favour of its cardinal principles; the popular voice has pronounced in favour of Federation; it has approved of the cause being kept aloof from party-warfare, and it has stamped our policy of cautious progress with the seal of confidence.

ON SOME OF MR. GOLDWIN SMITH'S ARGUMENTS.

In his recent letter to the *Times*, Mr. Goldwin Smith speaks strongly of the loss of independence to England that would accompany Imperial Federation. But are we not already tied and bound by our connection with the Colonies in matters of Foreign policy, of international law, and of taxation for Imperial armaments? Almost every dispute in which this country has been engaged of late years has arisen out of questions bearing upon the Colonies. The maintenance of our high road to the East, that is, to the Colonies, has been the leading feature of our European policy, since the old "balance of power" theory was exploded; it has involved us in actual hostilities in Egypt, and brought us to the verge of war with Russia. Our bloody wars in South Africa are even more clearly the outcome of Colonial responsibilities. A great portion of our naval armaments is necessitated by the demands of Colonial commerce equally with our own. We do not make a Commercial Treaty without the previous consent of our Colonies, or enter into any arrangement with Foreign powers in which their interests are involved without consulting them. Surely this nominal independence, so fettered by custom, is not more glorious than an open acknowledgment of the joint responsibility we have long admitted in practice.

What is to be done, asks Mr. Goldwin Smith, with India? If the general opinion is to be trusted, India would certainly not be admitted to the Federation. Although Mr. Goldwin Smith speaks of it as a British Colony, the English race cannot "live and thrive" there; this forms an essential distinction between Colonies and Dependencies. India would stand in the same position towards a Federation as at present towards England. The Indian Civil Service would be open to the whole Empire; but India is, and must remain, a dependency of the Crown. Why our dominion there should be shortened Mr. Goldwin Smith does not say, although he anticipates the catastrophe. Widening the area from which capable administrators are procurable does not seem likely to diminish our authority. It must also be borne in mind that the Australian interest in the preservation of India is rapidly growing on lines identical with our own.

Let us pass to another of our opponent's arguments. Granted, as he asserts, that a written constitution and proportionate representation be essential to a Federal Assembly, we should like to know why he considers Great Britain or the Colonies likely to be more restive under such circumstances than are the States of the Union? A written constitution has answered well in America; the complications of Franchise in the different States are very numerous; the disparity of representation in the Lower House of Congress varies from one member for Delaware or Oregon to thirty-four for New York; but the smaller States of the Union are not restive; why, then, should the members of a federation be restive?

As to the statement that Canada will not enter a Federation of the Empire, the question is one of opinion, and Mr. Goldwin Smith's is but a unit among many. However, he bids us ask the late High Commissioner, Sir Charles Tupper, to tell us his real mind, as if that would decide the matter. We wish, indeed, that it were so; for Sir Charles Tupper has already told his real mind in a letter published in the January number of this journal. "I have given this important question" (of Imperial Federation), he says, "a great deal of consideration. It is beset with much difficulty, which I hope may not prove insuperable. . . . Representation in the Imperial Parliament in the usual way seems to conflict with our system of government, but the official representative of each group of the Federated Provinces might have a seat

in the Cabinet assigned to him so long as he enjoyed the confidence of the Government of the Dominion he represented. He would then be enabled to place before the whole Cabinet the views of his Government upon all questions affecting their interests."

And he concludes by expressing "the earnest hope that means may be devised to unite still more closely all portions of our great Empire, and wishing every success to the Imperial Federation League in the important work in which they are engaged." This does not look as if Sir Charles Tupper would stand aloof from a Federation.

In the same letter there is an expression of opinion the exact reverse of Mr. Goldwin Smith's theory that Canada has been taken "definitively and irrevocably out of the fiscal unity of the Empire." On this subject the High Commissioner says:—"It would be quite possible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom to arrange with the Finance Ministers of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa a fiscal policy that would greatly promote the interests of all, and bind indissolubly the Mother Country and the Colonies together by the tie of mutual advantage. It might be arranged to have in this country, and in all the Colonies, a double column tariff, one rate of duties for all British countries, and another for foreign countries. These tariffs would not necessarily be the same in different Colonies, but framed upon a common policy, as a matter of treaty, in such a way as to promote the prosperity of all." This evidence is quite as weighty and reliable as Mr. Goldwin Smith's assertion.

We are further asked to believe that the Governor-General has been divested of the last remnant of real prerogative. But every Bill passed in the Dominion Parliament requires the Governor-General's assent before it is valid, and may be disallowed by the Crown. What larger prerogative than this can be granted? An instance of its practical exercise in the neighbouring Colony of Newfoundland is at the present moment attracting attention.

The question of contribution to Imperial armaments has never, we believe, been formally discussed. But in spite of Mr. Goldwin Smith's statement that a "chorus of protest" arose at the suggestion of such a contribution during the war in the Soudan, the official correspondence shows that the Canadian Government were "ready to sanction recruiting by Canada for service in Egypt or elsewhere," and to specially enroll a force "from different parts of local battalions under the Imperial Army Discipline Act." These troops were to be paid by the Home Government. But such patriotic offers as those made by General Laurie, Colonel Williams, and the 46th East Durham (Ontario) Battalion, prove that the Canadians are ready in the hour of danger to offer to the Imperial Armaments that most precious contribution, their lives.

Mr. Goldwin Smith declares that social and economical forces are drawing Canada towards the United States. Nevertheless, the social forces of the press on both sides are now vying with each other in violent language on the subject of the fisheries dispute; a strong retaliatory Commerce Bill has just been sanctioned by Congress, and the Canadian Government is commissioning cruisers to protect its coast from infringement of the tariff laws. In both countries it is a common saying that the United States would "wipe out" Canadian manufactures but for the tariff, and Canada knows it to be true. Although Mr. Goldwin Smith denies the existence of any tendency to political annexation, the more outspoken advocates of commercial union frankly admit that complete absorption would be the inevitable result. It is, however, satisfactory to find that in the Nova Scotian Legislature, where the question of annexation to the United States was specifically raised a few days ago, *only a single vote was given in favour of the unpatriotic resolution.*

Our opponent has apparently a vision of three courses open to Canada in the future:—1. Annexation to the United States. 2. Internecine race strife, ending in the annexation of Quebec by France, while other nationalities fight for the rest. 3. Imperial Federation. Of the three, Mr. Goldwin Smith seems to prefer the first, but would choose even the second before the third. We have endeavoured to show that the virulence of his opposition to Imperial Federation exceeds considerably the force of his arguments.

NOTES FROM THE ANNUAL MEETING.

THE second Annual Meeting of the League, of which a full report will be found in a supplement, was a great success. There were several difficulties to be contended with. In the first place Lord Rosebery, who knows so well how to choose his words upon such occasions, was unavoidably detained upon the Continent, and the meeting was consequently deprived of his valuable assistance in expounding the affairs of the League, with which his name is so honourably connected in public esteem. Then, again, Lord Carnarvon, who had been expected to speak, was unfortunately prevented almost at the last moment from attending, owing to a temporary indisposition. This was the more regretted, because Lord Carnarvon has only joined the League recently, and members were naturally anxious to hear the views of a man who has had unrivalled experience in the art of Federation, from having inaugurated the great Canadian Dominion which now affords the most brilliant example of a successful confederation that has stood the test of practical working. Lord Carnarvon's speech would also have carried immense weight, from the fact that he formerly presided over the Royal Commission of 1869, whose recommendations are now accepted as the groundwork of a system of Imperial Defence, which seems likely soon to be realised.

To add to our difficulties, a meeting of the Court of Common Council opposed an inexorable barrier to the Lord Mayor's presence, whose ready sympathy and potent help are already a household word far beyond the august precincts of the Mansion House. And lastly, a meeting of the Conservative Party at the Foreign Office the same afternoon threatened to deprive us of some of our most enthusiastic workers.

But in spite of everything, the meeting was a great success; Captain Colomb, M.P., and Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., with praiseworthy zeal hastened away from the Foreign Office in time to take part in the proceedings at the Mansion House. The Lord Mayor's place was ably filled by Sir William McArthur, and we had at all events the satisfaction of placing on record our warm sense of Sir Reginald Hanson's kindness, in a vote of thanks which the Chairman would doubtless convey to him in person; and we are glad to think that by this means the feeling of the meeting would be more adequately expressed than if it had been limited to the mere words of a formal resolution.

If anything could make up for the absence of Lord Rosebery and Lord Carnarvon, it was to be found in the admirable speeches which were made by the distinguished men who actually addressed us. Mr. Service's remarks made an impression that will not be easily forgotten; Sir Alexander Galt showed himself as usual a master of clear and concise language, placing his views before the assembly with the tone of strong conviction that carries all before it. Professor Seeley, introduced by the Chairman as the author of "The Expansion of England," a work the fame of which has gone forth into all lands, combined entertainment with some most instructive suggestions. He, perhaps, allowed himself to overstep slightly the limits of non-political discussion prescribed by the League's programme, but his attack upon Mr. Goldwin Smith was as like trenchant and destructive. Of all the speakers, none was listened to with keener attention than Captain Colomb. His indefatigable exertions and practical common sense have done much for the League during the past year; our members recognise in him a Parliamentary debater of high merit, and an organiser of first-rate abilities. To these solid claims upon our respect is added the knowledge that Captain Colomb's heart is in the cause he so ably advocates; and he is universally looked upon as one of the most prominent leaders in this great movement. He spoke briefly, and with practical intent. The League is poor, and in need of funds: shall the work languish for want of them at a moment when we stand on the threshold of a new world of activity? That was the pith of Captain Colomb's argument, and we feel convinced that he will not have made the appeal in vain. We were very glad to welcome Mr. Alfred Simmons. It is not the first time that he has come forward to give direct assistance to the League, and he has always recognised, if we may judge from his public actions, that the movement for State-directed Colonisation, with which he is more especially connected, has much in

common with the objects of Imperial Federation. Mr. Simmons is intimately acquainted with the opinion of the working classes, and we shall hail him as an important ally in the endeavour to make them realise their vital interest in the unity of the Empire.

The interest of the meeting was retained to the very end, by speeches from such notable pillars of the League as Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., Sir H. Barkly, and Mr. Young, while the Chairman's tact and appropriate language was the subject of general congratulation.

The necessary complement to good speaking, we mean a large and appreciative audience—was not wanting. Our space renders it impossible to enter into details as to the many persons of distinction, who thought the occasion worth a sacrifice of valuable time, and many of whom attended at considerable inconvenience to themselves. But perhaps no clearer proof can be given of the thoroughly representative character of the assemblage, and the importance attached to it by the public, than the fact that almost every newspaper of note, both in London and in the Provinces, presented its readers with an account of the meeting.

We cannot conclude without one word of egotism. Mr. Service was kind enough to make some very flattering remarks about this JOURNAL, for which we hereby tender him our hearty thanks, and assure him that we shall do our best to secure a repetition of them when another year has passed over our heads.

A HYPOTHESIS AND AN INDUCTION.

IN his speech at the opening of the Conference Lord Salisbury put a hypothetical case asking whether, in the event of differences between ourselves and the United States on matters connected with Canada, Australia would be willing to share the burdens and risks. We hope that the question may never need a practical answer. But it is well to point out that on the only occasion when a similar crisis has actually arisen, the question has been answered in the affirmative.

In the spring of 1885 every one knows that a contingent of troops from New South Wales, armed and paid by the Colony, was sent to the Soudan; but it is often forgotten that similar offers were made by Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland. About the same time heavy expenses were incurred by all the Colonies in hasty preparations for defence during what has become known as the Russian scare. It cannot be denied that any possible dispute with the United States would have at least as much interest for the Colonies as those differences between England and Russia and the war in the Soudan. But the Colonies have never been heard to grumble at the expense in which they were then involved by the British connection, although none of them were exempt from the burden. Moreover, as we have seen, the Australian Colonies, not content with placing themselves on the defensive, eagerly proffered their services to join England in attacking the foes of the Empire wherever they might be found.

This case affords the nearest to Lord Salisbury's hypothesis that history contains. It may be fairly inferred that should the hypothesis in an evil day become fact, the Colonies would show at least the same zeal and readiness to share our burdens and risks as they evinced in 1885. The lesson of that crisis was that in the moment of difficulty and danger, local considerations vanish into space before a wave of patriotism which only remembers that each Colony is after all an integral portion of the British Empire.

THE Imperial Federation League has, since its formation, two years ago, done much towards "securing the permanent unity of the Empire." Although the definite basis of a scheme for the Federation of the Colonies with the Mother Country has not yet been laid down, there can be little doubt of the benefits that would accrue to the whole Empire, but especially to commercial centres, were the principles of Federation carried out. It is particularly gratifying to note that a branch of the Federation League—to which the subscription is only nominal—has been established in Glasgow. The most flourishing city in the British Empire, with its wide-world connections, ought to specially interest itself in the principles which it is the intention of the League to promulgate. It is only to be hoped that the success of the League in Scotland will be as great as it has been in England.—*Glasgow Evening News.*

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA.

RESOLUTIONS passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee on the 5th March, 1887:—

In view of the Imperial Conference called to meet in London on or about the 4th of April next, it is resolved that attention should be called to the several subjects intended to be discussed, upon which the members of this League have already passed resolutions, among which are the following:—

That the self-governing countries of the Empire should contribute upon an equitable basis, and in proportion to their national importance, to the expense of organisation for Imperial defence, and should in some constitutional manner have a recognised voice in directing the foreign policy of the Empire.

That it is highly important that the Penny Post for letters, and Parcel Post at greatly reduced and as nearly as possible uniform rates, throughout the Empire, should be adopted with the least possible delay.

That the proposed telegraphic cable encircling the world, touching only on British territory, except at the Sandwich Islands, in mid Pacific Ocean, should be encouraged, and as much of it as possible brought into early operation; and, moreover, that the lowest possible telegraphic rates should be secured throughout the Empire.

That the most speedy and economical transit of passengers and goods, by well-equipped steamship lines between the different parts of the Empire, should be diligently aimed at.

With a view of supplying the loss of revenue and of meeting the common expenditure incidental to carrying out the aims contemplated in the foregoing resolutions, it is respectfully and earnestly suggested for consideration whether, without otherwise interfering with the right of each part of the Empire to regulate its own tariff, the imposition of small uniform duties upon imports from foreign nations into all countries of the Empire would not be the most equitable system, and the one susceptible of the widest application; the adoption of which policy, while tending to foster inter-communication of all kinds, and the promotion of distinct common interests, would not, in the opinion of the committee, constitute any breach of the most favoured nation principle, the different parts of the Empire, more especially upon becoming liable to contribution for Imperial defence, not being separate nations, but branches of one nation, with whose common fiscal arrangements foreign nations are not concerned.

The Committee respectfully urge upon the Government of Canada to appoint an influential and representative delegation to take part, on Canada's behalf, in the proposed Imperial Conference.

The secretary is instructed to have these resolutions printed, and copies forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Canada, to the Secretary of the League in London, and to the Canadian delegates as soon as their appointment shall be announced.

IN MEMORIAM: W. E. FORSTER.

(OBIIT, APRIL 5, 1886.)

From *The Academy*, April 9, 1887.

OH, honest, stalwart man whose earnest face
Mirrored the soul within; whose every deed
Made answer to thy word; who gav'st no heed
To foolish babble or the lust of place.

Who, grieved to see thy country's hapless case
For lack of knowledge, help'st to aid her need,
Bestowing all she wished; whose civic creed
Was not of party, but took in the race.

A year has passed since thou wert laid to rest,
Yet is thy memory fragrant; thy bequest
A work whose scope and grandeur none can gauge.
England some day, her daughter-lands apart
No longer, will recall with pride of heart
Who showed'st the way to gain her heritage.
H. T. MACKENZIE BELL.

A CANADIAN REPLY TO MR. GOLDWIN SMITH.

MR. J. CASTELL HOPKINS, whose name is well known to members of the League as an ardent supporter of our principles in Canada, has written an able letter to the *Times* (April 13th) in answer to Mr. Goldwin Smith's last attack upon Imperial Federation. We reproduce some of the most telling passages from Mr. Hopkins's letter. He completely demolishes the Professor's assertion that not a single politician of eminence has countenanced the idea of Federation; and writes in a spirit of enthusiastic conviction that promises well for the growth of our sentiments in the Dominion.

NO POLITICIANS OF EMINENCE?

Mr. Goldwin Smith, of whom all Canadians are proud as the ablest writer and journalist in the country, has long been known on this side of the water as the most ardent advocate of what is called commercial union with the United States, which really means complete free trade with the Republic, with a tariff as high as theirs at present is against Great Britain and the rest of the world, and, as a necessary consequence, though not openly avowed, ultimate separation from the Empire and political union with the American Republican system.

As a result of holding these opinions, the Professor's statements regarding the Federation of the Empire, which would certainly prevent his pet policy ever being carried into execution, are tinged by an aversion which he does not attempt to conceal. As regards the advocacy of politicians, I might say that Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of the Dominion, has recently stated that he believed the future prosperity of Canada to be bound up in its connection with the Mother Country, and has expressed himself in favour of proceeding by means of treaty to consolidate the Empire. Sir Alexander Galt, who favours a commercial union; Sir Charles Tupper, who believes in an Imperial Cabinet; and Dalton M'Carthy, M.P., as well as many other Conservative leaders, have repeatedly expressed themselves in favour of such a policy; while Edward Blake, the eloquent leader of the Liberals, has for many years advocated the dropping of the Colonial mantle and the assumption of the duties and privileges of full Imperial citizenship; and Principal Grant, of Queen's University, perhaps the ablest writer in Canada, next to Dr. Smith himself, has often and enthusiastically supported similar principles.

FEDERATION POPULAR IN THE DOMINION.

The question has not as yet been very much discussed in the Dominion, though knowledge is now being steadily diffused upon the subject, and wherever it has been fairly laid before the people and debated it has found both favour and popularity, particularly among those who see that some change is inevitable, and that "drifting" out of the sea of colonialism into some unknown ocean is not good policy; and just as soon as some event—a great war or great political movement—occurs to stir the pulses of the people, then will be seen such a manifestation of the power of Canadian patriotism, loyalty to the Sovereign, and love for the Mother Land, as will put to shame all who had doubted the existence of such sentiments.

THREE POLICIES:—1. FEEBLE INDEPENDENCE.

There are only three policies possible for Canada to pursue in the future—namely, complete independence, annexation to the United States, or Imperial Federation. Independence would necessarily mean a position of national humility and dependence upon the will and policy of our powerful neighbours. It would entail upon the Dominion the keeping up of a costly consular service and ambassadorial staff all over the world, the building of a navy to protect our immense commerce, and the formation of a standing army to protect ourselves from the somewhat aggressive policy of our American cousins—burdensome taxation, an enormous national debt, and eventual annexation.

2. IGNOBLE ANNEXATION.

Political union with the United States is the next alternative. Loss of our hopes of national greatness, the transfusion of our Provinces into States of the Union, the flooding of our markets with American produce, the destruction of our manufactures through undue competition, the loss of our time-honoured system of Ministerial responsibility, the destruction of all those sentiments of loyalty and associations of national greatness that are so intimately entwined in the breast of every British subject, and the adoption of all those evils which are so visible in the American system of government—these are some of the consequences that would follow the sacrifice of our national honour; while for Great Britain it would signify the loss of much trade and many commercial advantages, as well as untold diminution of *prestige* and power.

3. IMPERIAL UNITY.

The third policy, and the one which Mr. Goldwin Smith styles a "dream," is the one which seems the most likely of ultimate adoption, as not only an escape out of local complications and national troubles, but as the best means of expanding our power, increasing our trade, protecting our commerce, and building up a united Canada. The watchword of the century is Unity, and the foundation of the great nations of to-day is national cohesion; and there seems no just reason why the Colonies of Great Britain should not enter into an alliance with the Mother Country, with an Imperial Council, or whatever it might be styled, to manage the foreign affairs of the Empire, to adjust inter-Imperial questions, to arbitrate and decide on questions of war and peace, to control the Navy, and to receive and expend the sums which might be voted by the different portions of the Empire for their external defence and the improvement of their communications.

COLONIAL PRESSURE; OR, TEACHING YOUR GRANDMOTHER-COUNTRY.

(From "PUNCH.")

ACT. I.—*The deck of a Homeward-bound Mail Steamer. Enthusiastic Colonial Premier discovered concluding farewell speech on the prospective blessings of a closer union with the Mother-Country to a stimulated and excited throng of intending "Federated" Colonists.*

Colonial Premier (finishing his peroration, much moved): So, my Brothers, I bid you adieu, and as I do so I ask you to respond with three hearty cheers for the union with that glorious Empire, which it is my mission in taking this lengthy voyage to accomplish. *(They respond frantically.)* I go to the great centre from which we are all proud to boast our common life-blood flows, there to meet together with the representatives of our far-scattered Colonial brothers in solemn conclave the Ministers of that mighty EMPRESS-QUEEN whose children we claim to be, and for the mutual defence and consolidation of whose far-spreading Empire we shall consult lovingly and loyally together. Farewell, then, my Brothers. Wish me God-speed.

[They do, and continue shouting themselves hoarse till the Vessel is well out of sight.]

ACT II.—*An Ante-room in the Colonial Office, seven weeks later.*

Polite Junior Official discovered holding brief explanatory conversation with Enthusiastic Colonial Premier.

Polite Junior Official (quietly concluding reply to several leading questions): No, I fancy the meeting will be held here in one of our spare rooms; and if you ask me, I do not think LORD SALISBURY has any intention of being present.

Enthusiastic Colonial Premier. What! Not the Prime Minister?

Polite Junior Official. No, I don't think so. But the announcement seems to take you quite by surprise.

Enthusiastic Colonial Premier. By surprise? I should rather say it did! Why, how can the matter be discussed with any dignity without him?

Polite Junior Official. Ha! but you forget. There will most probably, I might say, certainly, be the Head of our Department present.

Enthusiastic Colonial Premier. The Head of your Department, indeed! Do you think I've come all this way to see him? I have quite enough of him on paper seven thousand miles off.

Polite Junior Official. Really? Ah! but I've no doubt you'll find it will all be satisfactory enough.

Enthusiastic Colonial Premier. Satisfactory! Why, Stanhope's Circular said it was to meet to discuss "The general defence of the Empire." Is the Secretary of State for War, I should like to know, going to attend?

Polite Junior Official. Oh, no, I don't think so.

Enthusiastic Colonial Premier. You "don't think so"! And I'll be bound the First Lord of the Admiralty hasn't been summoned.

Polite Junior Official (judicially). No, I should certainly say he had not.

Enthusiastic Colonial Premier. And I daresay the Postmaster-General even hasn't a seat at the table, and we're going to discuss "Imperial Intercommunication." Well, I'll tell you what it is. What with the Prime Minister out of it, too, the whole thing is a farce and a swindle, that's what it is; and what's more, you'll find that men who have come from all parts of the earth as representatives of the Colonial Governments won't stand it. Re-organise your arrangements while there's yet time, Sir. Good-morning.

[Exit Indignantly.]

ACT III.—*Official Transformation Scene. (For further particulars, see Newspapers.)*

FROM A CAPE COLONY M.P. OF THIRTY YEARS' STANDING.

THERE appears to be little or no difficulty in adjoining States federating in the way it has been effected in the United States of America, in Germany, or Canada. These Confederated States not being separated by thousands of miles of sea had not the same difficulties to contend with as those that exist between Great Britain and her Colonies. The large Colonies—such as Canada and the Australian group, Tasmania, New Zealand, and the Cape of Good Hope—have constitutions granted them, and have the most, or all of them, what is called Responsible Government, and consequently consider themselves quite competent to manage their own internal affairs much better than any body of men meeting in another part of the world could do it for them; and there can be no doubt that they are perfectly right in thinking so. I am unable to see the necessity for an Imperial Parliament (however fairly the different Colonies may be represented in the same) legislating in any way for the Colonies, as it cannot be done so satisfactorily as by a Colonial Parliament. There is really little or nothing that a Parliament constituted as proposed could do, under any circumstances, so well as it could be done in the Colonies. It is true that we sometimes meet with remarks by Colonial editors and others, when writing concerning Colonial politics, that it is highly necessary the different Colonies should be represented in the Imperial Parliament. Remarks of this kind do not come from the Government or any reliable authority, but from some person who has written himself into a state of excitement about some imaginary grievance, or a real one, and thinks by ventilating what he believes to be necessary that he can persuade others to think he is right. Colonial Parliaments are too well aware of the advantage of being allowed to manage their own affairs to willingly part with any of the privileges placed in their hands, nor are there any indications on the part of the Imperial Government to resume any of the powers granted. The Imperial Government are well aware that a quiet and loyal people can be lead easier than driven, and hence Federation must in no way interfere with the constitutions granted or the financial arrangements of the Colonies.

A FEDERATION IS INVINCIBLE.

Federation, if States can only agree, is the way to render them almost invincible, and we have not far to seek for the most convincing proofs. Before the Federation of the German States they were at best but a very mixed power, and even after the Federation the French could not, or would not, believe in the united strength of Germany, until they had tried and proved, by sad experience, that the Confederated Germans—whom they thought would be an easy conquest—opened their eyes by defeating their armies in every battle, until finally Paris was invested and starved into an almost unconditional surrender. England found, in contending with the United States of America, that it was beyond her strength, and was obliged to acknowledge their independence. The Greek States, who continually wasted their energies in warring with each other (when driven to Federation by the invasion of the country by a common enemy), found for the time they were invincible, and could they only have agreed to federate, none of the outside powers of those days would have dared to invade the country. The States mentioned are composed of a number of States adjoining each other, and very differently situated, in regard to Federation, from England and her Colonies, who are parted by thousands of miles of sea. This is, no doubt, a great difficulty, though I do not believe the Federation of England and her Colonies is out of the question, or in any way impossible; on the contrary, I firmly believe it can be done with very little or no additional expense. Federation is, in my opinion (and the history I have mentioned helps to prove it), only another name for mutual help in time of war. If there were no wars there would be no necessity for Federation.

A FEDERAL FLEET NEEDED.

The English people are at the present time doing the greater part of the carrying trade of the world by sea, and English ships are passing by hundreds over the oceans, and are found in all the ports and harbours where commercial transactions are known. This trade carried on by our English merchants is highly advantageous to England and the Colonies, and the safety and protection of this grand fleet of merchant vessels is the real work of Federation. If England can with the help of her Colonies protect her shipping from serious damage, then there is little danger to be apprehended from an enemy attempting to enter any of our ports or invading any of our territory, as an effectual protection of our merchant vessels would at the same time secure Great Britain and her Colonies from any attack by sea. Federation, therefore, for England and her Colonies means the command of superior force at sea. If we cannot protect our merchant vessels, then any attempt at Federation with our distant Colonies would be a grave mistake, and only make matters worse than they are at present. Of course the command of the sea in time of war, and the successful defence

of our mercantile marine, means a large addition to the English fleet, so as to enable her when necessary to keep the ships of an enemy in a state of blockade, as was the case with the Russian fleet during the last war, when English vessels or English Colonies had no more fear of a visit from a Russian war ship than they had from war canoes from any of the Cannibal Islands.

From all accounts, England has not been—though her safety consists in doing so—careful in keeping up her prestige by sea. This, on her part, has been a very serious and dangerous game to play; for, while other European nations depend for safety on their land forces, England's safety depends upon her fleet. Other European nations maintain an immense military force, compared with which our small standing army is a mere handful. The pay of these large armies, though cut down to an exceedingly low figure per man, is a heavy burden upon the taxpayers of these countries, and it takes all the money that can be raised to keep up these forces to the peace establishment; and, consequently, there is a sort of forced peace, and less fighting than there otherwise would be, as there is no means of paying war expenses, so that—possibly, not for want of inclination so much as the means for making war—these hosts of fighting men are kept from doing no end of mischief. While other Governments spend almost the whole of their revenue in keeping up a large standing army, and also in adding to their naval force, England has been building ironclads for other Governments and neglecting her own defence, and in place of keeping a strong fleet for the protection of her Colonies and trading vessels, she spends no end of money upon a mission that she thinks is imposed upon her for putting down the slave trade and for civilising the heathen, who repay her efforts for their improvement with the basest ingratitude. I have already stated that the scheme for the Federation of England and her Colonies is nothing more or less than a grand mutual protection association, to which there can be no reasonable objection raised, and which, if properly managed, need not in any way interfere with present arrangements or constitutions; all that is required being that each Colony shall contribute a fair share towards the protection of their own ports and the merchant vessels from the war ships of an enemy. Unless England and her Colonies can protect themselves and their trade by sea from the cruising and other vessels of the enemy, whatever or wherever that enemy may be, then it is utterly useless to talk of any other arrangements. The keystone of the whole structure of Federation is the protection and safety of our ports and shipping. Mutual defence is the only thing that can save an Empire like Great Britain and her Colonies from falling to pieces.

THE CAPE IS THE KEY OF AUSTRALASIA.

The Cape being the half-way house between England and India, Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, is the key, or station for coaling and repairs, and supplies of all kinds, and must, therefore, be of vast importance to the Imperial Government and the other Colonies. Consequently, Cape Town and Simons Bay should be specially protected, for were these places occupied by an enemy it would seriously damage Great Britain and all the Colonies to which it is the highway. The Cape would undoubtedly do all that lay in her power to perform her share in defending herself from every attack, either by sea or land, though she at present has no war ship of her own that could be used for the purpose of defence. The Imperial Government are so well aware of the importance of the Cape as a naval station that they have always kept some war ships in Simons Bay, which would be quickly reinforced in case of war. Works for the defence of these ports are being constructed, and should, with the help of some war ships, be able to do good service in defending Table and Simons Bays. I have already stated that it is only when a large subject like Federation is being considered that people become aware how little they know of each other. Now from what has taken place in former wars at the Cape, it is easy to see that were Great Britain involved in a European war, no fleet would pass the Cape to carry on warlike operations on the coast of India or Australia until the Cape had been taken. The Cape would therefore be the first place they would attack, and consequently should be so fortified that no ordinary force would dare to come near it. The Cape to England should be a second Gibraltar; for, while she holds the Cape, she commands the great highway to a large portion of her foreign possessions; and the station should be made so strong, that, even if attacked by an overwhelming force and taken, the attacking force should be so much damaged in doing so as to be unable to go on to India or Australia, and to fall an easy conquest to any English fleet that might come up with them. The shorter way to the Indian Ocean, by the Suez Canal, England ought to be able to hold, so that no hostile fleet could pass. A large portion of the shares of this Canal is at present the property of the Imperial Government; and if we cannot with our fleet command that way to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, then England herself would be no longer safe, and Federation out of the question.

WHY THE CAPE CANNOT DEFEND ITSELF.

South Africa or the Cape Colony is in a very different position from the other British possessions. I do not mean geographically, though I have already shown that in that respect she is more exposed to an attack of a hostile fleet than any other of Her Majesty's Colonies. It is the position of the Cape Colony in regard to the natives to which I refer, they being so numerous, and not to be trusted, and such a frightful expense to the Colony, that it is next to impossible for the Colony, if she continues her present native policy, to expend any money for defence of ports and harbours. The people of the Colony are exceedingly anxious to see our ports put in a proper state of defence, and would gladly see a large sum voted by Parliament for this purpose, did they only know where it was to come from. Not having the money, and knowing the Colonists are already paying double the amount of taxes paid by any other portion of Her Majesty's subjects, the Cape Parliament are at a loss how to make any fresh demands upon the taxpayers. The present expenditure, which is ruining the Colony, is the result of the Parliament's own folly in building up and continuing a number of establishments that are beyond the means and resources of the settlement. Of course many of our Parliament members do not care to own they have done wrong and object to retrenchment, and even hang on hoping something may turn up to enable them to continue the present expenditure without retrenching. The discovery of gold is almost promising something of the kind, and will perhaps encourage the Parliament to hold on without making an effort at reducing expenditure. The diamonds did not prevent us from getting into difficulties, so I am unable to see how the gold discovery is to get us out of them. I can see no wisdom in waiting for this hoped for prosperity; a much more sensible plan would be to carefully consider our present indebtedness and reduce our useless expenditure and establishments, and then we may have some money to expend on fortifications to protect ourselves from an attack by sea, a thing which should have been our first consideration in place of the last.

TO THE FLEET ALL SHOULD CONTRIBUTE.

Federation is not a measure requiring a representative assembly of all concerned to meet and settle the terms upon which it is to be carried out; that would only defeat the object in view, as it is a hundred to one if they could agree. The first grand step towards Federation is for each Parliament, or Legislative Assembly, or Council to say, after a careful consideration of the subject, what sum they will be prepared to pay annually toward keeping up a fleet of Imperial war ships for the protection of their ports and harbours and the merchant ships of England. This must be first settled by each Colonial Legislature, and made known to the Imperial Government. England will then be able to judge what can be done for the protection of her mercantile marine and her own coasts and Colonial possessions. This is the first great step toward Federation; and unless this can be done, there can be no Federation of Great Britain and her Colonies.

R. M. BOWKER.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

A LIMITED number of copies of "Fifty Years' Progress," printed on special paper, as presented to Her Majesty the Queen, can now be procured, handsomely bound in cloth boards, gold lettered, with marbled edges, price 2s., postage 6d. Early application to the Secretary is recommended.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1886 has been compiled, which will be shortly procurable for binding with the volume.

A PEACE-COMPELLING TREATY.

THE apparent intention of the United States to spend large sums of money upon naval armaments, reminds us of the existence of a treaty whose provisions must be carefully guarded against infringement. The Treaty of Ghent provides that neither the United States nor the British Empire shall at any time be represented upon the Great Lakes by more than one ship of war. This provision is most salutary, and has hitherto prevented that useless waste of money which European nations have squandered upon vying with each other in the matter of armaments.

But if the United States persist in their determination to devote their surplus money to constructing ships and forts rather than reduce the tariff on imports, it is just possible that they may consider it desirable to have some additional cruisers upon the Lakes. Of course, it would be easy enough for us to do the same. But the British Empire has something better to do with its spare cash than to employ it upon war-like preparations, unless in cases where such expenditure is absolutely necessary.

The treaty to which we have referred is perfectly plain and intelligible, and the Government must keep a watchful eye upon it, and insist upon the maintenance of its integrity should the question ever arise. By so doing, they will earn the lasting gratitude, not only of our own citizens, but also of the United States. They have in their hands an instrument for nipping in the bud a policy of competitive armaments which would inflict irreparable injury upon nationalities whose rivalry at present expends itself in developing the profitable arts of peace.

HERE AND THERE.

AT the next meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on May 10th., Mr. G. Baden Powell, M.P., will read a paper on Colonial Government Securities.

SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, representative of New Zealand at the Imperial Conference, only reached Plymouth on April 9th, and was therefore too late for the opening meeting.

A CHEAP edition of Professor Seeley's "Expansion of England" has just been published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co.

MR. ALFRED DEAKIN, Chief Secretary for Victoria, has declined the honour of knighthood. He leaves England on May 6th.

A LECTURE delivered by Mr. J. Stanley Little, upon the occasion of the formation of a branch of the Imperial Federation League at Haslemere, has been printed and issued by Messrs. Billing, of Guildford.

TWO articles contributed by Mr. J. F. Heyes to this Journal last year have been printed in pamphlet form under the title of "Aspects of Imperial Federation," and issued by Mr. G. Phipps, Oxford.

IT is stated that the Hon. Adye Douglas will shortly retire from the post of Agent-General for Tasmania, and return to the Colony.

A BILL has been introduced in the Windsor "House of Commons," to promote and maintain a greater Unity and Federation between the United Kingdom, the British Colonies, and India.

WITH a view to promote the production of raisins suitable for the English market, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce is offering money prizes for the best samples, in addition to the rewards offered by the Government, amounting to £150. It is hoped thereby to improve the condition of farmers otherwise wholly dependent on wine and brandy production.

THE Prince of Wales has accepted the honorary presidency of the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition of 1888.

SIR GEORGE STEPHEN and Sir Donald Smith have given 500,000 dols. each to found a Royal Victoria Hospital for the sick and poor of Montreal, and that city gives a fine site for the buildings.

THE Lord Mayor of London has received from the Mayor of Wellington, New Zealand, a sum of £51 for distribution among the various societies which provide a free or penny dinner to the poorest class of children attending the Board Schools of London. This amount has been contributed principally by school children in New Zealand.

INTELLIGENCE received at Sydney from Noumea, New Caledonia, states that a French mission has been despatched to the Wallis Islands, a group situated between the Fiji and Samoa Islands, with a view to occupying them as a coaling station.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

CHIPPING NORTON.—On March 24th an interesting paper was read before the Literary and Debating Society on the subject of Imperial Federation by Mr. A. Ballard. The address contained a well-argued statement of the case for Federation and an able refutation of the specious reasons adduced in favour of separation. Mr. Ballard concluded his remarks in these words:—"We have glanced at the extent, history, and government of the British Colonies; we have seen their use as outlets for our surplus population, and as markets for our produce; we have noticed that the Colonists are our best customers, and that it is probable that if separation takes place they will not consume so much of our goods; we have also noticed the anomalous connection between the Colonies and England; that while we are answerable for their defence they yield us nothing in return, and while they have no voice in matters of peace or war, we can at any moment plunge them into a war which may mean to them loss of their virtual independence; and we have arrived at the conclusion that such a state of affairs cannot last long. We have considered the three arguments against separation, and find them insuperable; and, therefore, we are driven to the conclusion that a closer union is inevitable. It is not for us to decide what line of conduct will be best for us to follow in bringing about this closer union, but we have slightly noticed the various plans produced, and may have some idea as to which are the most feasible to work upon, so as to produce that glorious day when Britain's 'Sons'

"Be welded one and all
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain heart and soul,
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne."

DUDLEY.—A meeting of the members of the Dudley Unity Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held recently at the Blue Boar Inn, Stone Street, Dudley. Mr. J. Lavender presided, and amongst the other members present were Messrs. A. Brownhill, S. Sproston, E. Hipkins, J. M. Tivey, M. H. V. Mayer (Secretary), J. Mayer, &c. Mr. A. Brownhill, auditor, submitted a report of the financial condition of the Society, which, together with a code of rules, was adopted. After some discussion it was agreed that the question of changing the place of meeting should be considered at the next meeting. Mr. S. Sproston was unanimously chosen chairman of the Branch for the ensuing year; and Messrs. J. Lavender, W. Tivey, and W. H. Kinsey, vice-chairmen. Mr. H. V. Mayer was accorded a hearty vote of thanks for his services as secretary, and Mr. Sproston for his as treasurer during the infancy of the movement at Dudley. Mr. Mayer begged to decline re-election on account of his business engagements clashing with the meetings of the Branch. Mr. A. Brownhill was therefore elected secretary, with Mr. Mayer as assistant secretary. A vote of thanks was passed to the retiring auditors, and Messrs. Isaac Tivey, W. Mayer, and W. Kinsey were appointed to the office for the ensuing year. A committee was afterwards elected.

INGERSOLL (Canada).—An address was recently given by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, under the auspices of the North Oxford Literary Society, upon the subject of Imperial Federation. At the close of the meeting a resolution was proposed and passed, stating "that a Federation of the British Empire would be beneficial to Canada." Mr. Hopkins spoke of the future of Canada, and of the three possible policies before the country—namely, independence, annexation, and Imperial Federation. In discussing the last, he divided his consideration of the subject into military union, commercial union, and representative or political Federation. The address was well received, and the audience seemed to be satisfied that Federation was the future destiny of the Dominion.

LONDON.—At a recent meeting of the Polytechnic Parliamentary Debating Society, the following resolution was moved by Mr. J. W. Hall:—"That a universal penny postage and the adoption of other facilities and bonds of union between Great Britain and her Colonies will be conducive to the welfare of the British Empire." In an able speech Mr. Hall pointed out that the choice lay between Federation or Separation, and he had no doubt which course the people would prefer. The co-operative principle was the right one for ordering the affairs of the Empire, and he hoped in due time to see an Imperial Parliament with various subsidiary national Parliaments. He looked forward with confidence to the good results which would flow from the Imperial Conference, and emphasised the questions of Defence and Postal Communication as of especial importance. Mr. Hall was followed by various speakers, both Liberals and Conservatives, most of whom were in favour of the resolution. The debate was at a later stage adjourned for a fortnight, when it was

resumed, and a division taken, showing 35 for the resolution and 12 against, the majority in its favour being almost 3 to 1.

MONTREAL (Canada).—Mr. Arch. McGrun, Junr., read a valuable paper before the University Literary Society on March 11th upon the "Work to be done by the Imperial Conference in April." He began by urging the importance to Canada of an adequate organisation for defence, which could only be obtained by remaining an integral portion of the Imperial system. Passing to the consideration of postal and telegraphic communications, he strongly advocated the institution of a penny post, and alluded to the fact of the United States having recently adopted a two-cent rate. Additional lines of steamships and cables were also necessary to connect the distant portions of the Empire and encourage trade. Money would be required for these purposes, and could be raised by a special tax upon imports from countries outside the British Empire.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—On March 31st a meeting of the Newcastle Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held in the County Hotel, Newcastle, when Mr. J. J. Butcher read an address on "The Federal Idea and Current Politics." Mr. W. A. Temperley occupied the chair. The lecturer, who was attentively listened to, gave a *resumé* of the ideas of Federation, and a considerable amount of discussion ensued. On the motion of Dr. Burdon a vote of thanks to Mr. Butcher for his lecture was unanimously given, and a similar compliment to the chairman concluded the meeting.

PLYMOUTH.—A lecture was delivered before the Plymouth Institute on March 24th by Mr. Frank Phillips, F.R.C.I., who chose as his subject, "The Growth of our Colonial Empire." The chair was taken by Mr. S. Cater, President of the Society. After an elaborate historical survey of the progress made by the Colonies during Her Majesty's reign, Mr. Phillips alluded to the various phases of Imperial Federation, calling attention to the great benefits that would ensue from the adoption of a scheme whereby one universal customs' tariff could be established throughout the Empire. He concluded by saying a few words on the position of Plymouth in relation to the Colonies. The connection of Plymouth with the Colonies had been of the closest nature from the commencement of emigration. It was from Plymouth that the Pilgrim Fathers started in the *Mayflower* to form a Colony in America, and, coming to recent times, Plymouth had been the port at which immense numbers of emigrants to Canada and the Australian Colonies had embarked. Plymouth was the last port of call for the magnificent steamers now going out almost weekly to America, New Zealand, and the Cape Colonies; and nearly every liner of any magnitude made it a port of call homeward in order to land mails and passengers, and in the natural course of events he believed that the more trade and steam communication between the Colonies and this country were developed, so much the more would the port of Plymouth develop and prosper. (Applause.)

An interesting discussion followed.

Captain Inskip referred at some length to the Australian Colonies. He had, he said, been there twenty years ago, and where natives were paddling naked in their canoes there were now flourishing cities and communities. He advocated strongly the annexation of New Guinea, of which he was one of the first explorers, and although the climate was not suitable for the labour of white men he thought it might be made a sort of Singapore, and was of great strategical importance to Australia.

Professor Chapman was very much in favour of emigration on a large scale, pointing out that if the authorities at home had been more liberal in spending money in this direction in years past it would have been better both for this country and for the islands.—Dr. Jackson also spoke.

PORTSMOUTH.—At a meeting of the Portsmouth Working Men's Liberal Union, held on March 23rd, a paper on Imperial Federation was read by Mr. Longyear. The chair was occupied by Mr. Longman, and there was a good attendance. In the course of his remarks the lecturer pointed out that one advantage of Imperial Federation would be the removal of local legislation from the scope of the work of the Imperial Parliament, and another result would be to solve problems which at present seemed to be insoluble. A further advantage would be that war would be less likely to arise; but, if the arbitrament of the sword became absolutely necessary, then the presenting of such a united front as the British Empire would present would soon put an end to such war. In this connection he said that he would place the right to declare peace or war in the hands of the representatives of the people, while as to the fiscal question, some of the Colonies being protectionists, he did not anticipate any insurmountable obstacle. No greater difficulty should arise than in the case of the Federal States of America. An interesting discussion followed the lecture, in which Mr. Longman, Mr. Blessley, Mr. T. S. Rose, Mr. Burgess, and Mr. Willis took part. The tone of the meeting was very favourable to Federation, and the proceedings closed with a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

STONEHOUSE.—Mr. M. H. Bulteel gave a lecture on "Imperial Federation" to the members of St. Matthew's Club on

March 23rd. The chair was taken by Mr. H. D. Spear. In the course of a very able address Mr. Bulteel dealt with the tariff question at considerable length, and referred to the suggestion of a revenue tariff under which each part of the Empire would retain its own arrangements as to special duties, as at present, but in addition there would be an *ad valorem* duty on all foreign imports of 5 per cent., which sum would be applied to the maintenance of the Imperial Navy for the protection of Imperial trade. How much would such a scheme raise? The total amount of foreign imports for the Empire in 1883 was £366,528,000. A duty on this of 5 per cent. would give a sum of £18,326,400. The Navy Estimates amounted in the net annually to between twelve and thirteen millions, so that if such a sum as that mentioned could be obtained there would be an advance of about five millions, which might be applied to increasing their fleets in Colonial waters, and the Navy might thus be placed under an Imperial Board of Control and would not be dependent upon Parliamentary votes for its existence. There was something to be said against this scheme, and perhaps its most serious flaw was its liability to fluctuate. The change of coinage was a necessary prelude to Federation. When Federation did take place, if uniformity of trade tariffs were agreed upon, the system of coinage with which the tariffs were paid must be uniform also. In the course of an advocacy of State-aided emigration, Mr. Bulteel said they could not always compel emigrants to choose British Colonies; but by a careful system of State-aided and State-directed emigration and colonisation, and by carefully selecting the men and the Colonies, and by affording facilities and advantages for emigration into their own Colonies, they would produce the desired effect; and one of the chief effects would be that they would show the emigrants that whilst the Mother Country was crowding them out she was not losing interest in them. If they managed a uniform system of defence, a uniform postal revenue, uniform coinage, and uniformity of trade tariffs, and if there was to be State-aided emigration, then it was essential that they should have a representative Board which should be empowered to deal with these subjects on simple lines. His own opinion was that the authority of such a body should be Imperial—it should have the control of all the foreign relations of the Empire, but not of internal relations of its constituent parts. (Applause.) A brief discussion followed the lecture, and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Mr. Bulteel.

STROUD.—At a recent meeting of the Stroud Institute, Mr. J. Higgs read a paper in favour of Imperial Federation. A considerable portion of the lecture was occupied with a discussion of the commercial aspects of Federation, and Mr. Higgs concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That, taking into consideration the rapid and continual increase in the population of the United Kingdom, and the difficulty of many to procure employment, the Federation of the Empire would be advantageous to Great Britain and her Colonies from a political, defensive, and industrial point of view." A lively discussion followed, in which Mr. E. Poulton, Mr. W. Taylor, Mr. Price, &c., took part. The resolution was eventually carried unanimously.

FEDERATION AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Uppingham.—By the kindness of the Rev. E. Thring, himself a member of the Imperial Federation League, and a strong sympathiser with its objects, a lecture upon our Colonial Empire will be given to the school on July 25th or 26th by Mr. H. F. Wilson.

Marlborough.—It is hoped that an address may be delivered to the school upon the subject of Imperial Federation on May 5th, when the head-master, the Rev. G. C. Bell, has kindly intimated his willingness to receive a lecturer from the League.

Arrangements for lectures, debates, &c., at other schools are in progress and will be duly announced. The help of members of the League in lecturing, opening discussions, &c., is urgently needed to insure the success of the movement.

THE "We, the people of England" of the three famous tailors of Tooley Street must cease to be a proverbial expression in the face of the fact that seventy-nine of the inhabitants of New Lexington, Ohio, have petitioned the Senate to instruct the President to open negotiations with Great Britain for the surrender of Canada "and other British possessions" to the United States. The musket shots of the "embattled farmers" that made another Lexington famous may have echoed round the world, but the petition of the seventy-nine of New Lexington is fated to be blazoned on the page of fame with patent medicine advertisement prominence. The people of "Canada and other British possessions" have, of course, no interests and no rights which any one is bound to respect in this matter. This New Lexington petition is a farce; this is proved by the fact that it was presented by the tail-twister of Atchison, formerly known as Senator Ingalls. The annoying thing is that instead of being laughed out of the Senate it was solemnly referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. What possible reason can American public men and public bodies have for insulting Canada as they do?—*Montreal Daily Witness*.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

MARCH 19—APRIL 19, 1887.

DEFENCES OF SINGAPORE.

March 24th.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. De Lisle,

MR. NORTHCOTE said,—As it is not admitted that there is any very serious deficiency in the defences of Singapore, the contingency stated in the question of my hon. friend does not arise. But in any case it would not be desirable for me to explain the nature of the precautions which the Admiralty may think it right to take. With the permission of the House, I will take this opportunity of correcting an error in my reply of the 18th inst. on the same subject. I stated then that the two guns which would not be ready for Singapore in 1887-8 were in course of manufacture at Elswick. It appears now that I was inadvertently misinformed, and that though guns for Hong-Kong and Aden are being made at Elswick the two for Singapore are in hand at the Royal Gun Factory.

DEFENCE OF HONG-KONG.

In answer to Mr. Webster,

MR. NORTHCOTE said,—As all the remaining guns for the armament of Hong-Kong are expected to be supplied during the ensuing financial year, it has not been considered necessary to make any communication to the Admiralty on the subject.

POSTAL RATES.

MR. HENNIKER-HEATON asked the Postmaster-General when was the present arrangement made whereby a payment of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per letter was made to France and Italy for transit rate, for every letter from England to India and the East; under what conditions did the contract exist, and when could it be terminated; what steps were being taken to obtain more satisfactory conditions and terms; and did Germany pay any sum to France or Italy for transit rates.

MR. RAIKES: The arrangement referred to was made in 1879 by correspondence between the British Post Office and the Post Offices of France and Italy, and can be terminated at any time. Three years ago steps were taken to obtain more favourable terms, but the result was not satisfactory, and it is intended to make further efforts in this direction as soon as the new service for the Australian mails is settled. Until it is certain that those mails will use the same accelerated train service as the Indian mails, negotiations with the French and Italian Post Offices cannot be opened advantageously. On the last point raised by the hon. member I have no official information. But I understand that the German mails for India and the East do not pass through the French territory at all, but join the Indian mail train at Bologna. In that case they would incur only the Italian transit charge, amounting to a fraction over $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a letter.

THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES AND THE POSTAL UNION.

MR. HENNIKER-HEATON asked the Postmaster-General, in reference to his recommendation to the Australian Colonies to join the postal union, whether he was aware that the postage to India, which was only half-way to Australia, was 5d., though it was in the postal union; what guarantee had we that, if the Australian Colonies join the postal union, the charges would be reduced and better rates obtained than now to India; and whether it was a fact that nine-tenths of the British countries and Colonies which had joined the union were charged for postage 4d. or 5d. from Great Britain, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. from France, Germany, or Italy.

MR. RAIKES: The postage of a letter to India is 5d., and if the Australian Colonies join the postal union they would probably adopt the same charge for their letters to Europe. To most of the British Colonies which are members of the postal union the charge for a letter from England is 4d. or 5d., because beyond the fundamental union rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ d., the British Post Office charges an extra rate for sea or foreign transit. Italy charges, as we do, a surtax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., in addition to the fundamental union rate for all letters sent to places beyond sea. But France and Germany, in the exercise of their right to levy or not to levy the sea surtax, limit their charge to the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. to all countries of the union. The French and German Governments pay much higher subsidies relatively for their packet services than the British Government do. The considerable loss in point of postal revenue consequent thereon must be thrown on the taxpayers of each country, an arrangement which I apprehend would not be a generally welcome innovation in our fiscal system.

ARMED CRUISERS IN CANADIAN WATERS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it was true that the Dominion Parliament possessed authority to purchase and direct the operation of armed cruisers in Dominion waters without the consent of the Imperial Parliament; and if so, whether he would name the statute under which such authority was granted.

SIR H. HOLLAND: By a reference to the 91st section of the British North American Act, 1867, it will be seen that the Parliament of Canada has power to legislate upon all questions of militia, military, and naval service and defence. But I may add that in 1884 Her Majesty's Government were advised that all Colonies possessing responsible Governments are at liberty, independently of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, to provide and equip armed vessels for harbour defence and police and other like purposes within the waters of such Colonies respectively; their use being limited to those waters. It follows that the Dominion Parliament possesses the authority referred to in the question without the consent of the Imperial Parliament.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

March 25th.—In the House of Commons, SIR S. WILSON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he would consider the expression of Australian opinion contained in a Reuter telegram from Melbourne, published in the *Times* of yesterday, and make public the proceedings of the Colonial Conference, thus taking the public into its

confidence from the outset; and whether any other members of the Government besides the Colonial Minister would take part in the Conference.

SIR H. HOLLAND: I am glad that the hon. member has asked this question, as there seems to be some misunderstanding as to the matters referred to. It was clearly explained in my predecessor's circular despatch inviting the Conference that "secrecy must continue to be observed with regard to many of the defensive measures," the consideration of which is one of the principal objects of the meeting of Colonial representatives in this country. Further, it is not desirable that proposals and tenders for mail services and telegraphic communications and the discussion of them should be prematurely made public. And it is no less important that questions bearing upon the relations of this country with foreign Powers should, if they are to be freely discussed, be considered without the necessary publication of all the observations that may be made and all the information that may be given. It is intended to admit reporters on the opening day of the Conference, but on subsequent days two official reporters only will be present. But it is proposed to furnish the papers with a *précis* of the proceedings of each day. As I have before stated, the Prime Minister and other members of the Government will be present at the opening; and members of the Government will attend when the Conference have under discussion matters affecting their departments.

MR. O. V. MORGAN asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the fact that the first subject for discussion at the Conference summoned to meet on the 4th of April was that of Imperial defence, the representatives appointed by the Colonies would be furnished with the report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into that subject and presided over by Lord Carnarvon.

SIR H. HOLLAND: The report of the Royal Commission and the evidence brought before the Commissioners must be still treated as confidential. But that report has been taken as the basis of the different recommendations that have been made from time to time, some of which have already been carried into effect; and it will be my duty, as president of the Conference, to state fully for the information of the delegates all that has been done in consequence of the report, and to bring to their notice what measures still remain to be taken.

BRITISH OFFICERS IN THE COLONIAL SERVICES.

March 28th.—In the House of Lords, in reply to Viscount Sidmouth,

THE EARL OF ONSLOW said,—He would state the result of what had been agreed to. It was manifestly in the interests of the Empire that no obstacle should be thrown in the way of the Colonies organising their own defences in such a way as to add to the strength of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Many officers of the Army and Navy were at present forced to live a life of idleness, and it would be a great advantage to the Colonies that they should have the advantage of the services of those experienced officers. In that way the forces of the Colonies might be rendered efficient and trustworthy in case of emergency. What had been arranged was that a naval officer on the active list would not draw his half-pay from the Imperial Government, but would look wholly to the Colonies for his remuneration; but, on the other hand, his services would count for increased and retired pay. An officer employed as an engineer or torpedoist would be deemed in naval or military employment. Present holders of appointments in the Colonies would be given a month to decide whether they would hold under the old or the new arrangements. Any Army officer might count his time in the Colonial service for pay and half-pay. It was hoped the effect of these regulations would be to give the Colonies the advantage of the matured experience of the officers of the Imperial service. The system of promotion now in use would give the Colonies more opportunities of availing themselves of the services of retired British officers.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

In the House of Commons, SIR SAMUEL WILSON asked whether, during the visit of the Colonial representatives to the approaching Colonial Conference, the Government would take into consideration the question of arranging for a special conference between representatives of the United Kingdom and of the principal Colonies of the Empire on the question of Imperial Federation of the United Kingdom and the Colonies in its political aspect.

SIR H. HOLLAND: I understand that there is no necessity for any special arrangements for the discussion of the question of Imperial Federation, as that will be provided for, independently of the Colonial Conference, by those influential persons who have taken an active interest in the subject; but in any case the terms of the despatch inviting the Colonies to the Conference preclude Her Majesty's Government from taking the action suggested.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

March 31st.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Ferguson,

SIR H. HOLLAND said the Colonial Conference was a consultative body of persons, all belonging to the same Empire. There would not, therefore, be a formal exchange of full powers as in the case of an international conference. But those members of Her Majesty's Government who took part in the conference would be members of that conference equally with the members selected by the responsible Government Colonies to take part in it.

In answer to Mr. J. Maclean,

MR. W. H. SMITH said,—It is not proposed that India should be officially represented at the Colonial Conference; but should it be desired by the Secretary of State for India that any person should be present on behalf of India during the discussion on postal and telegraphic communications, an invitation will be sent to the persons he may nominate for that purpose.

REPORTS FROM THE COLONIES.

April 15th.—In the House of Commons, COMMANDER BETHELL asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he had any

objection to requesting the Governors of all Colonies to furnish an annual report for presentation to Parliament of the state and progress of the countries over which they respectively rule.

SIR H. HOLLAND : Reports of the kind indicated by the hon. and gallant member are annually made and presented to Parliament ; but if he will communicate privately with me as to any point in which he considers these blue-book reports defective, I shall be happy to consider it.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON THE OPENING OF THE FIRST IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

TIMES (April 5).

It is true, as Sir Patrick Jennings observed, that the sum of the points set down for discussion by the Conference is in a sense Imperial Federation, but it does not constitute that complete combination to which Lord Salisbury referred. Every believer in political Federation feels that it is, and must probably long remain, a glittering ideal on which men may think for their encouragement, but which they cannot in any way introduce among the practical questions of the moment. Or, as Lord Salisbury puts it, these aspirations are nebulous matter which may some day condense into an orb filling our firmament with new light, but which at present we must be content to recognise as the mere protoplasm of political organisation. But there are two great though partial forms of Federation, both of which have been proved possible by experience, and both of which leave wholly untouched all the vexed questions that arise the instant any attempt is made to think out political Federation. One is the combination of self-governing communities for mutual aid in the great contest of industry, the other is a similar combination for mutual defence against violent aggression.

STANDARD (April 5).

The elaborate Address of Sir Henry Holland to the Colonial Delegates has dispelled any doubts as to the reality of the business before the Conference now in Session at the Foreign Office. It was a serious programme which the Colonial Secretary put before his colleagues, the Statesmen from the outlying countries of the Empire, and it will not be got through without a good deal of hard work. Colonial Prime Ministers and Secretaries of State, however, are not in the habit of shrinking from labour, and they will probably be glad to find that they have not been summoned from the ends of the earth merely to listen to pretty speeches and to be fêted and complimented.

It must be left for bodies like the Imperial Federation League and for public men in all parts of the Empire to develop such a state of opinion as will render Confederation inevitable ; and if all the signs are to be trusted the process will not be a very long one. The work of the present Congress is different.

DAILY TELEGRAPH (April 5).

Yesterday morning witnessed an event of a character to produce unspeakable benefits to the British Empire, and destined perhaps in the pages of history to figure as the principal incident amid all those which will have celebrated this year of Jubilee. A Conference was opened at the Foreign Office between the representatives of Her Majesty's Government and a body of very distinguished Colonists, who have come over on invitation to discuss the common interests of the Mother Country and of her Imperial children. Nor were the Colonies and the Cabinet alone represented in this most important Council. Her Majesty's opposition was also present in the person of Lord Granville, who, both as a Liberal statesman and ex-Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, furnished proof by his assistance that no political or party feeling governed the proceedings. These will be, and ought to be, broad as the British Dominions. . . . From the spirit exhibited by all who yesterday addressed the Conference we draw the happiest auguries for the future. Prudence warns us neither to expect nor to desire too much at starting, since the problems involved are as large and complicated as the regions with which they deal. We want, for example, as Lord Salisbury remarked, no "Constitution-making." We want no precise and fine-drawn plan of Confederation, such as Frenchmen would be sure to devise in a like position. The aspirations which have led to the present meeting are all the better for being at the moment "sentimental," and, to some extent, undefined. The Prime Minister well observed that, even if "hazy," those aspirations were like the nebulous matter of the stellar universe, which at the proper time had cooled down and condensed into solar systems.

MORNING POST (April 5).

Conservatives and Liberals, Free-traders and Protectionists, Englishmen of the Mother Country and of the Colonies, are all agreed when the question at issue is the welfare of the British Empire. They may differ in their views of the methods best adapted to maintain and increase the greatness of that Empire ; but at a meeting like that of yesterday discussion of ways and means has no place. . . . Lord Salisbury did not say a word, be it observed, in discouragement of the aspirations of those who look forward to the prospect of a united British Empire, vaster and more powerful than any that the world has seen. But, as he justly pointed out, these aspirations are of the future, and the business of the practical statesman lies with the present. The British Empire has grown under peculiar conditions, and its further development must be governed by the conditions of its growth. . . . But the meeting of this Conference has also a wider significance. It is the first Council of the Empire ; it cannot possibly be the last. What vast results may spring from this beginning time alone can tell, but to-day Englishmen of all parties will join in welcoming the representatives of our kinsmen from different lands, and will hope with Lord Salisbury that the movement now begun will end "in the spectacle of a vast Empire, founded not upon fear and subjection, but upon hearty sympathy."

DAILY NEWS (April 5).

The Conference is the first representative assembly of the British

Empire. There is something in such a gathering which irresistibly impresses the imagination. Advocates of Imperial Federation naturally see in it a germ which may take root and grow into the organisation they desire. Lord Salisbury glanced forward to the time when distant Councils of the Empire might look back to that meeting in the Conference Room of the Foreign Office as the root from which their greatness and beneficence sprang. . . . The Conference meets for the interchange of views rather than for the expression of opinion ; but whatever views on great questions are felt to prevail in so important and representative a body will go forth to the whole Empire with a very strong recommendation to acceptance. The Conference will not legislate, but it may show the direction future legislation, at Home and in the Colonies, should take.

MORNING ADVERTISER (April 5).

The Colonial Office, that most conservative of departments, has for once discarded tradition, and taken the initiative with a boldness which is in itself a sign of the times. Whatever may be the outcome of their novel experiment, it must have been highly gratifying to the promoters to observe the spirit of genuine, even enthusiastic, loyalty which it has evoked. The aspiration of every speaker was the same—"to keep our English Empire whole." No "craven fears" of over expansion were expressed, but the disposition throughout was resolutely optimistic. . . . We cannot hope to overcome all political difficulties at once. But if each is grappled with in detail in the patriotic spirit so far displayed, then there is abundant reason to hope for a peaceful federation of the British race which will weld the Empire into one Imperial whole, and in so doing gratify the highest aspirations of our nationality. The pride of race is finding expression everywhere. The Slavonic, Latin, and Scandinavian races are all hoping to realise this ideal. Why should not the British race achieve as much?

GLOBE (April 5).

It is quite possible that Lord Salisbury, in his care to keep the Conference clear from any visionary atmosphere, somewhat underrated the significance of the increasing aspirations for Imperial Federation. No doubt those aspirations are, as he observed, hazy, doubtful, and nebulous at present ; but they ought none the less to be kept well within sight as the ultimate achievement of British statesmen. And if that end be held always in view, it may well be nearer at hand than minds which are merely practical, and nothing else, are at this moment prepared to believe. In any case, however, it can only be obtained by avoidance of doubtful experiments or putting theories into practice until they are beyond controversy, and, above all things, by laying the foundation as deeply and as widely as possible. . . . Without a common system of Imperial defence, we must sooner or later find ourselves without an Empire to defend ; and even if Federation stops at such a system, a work worth doing will have been done, though it should never lead to anything more. It is gratifying, therefore, to find the Colonial Conference engaged in beginning at the beginning, and perfectly ready to postpone the consideration of questions on which controversy must continue to exist for a long time to come.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW (April 9).

For the present the object of the Conference must be to lay the foundation of a possible Federation by furthering the practice of working together in matters of common interest. Very much can be done in this way without interfering with the existing administrative machinery of the Empire. When the feeling of national unity has been well borne in upon all the scattered members of our race by the habit of working together, then the aspirations of the Imperial Federalist may be satisfied ; but the Federation will come of itself, or not come at all. The Conference will have done much if it can establish a good machinery for any one practical object. When once that is in working order, the Mother Country and the Colonies will have daily evidence of the closeness of their union.

THE RECORD (April 7).

We may confidently anticipate that, with the blessing of God, the deliberations of the Conference on the subject of the defence of the Empire will bear fruit in some well-devised scheme of concerted action. But the ball once set rolling cannot stop there. A common system of defence will require to be placed under the control of some central authority, and we may be sure that our Colonies will demand to have an adequate voice in this authority proportionate to their contributions to the defence of the Empire. How this voice is to be accorded to them will be a subject for future arrangement, but, in whatever way they obtain it, that voice will in fact be a germ of Imperial Federation, which we may expect by degrees to fructify and expand. Thus, although Imperial Federation is excluded from the consideration of the present meeting of Colonial representatives, the programme submitted to them is calculated to render it, at no distant date, a necessary solution of problems which their action will have called into existence.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (April 5).

It is just possible that the talk about Federation may in the long run lead to some definite and desirable result. It may, for instance, lead to the constitution of the Agents-General in London into a kind of Colonial Council, which will naturally and properly have much weight with the Colonial Secretary for the time being, and which will tend greatly to reduce the importance of the different Colonial Governors. . . . In any case there is a great deal to be done before we can come even within sight of anything like a constitution, and one of the first and most essential things in the catalogue is an agreement between the Mother Country and the Colonies as to the means to be taken for Imperial defence.

BIRMINGHAM DAILY POST (April 5).

The Conference has prepared for it work enough to engage its attention for weeks. It is interesting to consider what will happen when its

conclusions are announced. Will the Government undertake to carry them out by means of legislation, or will they be permitted to remain mere historical records? If the latter is to be their treatment, the Colonists might as well have stayed at home.

BRISTOL TIMES (April 5).

At the Foreign Office there were gathered yesterday representatives of every one of the self-governing Colonies, founded by Englishmen in all quarters of the globe. Of these distinguished men, the names of several are familiar with us at home. It may indeed be said that there is hardly one of them who has not made his mark, the world over, by some achievement of statesmanship.

LEEDS MERCURY (April 5).

Liberal Home Rulers, Liberal Unionists, and Conservatives are all to be found among the warmest friends of the movement for drawing closer the bonds which connect the various parts of the British Empire. Our distinguished fellow-subjects from across the seas will find us all delighted to turn aside from the occupation of reading one another in order to grasp their hands, and assure them, with the utmost sincerity and truth, of our earnest wish that the Imperial Council to which they have come may powerfully assist the cause of British co-operation throughout the world for all purposes of common security and prosperity.

MANCHESTER COURIER (April 5).

It may be said that the programme submitted is a somewhat prosaic one, but it is an eminently practical one; and the tightening of the commercial and social bonds between the Mother Country and the Colonies will be followed of necessity by a greater political cohesion.

NEWCASTLE CHRONICLE (April 5).

The Prime Minister was the chief speaker at yesterday's meeting, and his observations covered what must be regarded as the limit, for the time being, of the efforts—not, we hope, of the aspirations—towards what is now called Imperial Federation. The Marquis of Salisbury displayed good sense as well as diplomacy in not launching upon the Conference the full measure of the doctrine of that Imperial unity. The number of those who are indifferent to the scheme is too great for that yet, to say nothing of the conversion that has to be effected among the active opponents of it. In this matter, as in others less pretentious, there must be creeping before there can be walking; and a mighty deal will be gained by the Conference if it pave the way towards the realisation of an ideal that is truly described as grand—the ideal of the greatest possible unity, in every sense, between the scattered sections of the English-speaking race.

WESTERN MORNING NEWS (April 5).

We have yet in true sense to create our Empire; we have yet, that is to say, to set up some symbol other than the crown of the unity of our Empire. It can be done, and will be done. The Colonial Conference which held its first meeting yesterday is a happy sign of the desire for unity. It is a happy sign of a yearning for Federation which will probably grow stronger as the years bring us into the twentieth century.

ABERDEEN FREE PRESS (April 6).

While in the domain of domestic politics opinion is sharply divided and fierce controversy rages, there can be but one sentiment entertained, we should think, with respect to the Colonial Conference, the sittings of which began on Monday. . . . Nobody will say it is other than a fit and proper thing for the Mother Country and the different Colonies to meet, and through their accredited representatives take counsel together, with regard to matters of common interest, or do other than wish well to the endeavours being made through the agency of the Conference to perfect as far as may be the relations between the different parts of the Empire. The action of the Government in convening the Conference was cordially approved in this country.

SCOTSMAN (April 5).

Lord Salisbury yesterday advised the Conference not to waste time in any ambitious efforts at constitution-building. That is not the work for which it has been assembled. At the same time, the Premier let it be seen that he is not one of those who think that Federation is impossible. He does, indeed, relegate it to the dim and distant future, but he lets his imagination picture on that hazy distance a great Council of the Empire sitting permanently in London, which shall look back on the modest, prosaic business meeting now assembled as its ancient progenitor. His speech was admirably adapted to stimulate the imagination of his hearers, and give vitality to the idea of Federation in their minds, and at the same time to draw a distinct line between the laudable visions of the future and the practical work which is ready to be done.

NOTTINGHAM GUARDIAN (April 5).

We all of us hope that the federation of the Empire may some day be brought about, and we shall all rejoice if the first steps towards that end are taken in the year of Her Majesty's Jubilee. But we must recognise, and we think most of us do recognise, that Federation is not a movement that can be hurried. Our relations with our Colonies are, generally speaking, excellent. There is a thorough and hearty sympathy between them and "the Old Country," but we must not forget that these Colonies of ours are really great nations—nations, too, which are daily growing greater—which can, if it so please them, stand alone. The union, or federation, if it be brought about, will be a union of equals. The only pre-eminence which England will care to claim will be that which the Colonies will, we think, gladly concede—viz., the pre-eminence due to her position as the Mother Country, and as the abiding place of the historic English people who have conquered the earth and subdued it, and spread abroad the blessings of civilisation and of liberty.

BRADFORD OBSERVER (April 5).

It ought to be a sufficient rebuke to those people who are ever ready to talk silly stuff about the degradation of patriotism into partisanship

that in the midst of such a political storm as this, when party feeling flows both hot and bitter, the leaders of both parties should meet on equal and amicable terms to confer together as to the means for adding strength and coherence to their common heritage of country and Empire. . . . It required ostentatious modesty on the part of the new school of Imperial Federation to divest the phrase of an ominous implication, and to recommend it as the name of a really national movement. That act of disclaimer seems to have been pretty well effected now, and the current explanation of the project is one in which all can sympathise without distinction of party. Statesmen amongst the Liberal Party, who have become intimately interested in the matter through the work of practical administration, are foremost on the platform of the Federationists, and if the rank-and-file of the party is not yet greatly excited over the question, it wishes well to the scheme in a Platonic sort of way.

LITERATURE.

Our Colonial Expansion—Extracts from the "Expansion of England," by J. R. Seeley. One vol., price one shilling. Macmillan & Co.

PROFESSOR SEELEY has done well to issue in a cheap form the portions of his famous work which deal with Colonial expansion. In a short preface the author congratulates himself upon the fact that his original work "has furnished arguments to the Imperial Federation League, and matter for reflection to the vast multitude both at home and in the Colonies, who of late years have been stirred with the conception of a Greater Britain." About a third part of the book is reproduced, substantially unaltered, and at a price within the reach of all.

The Crown Colonies of Great Britain. An inquiry into their political economy, fiscal systems, and trade. By C. S. Salmon. Cassell & Company.

The Crown Colonies of Great Britain. An inquiry into their social conditions and methods of administration. Same author and publishers.

Between them Mr. Salmon's little books form a mine of facts upon the subject of the Crown Colonies. In the first a succinct and exhaustive account of every one of them is given, and the inquirer who wishes for information, statistical or otherwise, on questions of population, taxation, agriculture, education, tariffs, or what not, will find here the fullest of answers. Special stress is laid on the import duties, in Mr. Salmon's opinion excessive, to which he traces much of the misery which is endured by the Crown Colonists. The second volume is still more controversial. Facts of every kind are marshalled to show that the system of Crown Government is rotten and unfair. Mr. Salmon, who, as President of Nevis, may be supposed to have had exceptional opportunities for forming a judgment on the question, is a strong advocate of Local Government. He is a veritable Abbé Sieyès in his readiness to form constitutions, and, with much minuteness of detail, he maps out the shape of the various Governments he would impose on the different Colonies. Here, of course, is his weak point. It is an unfortunate truth that there are many deplorable imperfections in the existing mode of Crown Government, as there are also in every Government the world has yet known. In the West Indies, for instance, there may be more than there are elsewhere or than there need be, but we rest on no certainty if we assume that Mr. Salmon's proposals would bring about the more desirable state of affairs. Experimental changes in small matters, as a rule, do no great harm, but of the sudden overthrow of constitutions no one can accurately forecast the result. The best Governments are those which gradually develop, and though the eagerness for reform is most laudable, it shows to the best advantages when it is moderated and does not leap to the desired end at a bound.

Under the title of the "United States of Britain" (Billing and Sons, Guildford), Mr. James Stanley Little has given us a most interesting and timely brochure on the subject of England and her Colonies, which he has dedicated to Lord Tennyson. Originally delivered as a lecture, the subject-matter of this stirring address on Imperial unity has been greatly enlarged, and our readers should possess themselves of Mr. Little's pamphlet, which they will find replete with valuable information connected with the subject on which it treats. Mr. Stanley Little writes in a clear and forcible style, and indeed has already made a reputation in literary circles by an interesting and valuable work on South Africa, as also an essay on Art, and various novels and tales.

THE Imperial Federation League is spreading the network of its organisation over the whole Empire, and numbers, among its influential members and its directing officers, many of the leading statesmen of both parties. To-day, for any politician who values popularity and who aspires to power, to openly advocate the separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country would be tantamount almost to political suicide.—*Land and Water.*

CANADIAN TRADE WITH THE BRITISH EMPIRE.—"Commercial intercourse, I take it, signifies trade on a righteous basis between 330,000,000 of people. As one thinks of it, he cannot help smiling at the conceit of those who would prefer annexation to federation. They would be willing to surrender our heritage with its glorious traditions in order to have unrestricted free trade with less than one-sixth of this number. If free trade with 50,000,000 is good, free trade with 330,000,000 is much better. As the *Herald* very justly remarked a few months past, 'Commercial union with the British West Indies alone would be worth more to us commercially than union with the whole United States; while commercial union with the United Kingdom, while no more ruinous to our manufacturing industries than union with the United States, would give us a market of ten times greater advantage than the free market of the United States could ever possibly become.' This is so unquestionably correct that it needs no elaboration."—*Lector* in the *Halifax (N.S.) "Morning Herald."*

SUPPLEMENT TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION:

The Journal of the Imperial Federation League.

LONDON: MAY, 1887.

THIS SUPPLEMENT CONTAINS FULL REPORTS OF—

1. THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LEAGUE, ON MARCH 31st, 1887.
2. THE BANQUET IN THE FREEMASON'S TAVERN TO REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, ON APRIL 2nd, 1887.
3. THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE OPENING OF THE FIRST IMPERIAL CONFERENCE ON APRIL 4th, 1887.

Together with the substance of an article in the *Leeds Mercury* of April 20th, 1887, upon, "THE WHY AND THE WHEREFORE OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE."

THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

THE Second Annual Meeting was held on March 31st, 1887, in the saloon of the Mansion House, which had been kindly placed at the disposal of the League. The Lord Mayor, Sir Reginald Hanson, had consented to preside, but was unfortunately detained at the Court of Common Council, and in his absence the Chair was taken soon after 3 o'clock by Sir William McArthur. There was a large attendance of members and their friends, among whom were Lord Stratheden and Campbell, Sir H. Verney, Sir A. Galt, Sir H. Barkly, Sir R. Pollock, Sir F. Dillon Bell, Sir T. F. Buxton, Sir S. Wilson, Sir George Bowen, Admiral Sir J. Dalrymple Hay, Sir Daniel Cooper, Sir John Watson, Sir Charles Nicholson, Hon. James Service, Professor Seeley, Capt. J. C. R. Colomb, M.P., Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., Mr. Alfred Simmons, Mr. A. H. Loring, &c. &c.

Letters expressing regret for their inability to attend were read from the Earl of Rosebery, who was detained on the Continent, and the Earl of Carnarvon, who was suffering from indisposition. The proceedings were opened by

SIR WILLIAM MCARTHUR, who said that the Lord Mayor was very sorry that he could not get there at the beginning of the meeting, but he hoped to be present in a short time. It having been agreed to take the report as read, Sir William McArthur said the following letter had been received from the Earl of Rosebery's secretary:—"Lord Rosebery, as you know, was most anxious to be present at the annual meeting of the League this afternoon, and hoped that he would be able to arrange his engagements so as to arrive in England before to-day. He has, however, found this wholly impossible, and he begs me to ask you to say to the Lord Mayor and the meeting that his absence is quite unavoidable, and that he greatly regrets that he cannot be present."

THE HON. JAMES SERVICE, late Premier of Victoria, in proposing the first resolution said:—"Sir William McArthur, ladies and gentlemen, My position here to-day is due to one simple fact—the fact that I am a Colonist. There is nothing else that would justify me in taking so leading a part in a meeting of this sort, in the presence of gentlemen so distinguished and so much better able than I am to promote, by their speeches, the interests of this League. But with that courtesy which has always characterised the Executive Committee of the League, they have, on this occasion as on many other occasions, endeavoured to give an early place, at all events, to gentlemen from the Colonies. And that probably from two reasons: First, as I have said, as an act of courtesy, which Colonists distinctly appreciate, but do not desire to presume upon; and secondly, because from the Colonists they may learn somewhat of the feelings and the sentiments regarding Imperial affairs that prevail on the outer rim of the Empire. On the present occasion it falls to my lot to move a formal resolution, to deal with a very matter-of-fact affair, that being the adoption of the report of the

proceedings of the Executive Committee of the League during the past twelve months. Now, anniversary meetings, as a rule, are very matter-of-fact affairs, and very tame, but on this occasion I think you will all agree with me that the meeting is one of unusual interest, and the history of the proceedings of the past year is a history which will be read with pleasure and satisfaction, not only by every member of the League, but by every lover of the Empire. (Applause.) It is necessary and proper that I should ask your attention for a few minutes to some of the paragraphs of the report. The first paragraph begins with a reference to that useful periodical which has been started and published by the League, entitled IMPERIAL FEDERATION. I have not been in circumstances to become regularly and thoroughly acquainted with that periodical. I have seen a good few numbers of it, but travelling about, as I have been, it has not always been available; but I must say that those numbers that I have read, have struck me as showing not only a high amount of editorial talent in the selection of quotations and items of news from all parts of the world, interesting to those who take an interest in the objects of the League itself, but that the articles which have been written from the pen of the regular contributors have been of a very high class indeed, and I am satisfied that the distribution of this periodical must greatly conduce to the success of the efforts of the Executive Committee. The second paragraph pays a just and fitting tribute to the memory of one of England's untitled nobility. (Hear, hear.) Few of us who live on the other side of the world had the pleasure and the honour of personally knowing Mr. Forster, but his name, amongst those who took an interest in the affairs of the Empire, was as a household word, and the reverence and respect which is felt for him here has been shared by your fellow-subjects on the other side of the world. We looked upon Mr. Forster also, as you do here, as a man thoroughly devoted to his duty, as a man of exalted patriotism, not that form of patriotism which is used as a trade-mark to advance personal objects, but that patriotism which induced him to dare even a cruel death, in order to do that which he thought was his duty. (Applause.) Mr. Forster's name will reflect a lustre, in all time to come, upon the early records of the Imperial Federation League. (Hear, hear.) The third paragraph simply records that the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery has consented to become chairman, and the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., Vice-chairman of this Association. A paragraph of this sort requires no remark but this one, and that is, that the association of gentlemen of such eminent standing, of such high character, and of such mental calibre, shows that the existence of this institution can be no folly, and that the end of it will be no fiasco. (Hear, hear.) Paragraphs 4 and 5 record in a simple way certain incidents that occurred through the exertions of the Executive Committee in the course of the year. In fact they are interesting chiefly because they show that your Executive Committee have ever been watchful and on the alert to avail themselves of, and to make opportunities, in order to further the objects for which this League was instituted. The 6th and 7th paragraphs contain the *pièce de résistance* of the report. This is really the most interesting portion of it—probably the most interesting part of any

report which may be presented before the annual meeting of this League for many a day to come, because it chronicles the beginning of a new era. It indicates that the League itself has taken a step, taken the initiative at all events, in bringing about what might almost be called a revolution in the action of the Imperial Government in respect to things Colonial. The tone of satisfaction which runs throughout the whole of those two paragraphs is thoroughly justified, and I think will be entirely endorsed by the feelings of every member of the League. I think the League has cause to be proud that the idea was first started by them, that they worked it out themselves by their own action, that they have managed to bring about that which is now known as the Colonial Conference, which is, as you all know, a meeting together of the leading men from all the outlying portions of the Empire to discuss with the Imperial authorities things of Imperial interest. (Hear, hear.) Well, the League is rightly proud of having taken the initiatory steps to bring this about, and I may be allowed to turn aside for one minute, and say, that not only has the Government carried out the promise, and almost more than carried out the promise which Lord Salisbury made to the deputation that waited upon him last year, but that the subsequent steps taken by the Government have been, in my opinion, of the most judicious character. (Hear, hear.) The despatch sent out by Mr. Stanhope certainly omitted nothing that was necessary, and comprised nothing that was objectionable; and in saying that, I think we give him the highest praise. (Applause.) If some people think that it might have gone further, that it was too limited in its scope, that was not the opinion, I think, of the people in the Colonies. The wisdom of this step was recognised by the representatives of all the Colonies. Now, sir, perhaps I may be excused for one minute in referring to one or two matters of Imperial interest, and telling you how the Colonies view those matters, because it is of great importance to the Committee of the League, and to the League itself, that in dealing with those matters and endeavouring to bring about the permanent unity of the Empire (hear, hear), or endeavouring rather to *conserve* the unity of the Empire for all time to come (applause), it is of the highest importance that they should understand what almost every section, every fraction of the population of that Empire feels in respect to Imperial matters—at least some of them. There are one or two things which I think I might mention on behalf of the whole of the Colonies; but, of course, any remarks that I do make will be understood to come from the *Australian* Colonies, and they may be coloured to some extent on that account; that is to say, it is quite possible that some of the other Colonies may not consider the views I express as being quite in accordance with their own. I make that remark in order that I may not be supposed to speak authoritatively for the Colonies as a whole. But I think I may say that one of the great things that the Colonies have desired, for many long years, has been that their views upon Imperial matters more directly affecting themselves should be heard and considered not only by the Colonial Office, but by the Imperial Government as a whole. (Hear, hear.) That is one of the things. The second one is that due vigour and due interest and due resolution should be shown in carrying out a policy when once it was endorsed by the Imperial Government. Now, the Colonists have never shown themselves to be unreasonable, and they are not inclined to be unreasonable, in dealing with Imperial matters. We know there are some matters affecting the interests of the Empire which we are incompetent to deal with, simply because we have not been dealing with them. We have been watching them as far as we could from a distance, and taking an interest in them; but it is only those at the head of affairs who know what is underground as well as overground, and what is the proper course to adopt in any particular crisis of a nation's existence. Therefore, we have been prepared to sink our own opinions to a large extent. In fact, I am not sure we have not carried that in some respects to too great a length; but I wish it to be distinctly understood that our object is to strengthen the Imperial Government in every way, and not to embarrass it. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I was just going to give, as an illustration, a very simple fact—that, while we in Australia were groaning under what we considered to be the unwise delays, the inaction, the indifference, of the Colonial Office here, a wave of loyalty suddenly burst over the whole of the Colonies, and culminated in the Sudan. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I mention this to show that when we want to tell you the things we should like to see carried out, we do not wish those things done without due respect to the higher interests of the Empire at large. Well, now, with reference to the first point which I have mentioned, that is, that our views should be considered. That difficulty has almost disappeared. Within the last two or three years a complete change has come over the Imperial Government. That change has, to a large extent, been brought about by the influence of gentlemen who have since consolidated themselves into the Imperial Federation League—(applause)—working with the same object before the League was in existence; and it has also been greatly influenced by the attitude of the Colonies themselves, and by their growing importance. In past times (as you are all aware), a representation sent to the Colonial Office was duly received, and courteously acknowledged, and thereupon pigeon-holed. That was the rule rather than the exception. In later times, the despatches from the Colonial Office became a little less meagre, more interesting, and recognised the importance of the Colonies in a greater degree than they had previously done. But last year, sir, when Lord Rosebery was in office as the Foreign Minister, in dealing with one matter on which the Australian Colonists have strong feelings indeed—I refer to the New Hebrides and the maintenance of their independence of any European power—he formally announced to the Colonists, and told the French Government, that this was a matter which would be referred to the Australian Colonies for their decision. (Hear, hear.) Well, that itself, sir, was a marvellous jump up the ladder; but what have we seen since then? We have still had to communicate by means of letters and despatches and our Agent-General; but now, at the instigation of this League, the representatives are called from the four corners of the earth to come in person, and tell the views of the Colonists they represent to the

Imperial Government. (Hear, hear.) In that respect we have nothing more to ask. The first of the two points I set out with as being desired by the Colonists may therefore be regarded as substantially secured. The other point is that when once our policy was listened to and endorsed by the Imperial Government, we wanted to see that carried out in some fashion, with a degree of vigour which at all events used to characterise English statesmen in olden times, and which produced those famous "historic memories" which Lord Randolph Churchill referred to the other day in the House of Commons, and which I hope we shall be able to hand down to future generations unimpaired, and we must not forget that our descendants will expect us to continue in the same path as our forefathers. (Applause.) We are not to hand down these memories, clouded either by indifference or by feebleness of action, which might cast a gloom over the last years of the reign of Queen Victoria, the most glorious reign in the history of England. (Hear, hear.) At present the Colonies have no power to carry out their own policy; they are not yet admitted to any share in the executive power of the Empire. That time will perhaps come when we are formed into some kind of organised Federation. At the present time it is certainly not to be hurried. I am glad to find that, whatever was the original idea of the promoters of this movement, I think they all recognise now the fact that Imperial Federation (which word itself implies a certain sort of organisation), if ever it comes, must develop itself slowly. (Hear, hear.) Here you may be considered to have planted the seed by bringing us together from the four quarters of the earth. The particular form it will ultimately take is of very little moment, and is not to be cared about at present. There was one great Teacher who said: "The kingdom of heaven is *within* you." So long as the principle of Imperial Federation is *within* us, it will in course of time produce all the grand effects, which must of necessity flow from it. (Applause.) But to return. At the present moment, I am sorry to say, the feeling of the Colonists is anything but one of satisfaction at the method of carrying out any policy which is admittedly desirable. We will take our own case in the islands of the South Pacific; the action, or the non-action, taken in respect to those islands has created a very large amount of dissatisfaction, to use a very mild word indeed. We find Queensland, one of our most aspiring and most active and energetic colonies, taking the liberty of doing what individual Englishmen have done before it, in making an addition to the British Empire by planting the British flag in New Guinea. In place of that being dealt with promptly and vigorously and approvingly, the whole thing was, in the opinion of all Australia, bungled; and the result is that the northern part of New Guinea, instead of being called Queen Victoria's land, is called by Kaiser Wilhelm's name, and the very islands which bore the name of the mother-isle, New Britain, have become a German possession. Take the New Hebrides; again, we find that in spite of an agreement drawn up between France and England a good many years ago, and renewed within the last four or five years, the French have, at all events for the time being, occupied, with some military forces, some of those islands. Well, the Australians, who have spent a large amount of money in developing those islands, and whose missionaries have been there for many many years, and the missionaries of England who have spent many lives in those islands, have been striving to secure the maintenance of the agreement which exists between France and England. Hitherto we have been unable to bring that about, and that is one of the questions which has now to be discussed with the Imperial Government. (Hear.) Well, if we take the question about the French convicts. Convicts of the worst sort are being sent out to us now, and in our immediate neighbourhood ten or twelve thousand men—the greatest scoundrels in existence—have been sent out from France, because France cannot deal with them at home. Certainly, they are upon French territory, but they are sent there contrary to all the generous instincts which ought to influence a generous nation. No viler nuisance could be placed near a neighbour's territory. If we remonstrate with France, her people plead that they have a right to do what they like with their own. But such a plea is not recognised even in Municipal Law; no man is allowed to keep even a pig-sty to the detriment of his neighbour, and surely international amity is not a meaner thing than a local bye-law. Now, then, let us leave the South Pacific. There are other matters besides Australia. Take South Africa. We go there and we find a quarrel about the border-line between the Boers and the Zulus. We have *pretended*, at all events, to take those Zulus under our protection, and to manage affairs for them; and we find there again that England gives in and goes on receding, step by step, before every successive encroachment. (Hear, hear.) Some people say, "Well, we must give and take with the rest of the world." That is perfectly right, but all the "give" is on the part of England, and all the "take" on the part of foreign countries. (Hear, hear.) If we go to far-off Afghanistan, look at the delimitation of the border there. There never was a dispute arose between the Russians and us, but we knew, the moment we saw it in the papers, how it would end. It would mean, we knew, in every case, the retirement of England. Well, so it is. Go to the territory of Zanzibar. Have any of you read those letters of Henry Stanley's in to-day's *Times*? and can any one read them without a blush? The same thing is happening all down the line. There is not energy enough, vigour enough. England recedes—back, back, back, instead of taking her stand upon the ground that if a thing is right we must *insist* on it. (Applause.) Well, now, it appears to me—but I must not detain you too long—that this feeling of yielding to France, to Germany, to Russia, even to Portugal, over a dirty little matter (laughter) like a slice of the Zanzibar territory, places us in this position, that there is in all Englishmen a feeling of shame instead of pride. It appears to me that there are two causes for this gradual and continual recession on the part of England: first, it seems as if a feeling existed among English statesmen of such intense fear of war, or the possibility of drifting into war, that they are willing to yield to other nations even to the loss of self-respect. They yield in cases where it would be obviously wiser to stand firm, where they would gain their

object—if peace be their object—a great deal sooner by standing firm. I am afraid this feeling is becoming traditional in the Foreign Office. But there is another reason which I want to call attention to. It appears to me that English statesmen are too much taken up with their party politics—(hear, hear)—to give that attention to the defences of the Empire that are absolutely essential. (Applause.) Now, I am speaking as one who lives on the very outermost circle of the Empire. We Colonists cannot influence in any appreciable degree the foreign policy of the Empire. Coming through Egypt the other day, I felt very differently from what I did twenty years ago. I felt that we were regarded by the Egyptians in a very different light now from what we were then. Instead of being regarded as demi-gods, we are now regarded as demi-devils. (Laughter.) And not only that; there is not even a feeling of respect arising out of fear; but a feeling of something very like contempt—a feeling shared by other races of the world which have hitherto respected English people. The feeling we have is this: that in matters of defence, in England, as in the Colonies, *party* should be entirely sunk, and should never be allowed to appear. (Applause.) There is another feeling. It is this: That in dealing with the defences of the country statesmen here start from a financial point of view, in place of a military and naval point of view. (Hear, hear.) What should you think of a man who, building a fine mansion surrounded with a garden in which were beautiful shrubs and flowers and lawns, sat down and said, "How much shall I spend on fencing it?" instead of saying "How much will it take to fence it so as to keep out all trespassers, whether man or beast?" So it is in respect to England. I am not dealing with any particular politics or with individuals, but I am telling you feelings which have been passing through our minds for years. A plea of economy has been put forward, for one thing, and yet I do not believe that there is any great interest in this country which would care one fig for economy, if the term be applied in the wrong sense, in dealing with our naval and military defences. What would be the result of any untoward event? Suppose a Sedan were to happen to us? Whom would it affect? It is not our kings and princes and noblemen. It is our working men, our agricultural labourers; it is every mechanic that handles a hammer; our manufacturers, our merchants, our ship-owners, our ship-builders. *Every* interest would go down in one common ruin; and to think that we are to stand by and say, "We cannot afford—we, the richest nation on the face of the earth, cannot afford—to make ourselves absolutely secure of the supremacy of the seas!" Are we going to give it up? We have boasted that "Britannia rules the waves," and is this generation going to be looked back upon by its descendants as that generation which sold the best interests, destroyed the fabric of the greatest Empire which the world has ever seen? Our Colonial defences are in a very high state of efficiency. Melbourne is regarded as impregnable to any force that might be sent against it, but we cannot help feeling that if the heart of the Empire is struck at, the whole Empire would fall to pieces; and that that Empire which our forefathers have done so much to establish would cease to exist. I now beg to move the following resolution:—

"That the Report be adopted, and that this Meeting recognises as a paramount necessity to the existence of the League the establishment of a Capital Fund as recommended in the last paragraph of the Report."

PROFESSOR J. R. SEELEY (Author of "The Expansion of England"), in seconding, said: Mr. Service undertook to go through the Report, and he reached as far as what he called the *pièce de résistance*, paragraphs 5 and 7. No doubt, in the proper sense of the word, those paragraphs are the *pièce de résistance*, but there is another coming a little later which might be called the *pièce de résistance* too. It is paragraph 11, and particularly the section of it which says:—"Your committee has become strongly impressed with the absolute necessity, if the work of the League is to be usefully prolonged, of a capital fund sufficient to ensure an income, independent of subscriptions, of at least £500 a year." The committee, you see, ask you for a capital fund which will yield £500 a year. It seems to me that a request like that ought to be very readily responded to, considering what the League is; considering that there is no object for which money is ever asked which can possibly interest so large a number of people, so many classes, those who are high and those who are low; so many places, London, and the country, and the Colonies all over the world; considering this, I think that it is a *modest* request to ask for a capital fund which shall yield £500 a year. And yet there must be some misunderstanding somewhere. One might suppose that a League like this would number its members and subscribers by hundreds of thousands. And yet when I look at this report I do not find figures of that magnitude. I find on the first page it says, "Subscribers to the journal exceed 700," and I find further on that the members of the League, exclusive of those belonging to various branches—I hope that exception is *considerable*—now number over 800. Surely there is a misunderstanding somewhere. Where it is I think I know, from my observation at Cambridge. Almost every person that I meet there looks favourably upon the League, and wishes it well; but comparatively few can be brought absolutely to join it. There is one class of those who hope that the unity of the Empire will be maintained, and who even believe or trust that it *may* be maintained, but who say that they do not see their way to any actual measures by which this end can be promoted. And beyond them there is another class of persons who despair, even though they may perhaps wish that the unity of the Empire could be maintained, but they believe that great general causes are at work which are dissolving, and will continue to dissolve, the Empire of the Queen. Of course, we understand that neither of those classes is likely absolutely to join our League. Well, of course, I myself think these classes are wrong in their opinion, and I believe—from what I have remarked, from the applause with which every phrase breathing confidence in the future of the Empire, was received by you—I think that you, too, do not agree with either of these classes. But

still I say there is a misunderstanding. I not only think that those classes of people are wrong, but I think that they misunderstand the League itself, and the nature of its work. I mean this: that even if they *were* right in the opinion which they hold, I should still say that they ought to join the League—(hear, hear)—certainly the first class—I mean those who do not despair, but only ask us what can be done. But I will even go further, and say that those pessimists in the second class, who do not believe in the future of the Empire, ought to join our League and subscribe to this capital fund. Yes! I say that if Professor Goldwin Smith himself were here to-day, I should endeavour to prove to him that *he* should become a subscriber to the League. (Hear, hear.) Your Report describes the work which the League undertakes to do. It speaks of the provision of lecturers and speakers, to spread a knowledge of facts concerning the material growth and political progress of our Colonies, and the necessity for appreciating these facts, as deeply affecting the strength, happiness, and prosperity of all parts of the Empire—in short, to popularise fuller knowledge regarding all the conditions and circumstances of the Empire. Well, I should like to know who can deny, whatever views he may profess to hold about the future of the Empire, that this work, described in these words, is urgently and immensely important? Let me mention Professor Goldwin Smith again. He has been writing a great deal lately upon public affairs. He has written upon the Irish question, and he has shown that he is a very firm and staunch defender of the Union, and maintainer of the greatness of the Empire. He is as firm and staunch when he writes upon the union with Ireland as he is depressing and pessimistic when he writes about the union between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Nay, he seems to set one of the unions against the other, for he said, in a letter he wrote the other day, that it seemed to him that many people in England persuaded themselves that they might, without danger, give up the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and fall back upon the other grander union, as they thought, between *all* the parts of the Empire, which he, for his part, felt to be a chimera. I know very well I must not speak of politics here; still, when a writer like Professor Goldwin Smith tries to identify this League with the party of Home Rule, I think I may be allowed to protest. I wish it to be understood that I am, for my part, just as firm and staunch a defender of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, as I am of the union between the Mother Country and the Colonies—(applause)—or as Professor Goldwin Smith can be, and he knows that—for at the last election he came down to us at Cambridge, and rendered us most material service there in saving a seat for the Union. I will go further, and say that no one accepts and applauds more heartily than I do the greater part of what Professor Goldwin Smith has recently written on most of the questions of the day, and therefore I am very sorry to find myself in opposition to him on this particular question. He says he does not know what Imperial Federation means. Well, does he know what the actual system now existing means? He holds, as strongly as we can do, that the change *must* come, but then he says it will not be a change to Federation, it will be a change ending in disruption, along with a close alliance. Well and good; but can this change be brought about without vast discussion, without a great growth of public opinion, without a vast circulation of facts and ideas? If we are to have disruption and alliance, must we not *think* a great deal, and *write* a great deal, and *talk* a great deal about the relation of the Mother Country and the Colonies? Well, then, must we not have a League for the purpose of this discussion? This League exists mainly to circulate information, to help the growth of public opinion. To be sure, it brings forward by preference all that can most tend to promote *union* and *harmony* and *sympathy* between the Mother Country and the Colonies. But I do not think that Professor Goldwin Smith ought to complain of that. In spite of that, I still think that Professor Goldwin Smith ought to be a member of the League, for his programme, you will notice, has two parts. He looks forward, not only to disruption, but also to alliance. Well, disruption—that is a simple matter. Disruption can be managed without a League, I quite admit. It was managed quite easily in the last century. But alliance, how can that be managed?—alliance between Powers which are in the act of separating, in the moment of discord, in the moment of irritation? Does not that presuppose a public opinion very much educated, very ripe, very familiar with the question? It is evident that we cannot *force* public opinion; we can but put it in possession of the facts and of the principles. If Federation is a chimera, as Professor Goldwin Smith says, this people will find it out all the sooner for our labours, all the sooner for our circulation of the facts and principles. We want the freest and fullest study of the question, simply because we do not believe that Federation is a chimera. But suppose we are wrong, ought the question to be allowed to drift? That is what I want to know. Is there any one who believes that things can go on as they are, and that no change must come? Well, that person, and that person alone, I think, need not become a member of our League. He is the only person who is not bound to be a member. I would appeal to all those who are here, and to all those who may afterwards read what I say, all those who now look kindly on us, to go one step further, and become members of our League. If only they will do that—and I say they are bound to do it—our hundreds will soon rise to thousands, if not to tens of thousands, and this capital fund yielding £500 a year will be easily secured to you. I do not expect myself to absolutely convince those pessimists to whom I have referred. I do not suppose that they will openly and avowedly become members of a Federation League; but I cannot help thinking that even they might send us "anonymous" donations. (Applause.) I will refer to two men who now write nasty letters on Federation. They are both my masters on the Irish question. I will appeal to John Bright and to Professor Goldwin Smith to send us anonymous donations. (Applause.)

CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, M.P., said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I would not for one moment presume to detain you with any unnecessary remarks of mine. My duty is a very simple one—it is merely to emphasise in a few words the resolution which has been so

ably supported by the two speakers who have preceded me, and to call attention to the pure, hard *financial* facts in regard to this League. It is only 28 months ago since this League was formed, and I venture to say that the most sanguine of its founders never supposed that within 28 months from its formation we should have meeting in London a conference of the representatives of the self-governing Colonies for the purpose of discussing the common concerns of the Empire. I do entreat those who have not looked into the matter very deeply, to remember that that action taken by the Government is the result of the League's policy and work. While we congratulate ourselves upon the accomplishment of that work, let us remember that it is only the very first step, only the very beginning of the work which lies before us. As has been pointed out by Professor Seeley, you *must* have organisation to carry on that work, and, such is the world, that you cannot do it without funds. It will be remembered that Mr. Forster, our first Chairman, when declaring the League formed, used these words:—"The formation of such a League as we are now forming is anything but mere talk, and it will have a great effect in substantial action." Those words have been partially fulfilled in the meeting of the Conference; but it is *now* the real arduous work of the League commences. The Empire has outgrown the departmental system under which its affairs are administered. I hope the Conference will thoroughly investigate the system under which the affairs of the Empire are managed. Bearing in mind the enormous growth of the Empire, bearing in mind that the traditions of each department existed almost before the great Empire which we now have beyond sea was formed, it is a serious matter indeed to those who know the Empire, to see the numerous small departmental frictions, the numerous counteracting departmental jealousies, which are blocking the common business of the Empire and stopping the road to closer union. Now, it is the great duty of the League, in view of the necessity for popularising of facts, to bring before all classes, at home and abroad, the facts of our present position. That requires machinery, it requires organisation, it requires the extension of a special literature, and all those means by which popular knowledge can be spread. Therefore I would earnestly entreat this meeting to remember this, that we want not "*mere talk*," but *substantial action*, to strengthen the hands of the Colonial representatives at that Conference, and to continue persistently to bring into touch popular thought at home, and popular thought in the Colonies on all matters of common concern. We want funds for that. I think one of the difficulties is not so much hesitation to give money to so pre-eminently desirable an object, as it is the false impression which is abroad, inside the League and outside it, that, with the enormously long list of our General Committee, and the influential names it includes, we must be rolling in money. But that is not so. We want now a large fund to enable us to go on with our work. Seeing, ladies and gentlemen, what great practical work has been carried on with very little funds, and provided only by a very few, and that under these circumstances you see that the League has progressed so favourably and influentially as to produce substantial action on the part of Her Majesty's Government, I trust that every one in this room will use her and his best endeavours to extend information on this practical question, and let us who believe in Imperial Federation do our best to supply this organisation with necessary funds, and so perhaps the youngest of us may live to see the accomplishment of the purpose for which the League exists—union—union throughout the Empire. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: This resolution was to have been proposed by the Earl of Carnarvon, from whom a letter has been received, regretting that indisposition has unfortunately rendered it impossible for him to be present. I am sorry, continued the Chairman, that his Lordship is prevented from being amongst us, but I am happy to be able to introduce to you Sir Alexander Galt.

SIR ALEXANDER GALT, G.C.M.G. (late High Commissioner for Canada): Sir William McArthur, ladies and gentlemen, I am quite sure there is no one in this assemblage who more greatly regrets the absence of Lord Carnarvon than myself. It has imposed on me the duty of proposing a resolution which I had hoped only to second. I should have been glad if Lord Carnarvon had proposed this resolution, because I should have considered it a good omen for the success of the League. Twenty years ago he was Colonial Minister, and carried through an Act for the Federation of the Dominion of Canada; and I cannot but think this would have been a very proper occasion for Lord Carnarvon to have proposed a resolution of welcome—because it amounts to that—to the representatives of the various Colonies who are now, by the invitation of Her Majesty's Government, present in London. After the very able speeches which have been delivered, I am quite sure you would not forgive me if I trespassed long upon your time, but certainly I do not think that there is an instance where a body, such as this League, has produced in such a short time such a manifest influence upon public opinion and upon the Government of the country. I do not myself regard the meeting of the Colonial representatives here as likely at once to produce the Federation of the Empire. By no means. It is certain that so great an object will take much time and thought. Many difficulties surround it; they must be met and considered one by one. The subjects which will be brought immediately under the attention of the Conference will be those that directly attach themselves to the defence of the Empire. I may safely say on the subject that all the Colonial dependencies are ready to take their parts, but they want to have that sort of assurance which has been demanded by Mr. Service, that their interests will be respected and promoted by the whole interests of the Empire. (Applause.) There is also the question of the postal and telegraphic communication. Certainly nothing can be more desirable than that the closest possible intercourse should be had between *all* parts of the Empire, and that these things should be cheapened. Why should our fellow-subjects in Australia and Canada be subjected to greater difficulties in communicating with their friends in this country than you experience between London and York? In many respects the Colonies are in closer connection

with the industrial classes in this country than a large proportion of the inhabitants of the British Isles themselves. I am quite sure that in the ten millions of the Colonists there is, without exception, the strongest desire to see the Empire prosper and extend; to see the civilisation which it has promoted become emblazoned on the banner of England. Now, it must be remembered, in speaking of the Colonies, that those that have been referred to by Professor Seeley as indifferent on the subject have surely not reflected on *this fact*—that if England loses her present Colonies the world does not possess the means of replacing them. England is now possessed of the best portions of the unsettled part of the world, and it is of the greatest importance to this country that its relations with its Colonies should not only be maintained but extended and made enduring for ever. (Applause.) There is one question which I hope may come up before the Conference—the question of commercial union. If we could once bring that about, and establish a basis upon which British industry could be exchanged between all parts of the Empire on a *fair* basis, I think we should have achieved one great thing—(applause)—and should have forged the strongest link which we could to bind the British Empire together. (Applause.) I will not detain you longer, but beg to move the following resolution:—"That this meeting desires to place on record its satisfaction at the adoption by Her Majesty's Government of the proposal made by the League to assemble in England on April 4th, 1887, a Conference of the Representatives of the self-governing Colonies, and at the hearty response given by the Colonial Governments thereto." It is a most remarkable fact that the self-governing Colonies have responded to the invitation, and are ready to unite with Her Majesty's Government in those practical steps which would tend to the promotion of the objects of this League, which is the Federation of the whole Empire. (Applause.)

MR. ALFRED SIMMONS, Secretary of the State-Directed Colonisation Society, in seconding the resolution, said:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen: It gives me extreme pleasure and satisfaction to have the opportunity to take part in to-day's meeting. As one who is engaged in various working-class movements, I have no hesitation in rising to second the resolution you have before you. It gave me intense gratification when I observed that Her Majesty's Government had acceded to the request of this League, and had agreed to summon a Conference to discuss questions relating to the Mother Country and the Colonies. I will not detain the meeting this afternoon by entering into the general question; I will only say that the speeches you have listened to have in the main my cordial and most hearty concurrence. I would address my few words to one phase of the question; and perhaps my friends and colleagues of the League especially expect me to refer to the working class view of Imperial Federation. I have not felt satisfied that sufficient has been done to secure for our movement the consideration of the working classes of the country. If this movement affects any class, it certainly does closely affect the working classes of Great Britain. Although we are told that this movement has not the support of the working classes, I have no hesitation in saying that if the League clearly, fully, and dispassionately places before the working classes the great object you have in view, the people of this country would certainly very soon mass themselves behind this movement. (Hear, hear.) But up to now the League has not been in a position to fairly challenge the organised bodies of working men on the question. And I to-day, sir, would venture to suggest to the League whether the time has not now arrived when you should take that step. (Hear, hear.) There is no voice more potent, there is no voice so much inclined to be listened to by the statesmen of this country, and by all parties, as the voice of the working classes when once they decide to make themselves heard; and I, as being connected with several large working men's organisations, am prepared to say that if this question were fairly placed before them, you would soon have a large number of the organised classes of workmen behind you. A short time ago I was attending a Trades Union Congress, and Lord Rosebery was invited to address the Congress. Were his Lordship here he would verify my assertion, when I say that cheers, resounding cheers, followed his Lordship's remarks whenever he pointed to the ultimate relations that should exist between the Colonies and the Mother Country—I am sure he would recognise and admit, that the *leading*, the *thoughtful* men amongst the working classes, were really at one with us, and if we were to go beyond the representative men, down among the masses, I am certain that it would be only a question of time to get the whole of the mass of the working people of this country behind this movement. (Applause.) Now, as a representative of working men officially attached to labouring class movements, what does this particular movement indicate to my mind? It compels me to recognise that the self-governing Colonies are very rapidly rising in power and importance. It indicates to my mind that presently, unless some such step as is indicated by the Imperial Federation League is taken, there will arise in the Colonies parties who will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of being connected with the Mother Country. What do Imperial Federationists desire? If I understand their objects, as I think I do, they desire to forestall such a movement as that—to take steps to bring about the welding of our Colonies with the United Kingdom into one solid and substantial body—to harmonise, to the utmost extent, our social, political, and commercial interests, so that it may really be worth the while of every Britisher, whether he be lord or labourer, to remain beneath the shadow of the Union Jack. (Cheers.) That is what I understand by the movement that we are supporting here to-day. You know we are often told that we have been theorists and faddists. Well, it is a glorious theory, a splendid fad; and if we are able to induce our friends at home and in the Colonies to join hands, and by thus joining together to bring about a structure for the future British Empire, whose foundations shall be so strong, so broad, whose pinnacles shall rise so loftily, whose whole surroundings shall be so unsailable, as to command the respect and admiration and wholesome awe of foreign nations, then, I say, we shall have done something to make the British Empire of the future something which our children may be proud of; something, be it the outcome either of fad or theory, which shall

redound with blessings to the British race in the centuries to come. (Applause.) I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution, and I hope the appeal for funds, so that the League may carry on the work more energetically in the future, will be nobly responded to—responded to as only such appeals can be in this, the wealthiest city of the wealthiest nation on the face of the earth; and in order that the League may be able to carry on this splendid work until success has crowned its efforts. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I must express my regret at the absence of the Lord Mayor. His lordship fully intended to be here, if possible; but at the Court of Common Council he must be influenced a great deal by the time taken up by the several speakers. The Lord Mayor has taken great interest in this movement. He expressed to me his deep sympathy in it; and I am sure he will feel much disappointed that he has not been able to be present. He readily acceded to the request made to him to give the use of the Egyptian Hall for this meeting, but we felt that it would be more comfortable for us to meet here. I have, therefore, to propose the following resolution:—

“That a cordial vote of thanks be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, for his kindness in allowing this meeting to be held at the Mansion House, and for presiding on this occasion.”

MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P., in seconding, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I rise to second the resolution which has been proposed, and in doing so I may be allowed a little grace, because Sir William McArthur has left me so little to say. I have been for many years interested in this question of Imperial Federation, or, at least, some form of federation which might bring into closer relation the Mother Country and the Colonies. I have frequently been asked by people in the Colonies and at home what is the object we have in view? The simple answer that I give is that we want to maintain the unity of the Empire. I am one of those who think that if we do not bring the Mother Country and the Colonies into closer relations, we shall get into more distant relations than exist at the present time. I believe the people who are not in favour of Imperial Federation are those who have no distinct knowledge of the subject. We have listened to two distinguished Colonists—Mr. Service, one of the most distinguished of Australian statesmen, and Sir A. Galt, the late High Commissioner for Canada. Sir Alexander Galt has been interested in this subject for many years; he has been in Canada more years than I can remember. Mr. Service has, I think, not been so long in favour of Imperial Federation. I think he was not at one time in favour of it, so I think we may congratulate ourselves that a gentleman of his great ability should have become so active a member of the Imperial Federation League. I find that Sir Samuel Griffith says he is not altogether in favour of Imperial Federation, because he says he does not quite know what it means. (Laughter.) I find no fault with Sir Samuel Griffith. My point is this:—That those who have studied this subject, and have looked at it from an international point of view—for the English-speaking people are becoming international—they, as probably also Sir Samuel Griffith, will come to this same opinion, that a closer connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies must come before long. If it does not, I, for one, have no doubt that we shall get further apart. What we want you to do, ladies and gentlemen, is to go home and talk this matter over with your relations and friends. Go from this hall as apostles of Imperial Federation. (Hear, hear.) We want people not only to be in favour of Imperial Federation, but we want people to be led to put their hands into their pockets and help us to carry on this great agitation, if I may so call it. In my opinion, ladies and gentlemen, this meeting of the Conference on Monday is one of the most important events, if not the most important that has ever taken place in this country. (Hear, hear.) And this is due to this small Imperial Federation League—as it is at the present time. If you will go from this hall and do your best to get us further members, and get your friends again to get us further members, then I believe that the time is not very far distant when we shall see some kind of Parliament or Council in which the Colonies will take their part with this country in the control, at any rate, of foreign affairs and matters of defence.

The resolution was then put, and carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall have much pleasure in communicating this vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor. I think our business is now ended, ladies and gentlemen, and I thank you for your attendance.

SIR HENRY BARKLY: There is one more duty remaining before we part, and that is to propose a cordial vote of thanks to Sir William McArthur for the manner in which he has presided over this meeting in the absence of the Lord Mayor. There is no member of the Common Council who is more deeply interested in the welfare of the Colonies than Sir William McArthur, or who has taken greater interest in the movement which has tended to bring about a kindly feeling between the Colonies and the Mother Country.

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG said: I have been invited to second this vote of thanks to Sir William McArthur. I do so with very great pleasure. We feel a little disappointed at the absence of the Lord Mayor, but, in his absence, we must all feel that we have had an excellent chairman on this occasion. I am sure Sir William must have been as pleased as all of us by the result of this meeting to-day. The speeches which we have heard from distinguished Colonists are such that it gives us the greatest possible hope that from this day we may take a fresh start, and be able to carry on our work more vigorously than ever. As Chairman of the Finance Committee of the League, many of the questions which have been touched upon come more particularly under my cognisance, and have impressed upon me the necessity of having more funds to carry on the work, which we want to carry on with the energy and vigour that we desire.

SIR HARRY VERNEY: I am permitted to support this vote of thanks to Sir William McArthur. I would like to say that what I desire to carry away myself, and what I would desire that every one may carry away, is what has been addressed to us by Mr. Service. I feel that nothing can

be more important than the arguments which he has brought before us, and the representations he has made to us in regard to the action of our own country in supporting our Colonies, and making ourselves acquainted with their wishes. It is only too true that we have been neglectful of their interests, being carried away by the influence of party spirit in our country. Party spirit ought to have had no influence upon our action towards the Colonies. Whatever we believe to be of interest to the Colonies, that ought to be pursued, whatever party may be in power. I hope we shall all, in our particular capacities, carry that into effect.

SIR W. MCARTHUR, in responding, said: I am very much obliged to you, ladies and gentlemen, and nothing could give me greater pleasure than to have had this vote supported by Sir Harry Verney, who entered Her Majesty's service as long ago as the year 1819. He must have seen a great number of changes since then, for we had but few Colonies then. I am only sorry that the Lord Mayor was not here to preside.

The proceedings then terminated.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE BANQUET IN THE FREEMASONS' TAVERN, GIVEN BY THE LEAGUE TO THE REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, APRIL 2, 1887.

ON Saturday, April 2nd, at the Freemasons' Tavern, a banquet was given by the Imperial Federation League to the Colonial representatives at the first Imperial Conference. The Delegates are:—Sir F. Dillon Bell, K.C.M.G., C.B. (New Zealand), Sir Graham Berry, K.C.M.G. (Victoria), Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., C.B. (South Australia), the Hon. Septimus Burt (Western Australia), Sir Alexander Campbell, K.C.M.G. (Canada), the Hon. Alfred Deakin (Victoria), the Hon. J. Stokell Dodds (Tasmania), the Hon. Adye Douglas (Tasmania), the Hon. J. W. Downer (South Australia), Sir William Fitzherbert, K.C.M.G. (New Zealand), the Hon. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G. (Canada), the Hon. John Forrest (Western Australia), Sir James Garrick, K.C.M.G. (Queensland), Sir Samuel Griffith, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Queensland), the Hon. Hendrik Hofmeyr (Cape Colony), Sir Patrick Jennings, K.C.M.G. (New South Wales), the Hon. James Lorimer (Victoria), Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Cape Colony), the Hon. J. Robinson (Natal), Sir Saml Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B. (New South Wales), the Hon. James Service (Victoria), Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G. (Newfoundland), the Hon. Robert Thorburn (Newfoundland), the Hon. Thomas Upington, Q.C. (Cape Colony), and the Hon. Robert Wisdom (New South Wales). The Canadian delegates did not arrive at Liverpool until Saturday, too late to enable them to reach London in time for the dinner; and Sir Alexander Galt, who was also invited, was prevented by illness from attending. Sir William Fitzherbert had not reached England. The chair was occupied by the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P., who was supported by the Duke of Cambridge, Sir Henry Holland, M.P., Lord C. Beresford, M.P., Viscount Hampden, Lord Eustace Cecil, Lord Brabourne, and the company, which numbered about 250, included the Agents-General of the Colonies, colonists, ex-colonists, members of Parliament, and members of the Imperial Federation League. The orchestra was occupied by the band of the Royal Marine Artillery, which played a selection of music during the dinner. A plan showing the arrangement of the tables, and giving the names of all the guests, will be found at the end of this Supplement.

The CHAIRMAN, who was warmly received, said,—In proposing the first toast, it is not as a member of Her Majesty's Government, but as a member of the Imperial Federation League, that I have the honour to occupy the chair to-day in the absence of Lord Rosebery, and no one can regret more than myself the absence of the noble lord, whose well-known interest in the Colonies and whose felicity of diction would have imparted a new interest to the occasion. But indeed, gentlemen, it needs no special advocate. Called together for the purpose of discussing questions of common interest, the representatives of different parts of the Empire, who are knit together by ties of kindred and common interest, but much more by a sentiment of common loyalty, are about to meet. (Cheers.) Nor does that exhaust the interest of the occasion, for the time chosen is the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen. (Cheers.) When Her Majesty came to the throne many of those communities had no political existence; but now Her Majesty may well be proud of the gigantic strides they have made, and of the loyalty which more than at any previous period in the history of the country has insured the stability of the throne. On our part, we may well recognise those great and sterling qualities which have endeared Her Majesty in an increasing degree in the affections of her subjects. I call upon you therefore to join with me in drinking in the heartiest manner “The Health of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.” (Loud cheers.)

The toast having been drunk with great enthusiasm, VISCOUNT HAMPDEN proposed “The Royal Family.”

The toast having been duly honoured,

The HON. ALFRED DEAKIN (Chief Secretary of Victoria), in the absence of his colleague, the Hon. James Lorimer, gave “The Navies, Armies, and Civil Services of the Crown.” He said that the terms in which the toast was couched, relating to the Navies, Armies, and Civil Services of the Crown, indicated very gracefully that not only the forces, military and naval, which had been raised in the Mother Country, but also those which had been raised in the same cause and in the same interest in the dependencies and Colonies, were included. (Cheers.) It appeared to him that their chairman, in the remarkably judicious circular which he issued to the Colonies to invite their attendance in London, had acted most diplomatically in expressly

excluding from the subjects set down for deliberation that of Imperial Federation. He could conceive no way in which the question could have been more delicately but firmly thrust upon the attention of the public than by its omission. (Laughter and cheers.) There was a time, now belonging to the past, when the Colonies had been regarded in a military and naval sense as a weakness to the Mother Country, because they entailed that the protection of England should be thrown over places separated by vast spaces. The Colonies were in the course of changing all that. (Cheers.) They were too proud to remain in such a dependent condition when they had been so amply endowed with the privileges of self-government. There had been, he believed, a universal movement, from one end of the Empire to the other, to place each portion in a complete state of self-defence. (Cheers.) The Australian Colonies in the last thirty years of independent existence had spent very large sums on self-defence. In doing this they had not only done their own share, but by the provision of ports where the Imperial squadrons might coal, refit, and repair, they had contributed even to Imperial defence. (Cheers.) But they were not even content to remain satisfied with the defence of their own coasts. Overtures had been made to the Admiralty, and only one thing remained to be accomplished for the establishment of an Australian fleet in Australian waters, provided by the Imperial Government, but maintained by the Colonies. (Cheers.) As the Colonies grew that fleet would grow, and with it the Imperial power in those seas. Living far from the centre of European action, Colonists could not but realise with the gravest concern the awful nature of the calamities which must fall upon the Empire if the naval supremacy should be so shaken as to cut off the communications between one Power and another. It would cut the sinews of the Empire and sever the bonds that united the parts.

The DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, in replying on behalf of the army, said that the army must always take the greatest interest in anything connected with the great Colonial possessions. Gatherings such as the one which he was addressing, social in themselves, were of the greatest importance, because they brought together men who, under ordinary circumstances, might not have opportunities of becoming acquainted with one another, or of interchanging thoughts and sentiments. One of the first objects which we must all have in view in obtaining that political federation, which might be for some time postponed, but which was now beginning to operate, was security. Security was at the bottom of all success in this world. (Hear, hear.) And what was security but that mutual sentiment concerning the maintenance of the Empire? This was the foundation stone upon which all the elements of power would have to be built. (Cheers.) If we had that security of feeling that all were engaged in the same good work, we should attain ends which we never could attain singly. (Cheers.) He contended that all our armaments should be conducted on one and the same principle. The guns, stores, and supplies might be voted by the Colonists in such quantity as they deemed wise, but they should all be on the same principles as ours. The advantage was that if we were compelled to go to war, Englishmen and Colonists would be assured that the forces which they were able to put forward were in such a condition that when they met they would use the same materials and carry on the war as one body. (Hear, hear.) As to the general question, he could say that there was no man who was more anxious than himself to see Imperial Federation carried out to the fullest extent. He felt that he was too old to see this, but he hoped to have lived in the time when the work had been thoroughly begun, and in the manner and spirit which he was sure all entertained, and which alone would keep for the Empire its present great position. (Cheers.) He could not forget that when the home authorities had needed it the Colonies had come forward with support. He was persuaded that this was not an isolated instance, but should the necessity arise, all would join heart and soul, not as adversaries of the world at large, but as defenders of their liberties in every part of the world. (Loud cheers.)

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, in responding for the Navy, said that in his opinion the question of Imperial Federation raised two points, one the financial question, and the other the naval. The naval question was how to arrange a system of mutual defence between England and her Colonies. It had been very well shown that evening what the Colonies were prepared to do. What we had to look at was, what was the Empire going to do to help the Colonies? (Hear, hear.) With regard to the interests at stake, he would say that unless they were watched very narrowly they might be very much damaged in war time, if not absolutely smashed, during the first three weeks, for our greatest danger was in the first three weeks. In 1884 from Australia alone there were cleared 17,760 ships, with a tonnage of 13 million tons, or one-fifth of the tonnage of the United Kingdom. Of this number of ships, 2,786 were owned by Australians, representing a tonnage of 362,000 tons. It was the defence of this shipping which should be thought about in the strongest possible way when any proposals for Imperial Federation were brought forward. (Cheers.) He believed that the shipping interest—the floating wealth, the food supply—was the main interest that we had to look to; and it could only be protected by the British and Colonial navies. (Hear, hear.) The point of importance in the world was, in his opinion, no longer Constantinople, but the Cape. (Cheers.) It was the point for our great mercantile interests all over the world. He would not enter into the question of the Suez Canal; he had expressed his opinions before. But he would say that England never made her great name, her great wealth, or whatever she had great, by anything else but by command of the sea, the broad ocean highway. It would never do for England to think that she was going to be what she had been if she went in for defending ditches. (Laughter and cheers.) Some people might say, "You want to dictate to the world." Well, he would far rather dictate to the world than have the world dictating to him. (Cheers.) The Cape was the point for England, Australia, and everything we held, and the sooner the British people recognised the fact the better it would be. With the Cape well fortified, and with the forces we possessed, we

might absolutely laugh at the world; for who was going to attack us? (Cheers.) The whole question of defence was wanting in thorough system and organisation. If the telegraph wires were cut in time of war the Admiralty or Government ought to know exactly what they were going to do. This could only be possible by having the question of what England was to do for the Colonies and what the Colonies were to do for themselves thoroughly threshed out. (Hear, hear.) He was no alarmist, but he noticed that lately a large number of movements and evolutions were going to be performed in certain parts of the world, very important strategic points of this country. It was the bounden duty of this country to watch with very keen interest these evolutions, performed by no matter what Power. And if these evolutions necessitated the commissioning of ships and manning of torpedo boats, the country ought to watch them even more narrowly. He was conscious, as every Englishman should be, of the possibility of this country being thrust into war when not quite ready for it, or when it had not fully thought the matter out. The best way to avoid war was to be prepared for it. (Cheers.) The object of this Imperial Federation should be to make the Colonies and England as far as possible prepared for whatever could happen, and so minimise the danger to both. (Loud cheers.)

SIR P. JENNINGS (late Premier of New South Wales), in responding for the Civil Services, said that he was not in a position to enter into the question of Imperial Federation; but he could repeat that when any common idea as to what was the best way of bringing Federation about had been formulated, his Colony would not be found to stand out of what was best for the Empire. (Cheers.) They had given most practical proof of this in jumping to the front in the Sudan when they thought that the Mother Country might take some advantage from their help. (Cheers.) He did not say this in order to make an invidious distinction in favour of New South Wales over the other Colonies. What New South Wales had done the other Colonies were ready to do; and their desire was to be associated with the Mother Country in all times of peril. (Cheers.) With regard to the Civil Service of the Colonies, he thought, taking that of New South Wales as typical, that it was well worthy of the great English institution on which it was modelled. They had endeavoured to follow the reforms instituted in this country, by making examinations the test of eligibility of service, and by seeing that promotion was regulated by merit and seniority; and they had endeavoured to preserve the fountain of justice pure, and to secure all men's rights. The Colony had an immense area of corn land at their disposal, which they hoped to populate with Britons, and so cause Australia to grow up one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown. (Hear, hear.) The representatives of the Colonies were now gathered together that they might come to such an issue as would strengthen the bonds between England and the Colonies, with mutual advantage to all the parts of the Empire.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing "The Colonial Delegates to the Imperial Conference," said:—It now becomes my pleasing duty to offer, on the part of the Imperial Federation League, a hearty welcome to our Colonial guests. (Cheers.) And hearty as will be the welcome that I am well assured they will receive in whatever part of the country they may please to visit, they can receive no more hearty reception than from the members of a League whose essential foundation is the promotion of the unity of the Empire. Looking at the Conference about to take place, I may be allowed to take some amount of parental interest in it. But still it seems to me that the occasion of this Conference, and the great issues it is called upon to discuss, are sufficient to stir the blood of the most unimaginative and the most insular of our fellow-countrymen. It is possible to exaggerate the importance of the decisions which may be arrived at, but to all of us who look forward with hope and confidence to a time when the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies may become much closer than it is now, there is always this feeling present, that that object cannot be achieved by patriotic speeches only or by paper constitutions; it can only be accomplished by careful examination of details, and by the resolute removal of the obstacles which present themselves. (Cheers.) We believe that one meeting is worth many years of official correspondence. (Cheers.) The genius of self-government, which is one of the main characteristics of the English people, has led to a sort of independence which is very sensitive to official criticism, and is justly jealous of official interference. And so it is not upon official interference that the success of the approaching Conference can be founded. It can only be founded upon adherence to one or two other considerations of far greater importance. First of all, it is our obvious duty to try to understand each other better than we have ever done before. (Hear, hear.) The improvement of intercourse which has taken place during the last few years has removed many barriers, but it has not removed all of them. And nobody, I think, can doubt that while upon the one hand there has been an indisposition, perhaps, thoroughly to appreciate the depth of feeling which underlies some suggestions from the Colonies which are forwarded to the Home Government, so upon the other hand the Colonies, perhaps, have not fully realised on their part the greatness and the importance of the responsibilities of the Government here. It is one object of this Conference to remove that, and I hope that every man who goes into the Conference, whether as a representative of the Imperial Government or as a representative of one of the great self-governing communities under the dominion of Her Majesty, will always remember that while it is his first duty to promote the interest of the community which he is especially deputed to represent, he must never forget that as a member of the Conference he has also great Imperial responsibilities. But, gentlemen, if the free and frank interchange of opinion is the first condition of success, the second appears to me to be that the discussions of the Conference should be directed towards practical objects which promise within the immediate present some prospect of some advance being made. I am well aware there are some who say that the special objects of the Conference that has recently been summoned are too limited. I am rather inclined

to take the precisely opposite opinion. Think for a moment of the enormous issues which are going to be submitted to the conference about to meet. To this country they are of the most transcendent importance. One or two hon. gentlemen have already referred to the food supply of this country, a matter the urgency of which every one will admit, but which can be settled within the limits of our own Empire. Or, again, take the great question of war scares, which have led over and over again to extravagance and dangers, due to the want of adequate preparation. (Hear, hear.) Or, last of all, take the important question of our communications. This is the one thing which is most especially wanted for the development and improvement of trade, at present so much languishing in this country and in our Colonies. Lastly, I may say that the one remaining condition of success for the Conference is the loyal and willing co-operation of the Colonies. Happily we have got it. (Cheers.) They have sent us many of their foremost men, many of their Prime Ministers, ex-Prime Ministers, and leading Ministers of State (cheers), who have come to us at the cost of great time and trouble, because they believed that they were called upon to share in the discussion of matters of Imperial importance. They have made great sacrifices for us, and I hope I may regard it only as an earnest of those still greater sacrifices which, if occasion should unhappily need, every one of us, whether he belongs to the Mother Country or to one of the dependencies of the Crown, is always prepared to make. (Cheers.) And when the time comes for every one of us placed in a responsible position to hand over to his successors the duties that are now entrusted to him, I hope it may then be possible to say of him, as was said of the citizens of another great empire—that of Rome—

"A Roman in Rome's quarrel
Spared neither land nor gold,
Nor son nor wife, nor limb nor life,
In the brave days of old."

Therefore we welcome the representatives of the Colonies, and we bid them God-speed in the work they have undertaken, and we send through them to the Colonies which they represent a frank, hearty, and cordial expression of our sympathy—our heartiest sympathy—with them. It would be very difficult for me to select from the list of distinguished guests who honour us with their presence those who should respond to this toast. We are unfortunately deprived on the present occasion of any representatives of Canada; they have not reached this country, though I have every reason to believe Sir Alexander Campbell will be in his place at the Conference on Monday. But we have heard one or two of the representatives of the Colonies, and therefore I think that the committee which has had charge of the arrangements is well advised in asking me now to couple with the toast the names of three distinguished gentlemen who well represent the Colonies which have not had any opportunity of being heard before to-night. I shall couple with the toast the names of Sir Samuel Griffith, K.C.M.G., C.B., at present—and I hope for a long time to come—Prime Minister of Queensland; of Sir F. Dillon Bell, an old friend who has rendered great and eminent services to the Colonial Office, who is the representative of New Zealand; and lastly, of the Hon. T. Upington, at present Attorney-General and recently Prime Minister of the Cape. (Cheers.) I ask you to drink in connection with their names, and with all possible cordiality, the health of our guests. (Loud cheers.)

SIR S. GRIFFITH said he was sure he expressed the sentiments of all who were present as representing the Colonies of the Empire when he thanked the company for the reception they had given to the toast of the evening. It was with very great pleasure that the Governments of the Colonies received the invitation that was sent out last year to assemble in London this year and to take part in the proposed deliberations. It gave them additional pleasure that this meeting, the first of its kind, was to be held in the Jubilee year of Her Majesty's reign. The delegates were actuated almost as much by the desire to come from distant parts of the Empire to do homage to Her Majesty by their presence as by the desire to respond to the invitation to take part in these deliberations. At present, as Lord Hampden had said, the bonds that bound the Empire together were for the most part the bonds of common loyalty to the Crown and, perhaps, in a lesser degree, although he hoped in an increasing degree, the bond of material interest. The time was passed, he hoped for ever, when any considerable party in the United Kingdom could desire the separation of the Colonies from the Empire. All could concur with the great object of the League, although they might differ about the details of particular proposals. It might be well that the League had not attempted as yet to formulate any definite scheme, for closer bonds than those which now existed could not be created by paper constitutions. The closer union must grow gradually, with probably many modifications from time to time. But at the same time something more than an abstract desire for unity might be wished for. At present the Unionist feeling might be said to be of an abstract character; but the time had come when in some particulars the abstract feeling might be reduced to a more concrete form. There had been communications in writing between the Colonies themselves and also between the Colonies and the Mother Country, but there were things to be said which could not always be put upon paper as they could be explained in conversation, and even if they could be reduced to writing would extend to such a length that the documents could not be read with interest. The disadvantages of diffuseness on the one hand and of condensation on the other could only be obviated by conference. (Hear, hear.) He was sure that they would enter upon their deliberations in the spirit suggested by the chairman. And, while the delegates of the Colonies would desire to represent their interests as distinct communities, they would at the same time have to recognise fully the Imperial responsibilities of Her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.) Deliberations carried on in that spirit could lead only to good results in promoting solidarity between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and in reducing the friction of future correspondence by the better understanding that would have been established. In conclusion, on behalf of the Colonial delegates,

he reciprocated the expressed sentiments of loyalty to the Crown and of desire for a united Empire, which was the object of what was meant by the term Imperial Federation. (Cheers.)

SIR F. D. BELL also responded, and, after speaking of the propriety of anticipating the Conference by this gathering under the presidency of the statesman to whose initiative the Conference was mainly due, referred to the growth of the Colonies during the Queen's reign, and to the change of opinion in this country respecting them. The Conference was a pledge of the desire of the Imperial Government to be united much more strongly and completely with the Colonies, to take them into the Imperial councils, to understand their views and wishes, and to call upon them for that co-operation which they could give only if they rightly understood what the Imperial Government asked from them. He was glad to hear the chairman use the word "sacrifice." Although the Colonies had taxed themselves for the defence of their own shores, they did not yet know, in another sense, what suffering and sacrifice meant, but the day might come when they would be called upon to realise what it did mean, and it was their duty to make preparation for that day. It was as a pledge of the mutual support which the Colonies and the Mother Country would give each other that the Conference was particularly acceptable. In the Conference the delegates would have due regard to greater objects than the interests of any individual Colony, and they would realise what it was to belong to an Empire of which they are proud. They would then feel more strongly the necessity of keeping steadily before them the principles which guided the Imperial Federation League, and they would be inspired to maintain inviolate, in the face of all difficulties, a united Empire. (Cheers.)

MR. UPINGTON, in responding, declared that in no portion of Her Majesty's dominions was there a stronger feeling in favour of a united Empire than there was in South Africa. In Natal the English and the Dutch were equally loyal to the Queen. All that the inhabitants of that portion of Her Majesty's dominions asked was that fair play should be meted out to them, and that they should not be pronounced guilty of anything before the facts had been placed before the British public. Notwithstanding what had occurred in recent years, the feeling was as strong as ever that it was absolutely necessary for the Colonies to stand by the Mother Country, and all they asked for in return was that the Mother Country would stand by them. (Cheers.) During the many years he had been connected with the politics of the Cape it had not cost the British Empire a shilling. The Colonists had defended their own borders at a heavy expense; they had been circumstanced as no other portion of Her Majesty's dominions had been circumstanced, in having to defend their borders against hordes of barbarians; and they had been obliged in recent years to do it at a cost of between four and five millions, entirely paid out of the Colonial exchequer. Not a shilling had fallen on the national exchequer. The only Imperial liability had been for the defence of Simon's Bay and Table Bay, and he was glad to hear Lord C. Beresford say that it was absolutely necessary for the safety of the Empire to hold the Cape. For many years he had been urging that view on Her Majesty's Government; but it came to be a question of haggling about a pound here and a pound there; and he sincerely hoped that day was passed, and that the defence of the Empire would be dealt with in a different spirit in future. The position at the Cape was not a Colonial position; it was an Imperial position, properly held by the Imperial Government, and once the Imperial Government adopted that view it might safely leave to the Colonists the defence of their own country. (Cheers.)

The Hon. J. DOWNER proposed the health of the CHAIRMAN, whose brief response terminated the proceedings.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE OPENING MEETING OF THE FIRST IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, APRIL 4, 1887.

THE opening meeting of this Conference was held on April 4 at the Foreign Office. Sir H. Holland, Secretary of State for the Colonies, presided, and there were present:—The Marquis of Salisbury, Earl Cadogan, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. E. Stanhope, Lord G. Hamilton, Viscount Cross, Lord Stanley of Preston, the Postmaster-General, the Earl of Onslow, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Sir J. Fergusson. Representatives:—Newfoundland.—Mr. R. Thorburn (Premier) and Sir A. Shea. Canada.—Sir A. Campbell (Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario) and Mr. S. Fleming, C.M.G. New South Wales.—Sir P. Jennings (late Premier), Mr. R. Wisdom, and Sir Saul Samuel (Agent-General). Tasmania.—Mr. A. Douglas (Agent-General) and Mr. J. Stokell Dodds (late Attorney-General). Cape of Good Hope.—Mr. T. Upington (Attorney-General), Mr. Jan Hendrick Hofmeyr, and Sir C. Mills (Agent-General). South Australia.—Mr. J. W. Downer (Premier) and Sir A. Blyth (Agent-General). New Zealand.—Sir F. Dillon Bell (Agent-General) and Sir W. Fitzherbert (Speaker of the Legislative Council). Victoria.—Mr. A. Deakin (Chief Secretary), Mr. J. Lorimer (Minister of Colonial Defence), Sir G. Berry (Agent-General), and Mr. J. Service (late Premier). Queensland.—Sir S. Griffith (Premier) and Sir J. Garrick (Agent-General). Western Australia.—Mr. J. Forrest, C.M.G. (Commissioner of Crown Lands) and Mr. S. Burt. Natal.—Mr. J. Robinson. Gentlemen connected with Crown Colonies, nominated by the Governors or invited by the Secretary of State:—Barbados.—Sir C. Packer. Bermudas.—Lieutenant-General Sir J. H. Lefroy. Bahamas.—Sir A. J. Adderley. Leeward Islands.—Mr. R. Hankey. Jamaica.—Mr. C. Washington Eves. Gold Coast.—Mr. F. Swanzy. Lagos.—Captain A. Moloney, C.M.G., and the Rev. J. Johnson. Gibraltar.—General Sir J. Miller Adye, G.C.B. Windward Islands.—Sir G. H. Chambers. British Honduras.—Mr. R. T. Goldsworthy, C.M.G. Sierra Leone.—Sir S. Rowe and Captain F. Craigie Halkett.

Gambia.—Mr. V. S. Goulbury, M.D., C.M.G. Ceylon.—Sir W. H. Gregory and Mr. G. T. M. O'Brien. Trinidad.—Mr. A. P. Marryatt. Malta.—General Sir J. Lintorn Simmons, G.C.B., Dr. Giuseppe Carbone, LL.D., and Count Strickland della Catena. British Guiana.—Mr. J. E. Tinné. Mauritius.—Sir J. Pope Hennessy, Mr. F. Condé Williams, and Mr. W. Newton. Falkland Islands.—Lieutenant-Colonel H. Cautley, R.E. Hongkong.—Sir G. Ferguson Bowen, and Mr. W. Keswick. Straits Settlements.—Lieutenant-General Sir A. Clarke, Mr. Paul F. Tidman, and Mr. J. Anderson. Native States.—Mr. F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G. Fiji.—Mr. J. E. Mason, C.M.G. Cyprus.—Major-General Sir R. Biddulph. The following, most of whom were present, were also invited:—The Duke of Manchester (President of the Royal Colonial Institute), the Marquis of Normanby (late Governor of Victoria), the Marquis of Lorne (late Governor-General of Canada), the Earl of Belmore (late Governor of New South Wales), Lord A. Loftus (late Governor of New South Wales), Sir John Rose, Sir H. Barkly (late Governor of the Cape of Good Hope), Sir A. Galt (late High Commissioner for Canada), Sir W. C. Sargeant (Crown Agent for the Colonies), Captain G. S. Clarke, R.E. (Secretary to Colonial Defence Committee, 1885), Mr. N. Lubbock (Chairman of West India Committee), Mr. J. G. Colmer (in charge of the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada), Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Derby, Earl of Dunraven, Earl Granville, Earl of Kimberley, Lord Brabourne, Lord Monkswell, Lord Thring, Sir J. Kennaway, M.P., Commander Bethell, M.P., Mr. Childers, M.P., Sir D. Currie, M.P., Dr. Clark, M.P., Captain Colomb, M.P., Sir W. Crossman, M.P., Mr. L. Courtney, M.P., Mr. L. Dillwyn, M.P., Sir R. Fowler, M.P., Sir J. Gorst, M.P., Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., Mr. W. James, M.P., Mr. H. Kimber, M.P., Sir J. Lubbock, M.P., Lord Lynton, M.P., Mr. A. McArthur, M.P., Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., Mr. G. Baden-Powell, M.P., Mr. H. Seton-Karr, M.P., Mr. C. Howard Vincent, M.P., Sir S. Wilson, M.P., Mr. E. R. Wodehouse, M.P., Mr. E. Ashley, Sir T. F. Buxton, Mr. J. Pender, Mr. A. H. Loring, Mr. Kiulooh Cooke, Mr. F. Young, and Mr. Lawrence, M.P. Mr. W. A. Baillie Hamilton acted as secretary to the Conference. The Marquis of Hartington and the Earl of Carnarvon sent letters stating their inability to be present.

SIR H. HOLLAND, who on rising was received with cheers, said:—I am sure that we all have in our hearts the prayer which I think we may as well express in public, and that is, in the first place, that God's blessing may rest upon this Conference. (Amen.) And now, as Lord Salisbury and several other members of the Government have, in order to attend to important business, to leave in a short time, I will ask Lord Salisbury to address the Conference.

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, who was cheered on rising, said:—Under the guidance of my right hon. friend I venture, on behalf of the Government, to offer to the Colonists who have been good enough to come here on this important occasion the most hearty welcome of the Government, and I think I may say of the country as well. We all feel the gravity and importance of this occasion, because we are assembled in a meeting, the decisions of which may not, for the moment, be of vital importance, of which the business may seem prosaic, and may not issue in any great results at the moment. But this meeting, we are all sensible, is the beginning of a state of things which will have great results in the future. It will be the parent of a long progeniture, and distant councils in the Empire may in some far-off time look back to the meeting in this room as the root from which all their greatness and all their beneficence have sprung. (Hear, hear.) The business which brings you here to-day is of a peculiar character, due to the very peculiar character of the Empire over which the Queen rules. It yields to none, it is perhaps superior to all in its greatness, in its extent, in the vastness of its population, in the magnificence of its wealth. But it has this peculiarity which separates it from other empires—the want of continuity. The Empire is separated into parts, and distant parts, by large stretches of ocean, and what we are really here to do is to see how far we must acquiesce in the conditions which that separation causes, how far we can obliterate them by agreement and by organisation. I am not here now to recommend you to indulge in any ambitious schemes of constitution-making. I saw in the paper, and do not know whether it is true, that some of the most important Colonies have telegraphed to their agents not to take part in any discussion on Imperial Federation. I think if they did so they were perfectly wise. That may be a matter for the future; it is not a matter for the present. These are great aspirations. I do not cast any kind of slur upon them in calling them aspirations; on the contrary, these sentimental aspirations are not separated by so deep a chasm from any actual practical undertaking as some people may think. They are hazy enough, doubtful enough, now, but they are the nebulous matter that in the course of ages, in the course of much less than ages, will cool down and condense into a material from which very practical and business-like results may very likely come. But this is for the future and not the present. We cannot emulate any Empire—the German Empire, say—in conducting all our Imperial affairs in an Imperial Assembly. Whether we shall ever be able to do so I do not know, but for the present we must reconcile ourselves to conducting our own affairs, each in his own locality, and as far as the experiment with respect to domestic affairs has gone it has succeeded very fairly well. But there are other matters which are not quite so distant. Before the German Empire came to its present condition it had two forms of union, both of which I think might be possible in an Empire such as ours, though both perhaps are not possible now. There was the Zollverein, or the Customs Union, and later what was sometimes called the *Kriegsverein*, or combination of the warlike forces of the various parts of the Empire. I fear we must for the present put in the distant and shadowy portion of our task, and

not in the practical part, any hope of establishing a Customs Union in the various parts of the Empire. I do not think it is impossible in the nature of things. I do not think the mere fact that we are separated by sea renders it impossible; in fact, the case of other Customs Unions shows that it is not impossible. But the results which we came to with respect to our fiscal policy forty years ago set this idea entirely aside, and it cannot now be resumed until on one side or the other very different opinions with respect to fiscal policy prevail from those which prevail at the present moment. I will pass from that and just merely point your attention to the *Kriegsverein*, which I believe to be the most important business in which you can be engaged—namely, union for purposes of mutual defence. That is the business which the Empire has now before it. Of course, it is needless to point out that the defence of the Empire involves exertions on the part of somebody, exertions on the part of the Mother Country, and exertions on the part of the Colonies. The interests are common, and the efforts in proportion are common, and it is to consult in a great measure how our common efforts may be directed to the most salutary and effective end for the purposes of defence that it is so necessary that constant communication and consultation may go on between the various parts of the Empire. There is only one other point that I think it is important for me to dwell upon. I will not go into details; they will be dealt with by persons who have practical knowledge and experience. But I think I have observed a tendency to the impression that defence ought to be entirely a matter for the Imperial Government, because any danger which the Colonies might run was exclusively the result of Imperial action and policy. I do not for a moment deny that the very fact of the extension of the Empire may from time to time require portions of it to incur danger on account of interests which are not their own, interests which other parts of the Empire have incurred. To take a case—which I think I may take freely, because I believe it to be absolutely impossible—suppose there was any difference between ourselves and America on matters connected with Canada: Australia would have no immediate interest in it, and yet Australia would have to share the burdens and risks. I quite admit that that is the fact; but those are not the most important considerations which attach to this matter of Imperial and Colonial defence. I do not think that so long as the Empire hangs together the Colonies are in the least likely to be involved in any war. The policy of this Empire is essentially pacific, and has been so for a great number of years; and the danger of war arising from the policy of the Mother Country is not, to my mind, the consideration which should most move the Colonies to desire to place their defences in an efficient condition. (Hear.) Suppose that the Colonies were not a part of the Empire, suppose they were independent, do you think they would be safe? I know that twenty or thirty years ago it was thought that would be so, and their distance from us would make them practically safe from any participation in any quarrels in which the Mother Country might be engaged. But matters have changed and are changing. I am very far from suspecting or believing that the rulers of any of the great countries of Europe are likely to commit an act of violence upon distant territories; but what I cannot close my eyes to is that the facilities for such action have enormously increased in recent years. The great increase in the naval power of Europe, the enormous increase in the rapidity of communication which places the Colonies so much nearer Europe, the power which modern science, especially telegraphic science, gives to combine force upon a single point—all these things have brought distant lands in various parts of the world which belong to the Empire within the sphere of possible aggression. Do not imagine that I think that this is probable on the part of those who hold power in Europe. Our business is not to study the characters of individual men or sets of men, but the state of affairs and the circumstances in which we live, the tendencies of human nature as we know it in all times of history. Where there is liability to any attack, attack will come. The Colonies—the English Colonies—occupy some of the fairest and most desirable portions of the earth's surface. The desire for colonial and foreign possessions is increasing among the nations of Europe. (Hear, hear.) The power of concentrating military and naval forces is increasing under the influence of scientific progress. Put all those things together and you will see that the Colonies have a very real and genuine interest in the shield which their Imperial connection throws over them, and that they have a ground for joining with us in making the defences of the Empire secure—a ground which is not purely sentimental, and which does not rest merely on their attachment to this country, but which is based on the most solid and reasonable foundations of self-interest and security. (Hear, hear.) I have touched on this matter, which is a delicate matter, because I wish to point out dangers to you without suggesting the possibility of wrongdoing in anybody else. But I have touched on this matter because I think it most important, and in order that you should bear it deeply in mind in all your deliberations. Do not think that this proposal of ours for Imperial defence is a proposal on our part to lighten our Budget (hear, hear), or that it results from any selfishness on our part. What we desire is that all parts of the Empire should be equally safe, prosperous, and glorious, and for that end we desire that all should take their fair and legitimate part in a task of which all ought to be proud. (Hear, hear.) It is not merely in furnishing money; it is also in furnishing men. I hope that some past experience may give us ground for the anticipation, as time goes on, more and more, that those who are in the Colonies will take personal part in the defence of the Empire in all its portions, and will join even more fully than they have joined before in serving under the standards of the Queen. (Hear.) I have now only to repeat with how much pleasure we see this meeting, which indicates the drawing closer and closer and closer of those bonds which have been happily created by a common origin, a common history, and a common allegiance. We hope that the connection may become more and more true and real, and that we may, by our organisation, by our agreement, present to the world the spectacle of a vast empire founded not upon force or upon subjection, but upon a hearty sympathy and a

resolute co-operation in attaining all those high objects of human endeavour which are open to an Empire like this. (Cheers.)

SIR HENRY HOLLAND then delivered the following address:—I must in the first place express, however imperfectly, what I feel sure is the sense of the meeting, and thank Lord Salisbury most cordially for his kind words of welcome, for his expressions of hope for the success of this Conference, and for the wise and statesmanlike remarks which he has made, bearing upon the relations of the Mother Country and the Colonies, when questions of an international character and questions of Imperial foreign policy arise. With every desire to support and uphold to the full the interests and rights of the Colonies, it may be necessary at certain times and for reasons of Imperial policy to call upon a Colony, for the general good of the Empire, to make some concession or to forego some object which it may have desired to attain. The considerations thus referred to by Lord Salisbury will, I feel sure, have due weight with us in our discussions at this Conference. Many plans have been devised, many suggestions made, for fitting memorials of Her Majesty's Jubilee year; *quot homines tot sententie*. In this country we have heard of an Imperial Institute, a Church House, hospitals, free libraries, and so forth. But I assert, without fear of contradiction, that the assembling together in this country of leading Colonial statesmen and representatives of Greater Britain to discuss matters of Imperial interest affecting alike the Mother Country and the Colonies is the fittest of all memorials. I can take no credit for this. The credit must be shared by Mr. Stanhope and Lord Salisbury of initiating the Conference, but I should be sorry not to recognise in the fullest manner the credit due to the Colonial Governments for giving a ready and loyal assent to the scheme, and for their efforts to make it a success. And with reference to this celebration of the Jubilee year it is impossible for me to refrain from pointing out, in a few words and with a very few figures, the extraordinary upward progress which the Empire has made in the last fifty years, especially in the case of the great Colonies whose representatives we now see before us. Take the case of Canada. In 1837 there were the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. These were united in 1840, and responsible government was granted. In 1867 came the creation of the Dominion by federation of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, soon to be joined by British Columbia, and later on by Prince Edward Island. It is unnecessary to point out what weight and dignity have been added to the Empire by the creation of this great and flourishing Dominion, increased as it has since been by the addition of the vast North-Western Territory, through which now runs that remarkable achievement of British enterprise, the railway which has bound together the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the Dominion. As to Australasia, we may say, in the words of a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, whose words I am glad to quote, as that writer was my father, that in the last fifty years "a nation has been created out of a wilderness, and a people have been ennobled by the gift of institutions which the struggle and experience of centuries have won for ourselves." Let me add that in no part of the world have the best features of our British institutions been more successfully reproduced, nor is there anywhere a warmer loyalty than that which adorns the independent self-reliance of the great southern Colonies. As to South Africa, we have to note, in spite of troubles and constant native wars, the successive addition of territory to the Cape Colony and the creation of Natal and Bechuanaland. The grant of responsible government has gradually and steadily improved the material welfare and the domestic administration of the Cape Colony; and at no previous time have its relations and the relations of Her Majesty's Government with the neighbouring Republics and with the native races, been more satisfactory or more hopeful. I find with respect to trade, taking the period 1837 to 1885, that in the American dependencies imports have risen from £5,200,000 to £25,700,000; exports have risen from £5,000,000 to £21,500,000. In Australasia imports have risen from £1,500,000 to £63,500,000; exports have risen from £1,300,000 to £52,000,000. In Africa imports have risen from £2,000,000 to £10,000,000; exports have risen from £1,500,000 to £12,000,000. Of the whole trade a large and increasing proportion is trade with the United Kingdom. Taking all the imports and exports together, they were in 1885 eleven times what they were in 1837. I find British shipping trade with the Colonies, in 1837 3,700,000 tons, rose in 1885 to 56,600,000 tons, and our British exports to the Colonies, in 1837 £11,300,000, rose in 1885 to £54,500,000. Let me give also a few figures as to the increase of population. The population of the Colonies in 1837 was 4,204,700; the population of the same Colonies for the last census, taken in 1881, was 12,753,277; and the population of all the Colonies in 1881 was 15,763,072, which must have considerably increased. I would also note as curious the rate of increase. In the European Colonies there has been a slight increase. In Ceylon the population is twice as large as it was, and the same may be said generally of the other great Asiatic Colonies. In the Cape it is eight times, and in Canada it is three times, as large as it was. In the West India Islands the population has not quite doubled, while in Australia it is nearly twelve times as large as it was. We are right, in the face of these figures, and in face of the extraordinary growth of Greater Britain in the last fifty years, in attaching great importance to this Conference. It is of importance in itself as being the first occasion in which leading statesmen of our great dependencies meet in consultation with members of Her Majesty's Government to discuss Imperial subjects. It is then, if only on this account, an event of great interest to the Empire at large, and indeed I am not far wrong in saying of interest to the world at large, for every great country must watch with interest, friendly or jealous, any movement that tends to strengthen the unity and stability of another great Power. But although the Conference is so important in itself, I hope I am not over-sanguine in looking forward hopefully to the future, and in thinking that the effect of this first meeting is not to be gauged by the results of a single year, but that it will be far-reaching, and that this Conference will prove to be only the first of a series, which will tend to show the strength and to consolidate the unity of the Empire. It becomes us, then, as pioneers

on a new but widening path, to walk warily, and to endeavour to make the first start a success. I rejoice to think that in this meeting there is no political—i.e., no party, feeling. Noble lords and gentlemen representing all shades of political opinions are present to do honour to the Conference, and to show their sympathy in this movement. With these preliminary observations, which very imperfectly express my sense of the importance of this meeting, I will now proceed to consider how we can best give effect to the work before us and make it practically useful in its results. My duty as president this day will be best performed by stating to you the subjects which appear to Her Majesty's Government specially to require and deserve full discussion, and the mode in which, subject to any suggestion which may be put forward for arranging and facilitating business, we propose to carry on the Conference. In stating the different subjects for discussion, I desire to make a few general remarks upon some of them, which I hope will be supplemented by remarks from some of the gentlemen present, but to abstain from entering into any details. Many of these details are of a confidential character, but all will be more properly discussed at future meetings of the Conference, at which the delegates of those Colonies directly interested in the questions for the time being under discussion will meet representatives of the official departments in this country. Now, the first subject referred to in Mr. Stanhope's letter of invitation was organisation for military defence, and he was justified in saying that the question is at once urgent and capable of useful consideration. For myself, I shall not consider this Conference to fail, if it does nothing more than place military and naval defence on a sound footing. Before dealing with naval defence, I wish to make some general observations on land defence, with a view to show the pressing necessity of defending certain stations, and the steps that have been taken up to this time in this direction. Prior to 1878 little had been done to modernise the external defences of the Empire. While the fortresses at home and abroad had been to a great extent reconstructed and re-armed, the coaling stations were for the most part undefended, or retained obsolete smooth-bores and methods of defence dating back to the beginning of the century. At the same time vast Colonial progress had been made, which, while it added strength and prosperity to the Empire, at the same time greatly increased its vulnerability. In addition to the internal trade of the Empire, a great carrying trade has grown up—a trade depending for its existence on security, and involving, therefore, new responsibilities. During the same period steam has become the motive force on which the movements and the fighting capability of ships of war depend, so that, failing an assured coal supply, no navy, however powerful, will be able to operate with effect in distant waters. The introduction of steam power affects the question of Imperial defence in another direction also. By its means rapid and certain naval combinations can be made, so that the liability of the outlying ports of the Empire to sudden attack, no longer impeded by wind and weather, is vastly increased. Similarly, the development of the telegraph cable systems of the world has further facilitated rapid and unexpected measures of aggression. The apprehension of war in 1878 brought these facts into strong relief, and the first Colonial Defence Committee was appointed to consider what steps could be taken at short notice to provide some measure of security for Colonial ports. On the recommendations of this Committee considerable sums were expended at various ports, and such armaments as were available were hastily sent out and mounted as satisfactorily as the emergency permitted. The entire recommendations of this committee were not, however, carried out, since it was recognised that defences thus extemporised could have little permanent value, and that the time had come for a thorough investigation of the defensive requirements of the Empire as a whole. Accordingly, in 1879, a Royal Commission was appointed "to inquire into the defence of British possessions and commerce abroad." The labours of this Commission extended over two years and a half, and resulted in the collection of a great mass of information on various subjects directly and indirectly connected with the question of Imperial defence, while definite recommendations were made as to the selection of coaling stations and the general adjustment of the relative standard of defence to meet Imperial requirements; and their report forms the basis of the action which is now being taken in relation to the coaling stations. The matter of the report of the Royal Commission may be classed under three heads:—(a) A mass of evidence bearing on the question of Imperial defence generally; (b) considerations relating to the defensive requirements of the self-governing Colonies, especially those of Australia and New Zealand; (c) similar considerations in relation to Crown Colonies. A great portion of the evidence laid before the Royal Commission was given on the distinct understanding that it should not be made public, as it was clearly undesirable and unwise to place at the disposal of the Intelligence Departments of Europe detailed information as to the strength and weakness of the Empire, together with the officially recorded views and recommendations of an authoritative and specially qualified body of Commissioners. It appeared to my predecessors, however, in the case of the self-governing Australasian Colonies which have undertaken the responsibility of their own defence, that the opinions and recommendations of the Royal Commission relating to this group of Colonies should, as a whole, be confidentially communicated to their Governments, and this course was accordingly adopted in 1883. With regard to the Crown Colonies, for whose defences the Imperial Government, through the Secretary of State, is directly responsible, it was considered undesirable that such detailed communications should be made. I now propose to refer to some of the main considerations which guided the Royal Commission in its recommendations, and to which I may safely allude. Thus, it may not be out of place to call attention to certain figures in relation to the trade and shipping interests, which are very striking, and serve to bring out forcibly the extent to which the prosperity of the Empire depends upon the reality of the available defensive power. It is not too much to say that the whole fabric of the commercial system of the Empire, on which the well-being, and even the existence of the Colonies, in a great measure depends, is ultimately based upon the defensive power capable of being exerted in time of war. The value of

British ships and of the freight they carry annually was estimated in 1881 to be not less than £900,000,000 (and, I may add, must now be £1,000,000,000), of which it is estimated that in the direct trade of the United Kingdom only, £144,000,000 is afloat at any one time; but British interests in sea-borne commerce are really larger, for much of what appears to be foreign trade is either British property, or security for British advances. In a war with a maritime Power British interests would be exposed to risk to the extent of two-thirds of the sea-borne trade of the world. The progress of British shipping—especially of steam shipping—has been very great in recent years. In 1880 the merchant navy of the British Empire equalled in tonnage all the other navies of the world put together, and exceeded them in value and power, owing to the greater proportion of steamships. This is still true. It may indeed be stated broadly that the sea-going registered tonnage of the world was in 1885-6 close upon 6½ million tons; and of this total, 4½ million tons—more than two-thirds—belong to the British Empire. Great improvements have been made in steamships, both in increasing speed and in diminishing the consumption of fuel. One ton of coal will now do twice as much work as the same quantity did twenty years ago. A first-class steamer could reach any part of the world without coaling on the way; indeed, such a ship, if filled with coal, could steam for 100 days continuously at an average speed of 11 knots an hour. In practice, the amount of space in a ship that can be devoted to coal is comparatively small, and depends mainly upon the conditions of trade with respect to freight, so that the best steamships cannot altogether dispense with intermediate supplies of coal, while frequent coaling is a necessity to the slower classes of vessels. The number of steamers having an ocean speed of 14 knots and upwards is small in proportion, though annually increasing. These vessels, most of which are owned in Great Britain, would be of great value in war; they could outstrip any ship of war, and would require no protection on the high seas. The great bulk of trade is carried on in ships of speed varying from eight to twelve knots, which, in time of war, would be exposed to serious danger. In the present circumstances of trade, merchant ships could not be adequately protected by convoy, even if ships of war could be spared for the purpose. They must rely, therefore, for security upon such general protection as the navy may be able to afford. The question of coal supply in relation to Imperial requirements, and also to those of possible enemies, has been carefully considered. An enemy could obtain coal:—(a) In his own ports, or in those of an ally; (b) in the ports of a neutral State; (c) by seizing it in British ports or in captured trading vessels; (d) by supply from colliers at sea sent on to pre-arranged rendezvous. As to (a), France and other foreign Powers have made great and costly preparations for supporting the operations of their fleets in distant seas. As to (b), the supply of coal to belligerents in the ports of neutral States is regulated by the laws of those States, subject only to the condition that a neutral State must give equal facilities to all belligerents. The rules relating to the supply of coal which accompany every declaration of neutrality by Her Majesty's Government, if universally adopted, would not prevent a belligerent ship from obtaining a full supply of coal in a neutral port, should such port be at a long distance from any port of her own country. It is, moreover, difficult to enforce the rules; and it is doubtful whether the ships of a strong naval Power would submit to their operations being crippled for want of coal by the regulations of a small State in a distant port. As to (c), coal stored in undefended British ports would be at the mercy of any armed hostile cruiser. As to (d), the supply from colliers at sea can only be prevented by constant vigilance at foreign ports, followed by prompt action on the part of the fleet. The necessity of having secure and well-defended coaling stations as the basis of all naval action for the protection of the Imperial commerce and interests is apparent. Two classes of coaling stations are required:—1. Refitting stations and harbours of refuge in which coal is stored in large quantities. These must be strong enough to resist such attacks as may reasonably be expected, so that Her Majesty's ships may look with the full assurance of certainty to finding in them, at all times, the means of repair and all necessary supplies; while merchant ships will find a refuge from pursuit and the means of coaling in security. The defence of these ports involves a heavy expenditure of money and large garrisons; their number therefore must be as limited as possible. 2. Stations at which coal is, and always must be, kept for the navy, but for which it is unnecessary to provide an extensive system of defence. Where the question is simply one of maintaining a stock of coal in security, the defence of a harbour is not always a necessity; the object may be attained by keeping the coal inland and guarding it by a small redoubt beyond the range of artillery fire from ships. In addition to the Imperial fortresses, Malta, Gibraltar, Bermuda, and Halifax, it would seem necessary to defend on an adequate scale Cape Town and Simon's Bay, St. Helena, Sierra Leone, Port Louis (Mauritius), Aden, Colombo (Ceylon), Singapore, Hongkong, Port Royal (Jamaica), Port Castries (St. Lucia), and Esquimaux, in addition to minor coaling stations. Since the issue of the report of the Royal Commission modifications of various kinds have been adopted. Military progress, especially in relation to armaments, has made great strides, and the guns which are being provided under the existing scheme are more powerful and accurate than those with which the Commission had to deal. It cannot be hoped that finality has in any sense been reached, but the works which are now in process of construction are such as will lend themselves to revision and re-armament at comparatively small expense in the future; while the magazines and other accessories of the defence may fairly be regarded as little likely to be affected by future advances in the power of the attack. While the defence of British commerce and possessions abroad must be based on the action of a strong navy vigorously handled, and by means of a system of protected coaling stations rendered free to act all over the world, there remains the passive defence of exposed property locally accumulated, as well as the temporary shelter of the slower class of merchant steamers and sailing vessels. In the case of many of the coaling stations the measures of defence now in progress do not merely provide protection for naval stores and coal supply. A great

wealth of private property, both on shore and afloat, will at the same time receive protection, while the defended ports which are being created will provide shelter for slow mercantile steamers and sailing ships at the outset of war, before the action of Her Majesty's Navy has had time to make itself felt. The scale of defence adopted may thus be extended beyond the requirements of a mere protected coal depot, and the defences of coaling stations constitute in some cases an insurance of Colonial property. On these grounds the Imperial Government has invited certain Colonies where there are mixed Imperial and Colonial interests to spare the cost of the necessary defences. Hongkong, Singapore, Mauritius, and Ceylon have agreed to the principle of a joint advantage, and are contributing in the aggregate £276,820 towards defences. You will find in some tables which I propose to place in your hands statements of Imperial and Colonial expenditure, under various heads, showing what has been done in connection with the defence of these Colonies during recent years. It will be observed that under the scheme in progress the Imperial and Colonial charges will amount to £882,150 (not including a sum of nearly £200,000 for submarine mine defence), and £276,820 respectively. (Table B.) These amounts do not include a sum of £82,312 incurred on works and mines in accordance with certain recommendations of the Colonial Defence Committee of 1878, given in Table A; besides further sums on works expended between 1879 and 1884, which are not given in detail. Table C shows that the total Imperial expenditure on armaments and stores, exclusive of mines, provided for Colonial stations between 1878 and 1884, amounts to £102,500; and the total provision up to date for these services amounts to £482,474. On the other hand, the self-governing Australian Colonies have from an early period shown great earnestness in defending their own ports, and have agreed in principle to combine for the defence of other ports with which their interests are directly connected. At the present moment the defences of Port Phillip and Port Jackson are, having regard to their geographical position, among the strongest in the world. The heavy expenditure incurred up to date by the great responsible government Colonies is given in a separate statement, so far as replies have been yet received to a telegram and circulated despatch sent in January last. It will be seen that the Cape of Good Hope has spent on war expenditure a sum of £1,434,276, and the conditions of the Colony have been such that their military expenditure has been mainly incurred on *personnel*, which has hitherto prevented them from undertaking any considerable or permanent works of defence. Victoria has spent no less than £1,681,110 on her total military defences, and contemplates a further expenditure of £436,000. As I have already pointed out, the Colony is to be congratulated on the complete security which its principal port and city will attain by its wise and liberal policy. When the returns are complete, I have little doubt that the other responsible government Colonies will show that, in proportion to their wealth and requirements, they have not neglected their responsibilities in the matter of defence. While comparatively few of the many commercial ports of the Empire can be defended on a permanent and considerable scale, a moderate local defence for exposed towns can nevertheless be provided, in some cases at a small cost. A port which can offer no defence, even against a boat's crew, is at the mercy of any unarmoured ship or armed merchant vessel, which, in default of any possible resistance, would be able to impose requisitions of money, stores, or valuable goods of any kind. An unarmoured vessel can, however, be fought by field guns mounted in temporary batteries; mines of simple form can be easily laid down; and a small trained force on shore, especially if roughly intrenched, would be able to defeat any landing party which a single ship would be likely to risk in a venture by which no military advantage could be gained. The number of ironclads available for an enemy's offensive operations is limited, and their movements would be watched and defeated as far as possible by Her Majesty's Navy. Hence in many cases it is mere depredations by single unarmoured ships of war, or armed merchant vessels, which have to be feared. Small and inexpensive measures of local defence would be able to render such depredations difficult, if not impossible; and the security thus obtained would sufficiently justify the moderate expenditure involved. In 1885 the present Colonial Defence Committee was appointed in order to facilitate the carrying out of measures involving the action of several departments. This committee has since made recommendations on a variety of subjects laid before it, as will be seen from the printed papers which I propose to place in your hands. Among the measures carried out by the Colonial Defence Committee, I may mention the creation of a convenient and permanent record of Colonial defences and the preparation of local schemes of defence. Turning, then, to naval defence. In the first place, as I have already stated, the trade carried on in merchant vessels must rely for security upon such general protection as the Navy may be able to afford. The possibility of reinforcing the Navy with fast merchant steamships, of which, owing to the late remarkable progress in ship-building, there is now a considerable number built and owned in the United Kingdom, must not be lost sight of. These vessels compare favourably with ships of war in point of speed, and far surpass them in coal-carrying capacity. Their speed will secure them from pursuit, and their comparative independence of coaling stations will enable them to traverse great distances and keep the sea for long periods of time. Although incapable of meeting an enemy's regular cruisers, they would be effective against ships of a like nature employed against our commerce, and would be invaluable as look-out ships, as a means for conveying communications between the Colonies and the United Kingdom, or carrying instructions to ships on distant stations, especially in the event of communication by telegraph being suspended. It is very desirable to encourage the owners of these ships to comply with such regulations as the Admiralty may lay down as to construction and otherwise, so as to enable them to receive moderate armaments, and armaments suitable for them should be provided and stored in different ports. This matter has received very full consideration, and the Admiralty can now count on many of the fastest steamships in the world, which, with armaments ready prepared, will be able to reinforce

the Navy on the outbreak of war. The desirability of strengthening the fleet in Australian waters by the addition of a local force has been discussed in detail by Admiral Tryon, acting in concert with the Premiers of the self-governing Australian Colonies. Papers containing the latest proposals of Her Majesty's Government will be submitted to the Conference. To sum up this head:—Among the subjects directly or indirectly connected with defence, which it appears desirable that the Conference should discuss, are:—(1) The local defence of ports other than Imperial coaling stations. Among the latter the most important are Thursday Island and King George's Sound, respecting which papers will be laid before you, and I do not doubt the Conference will agree with me in the opinion that a decision should be arrived at in regard to this important question. (2) The naval defence of the Australian Colonies. This question has been discussed at much length by Admiral Tryon, and papers will be laid before the Conference showing the present position of the matter. (3) Measures of precaution in relation to the defences of Colonial ports. (4) Various questions arise in connection with the military aspects of telegraph cables, their necessity for purposes of war, and their protection. On these matters the delegates may wish to offer their opinion. (5) Questions relating to the employment and training of local or native troops to serve as garrisons of works of defence may fitly be considered. (6) Finally, the delegates will be able to state their views as to the defences with which they are concerned, and to obtain recent information with regard to military progress and the opinions now generally held. I will only add, in the words of Mr. Stanhope, that it is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government in calling this Conference "to commit either the Imperial Government or any colony to new projects entailing heavy expenditure, but rather to secure that the sums which may be devoted to this purpose may be utilised to the fullest extent, with complete knowledge of all the conditions of the problem." The next subject marked out for consideration is the promotion of commercial and social relations by the development of our postal and telegraphic communication. "It is a subject," and here again I quote from my predecessor in office, "the conditions of which are constantly changing, new requirements come into existence, and new projects are formulated every year." It is obviously desirable that the question of Imperial intercommunication should be considered as a whole, in order that the needs of every part of the Empire may, as far as practicable, be provided for, and that suggestions may be obtained from all quarters as to the best means of establishing a complete system of communications without that increased expenditure which necessarily results from isolated action. I will first refer to the postal schemes which it may be thought desirable to discuss. There is the question which has been lately brought prominently forward by Mr. Henniker Heaton, in a series of letters to the Postmaster-General, which have appeared in the newspapers, and which will be found in a printed paper which I will cause to be circulated among members of the Conference. With these papers will also be found the official answer of the Post Office Department of the 17th of March last. While fully admitting the importance of this question, and the interest which it has created—a very natural interest, I may observe, as we must all desire, from a social as well as a commercial point of view, to see the postage of letters and papers cheapened—I do not propose to do more now than refer to it in these general terms. Speaking quite generally, I understand Mr. Heaton to contend that by sending letters by sea route all the way, and thus avoiding the expense of land transit through France and Italy, the postage could be substantially reduced, while the delivery of letters would not be materially delayed. I have heard it stated that the Colonial Governments do not feel able to entertain any scheme involving a considerable loss of revenue. If this be so, the question seems to be narrowed down very much to the point whether any loss, or what amount of loss, would accrue to the Imperial and Colonial Governments respectively from the adoption of the scheme. Before leaving this head, I may refer the Australasian members of the Conference to a letter from the Post Office of March 18, which will be circulated, bearing upon the question whether any reduction could be effected in the transit charges. Their opinion upon that letter is desired, and it is hoped that they will state whether they are in a position to undertake that the proposed reduction will be agreed to by their respective Colonies, so as to enable Her Majesty's Government to complete the negotiations with the Italian Government. With respect to telegraphic communication, I would point out in the first place the extraordinary growth of submarine telegraphy, to which Mr. Pender called my attention in a letter of the 28th of January. He there says:—

"Submarine telegraphy is of quite modern growth. Twenty years ago there were about 2,000 miles of cable laid, chiefly in the Channel, and some of the earlier submarine cables that were laid were unfortunately so badly constructed that they were useless for work. I might quote as an instance the old Red Sea cable. Science has now, however, aided so greatly in the manufacture of cables that they can at the present time be laid with comparatively little risk of breakage and with an almost certainty of efficient repair. Those facts account for the rapid growth of the submarine telegraph system, which now embraces 107,000 miles, at a cost of something like 37 millions sterling. I may mention as a contrast, and to give an idea of the importance of this system, that the whole length of the land lines now in existence in the world is some 1,750,000 miles, which represent an estimated cost of £52,000,000. The submarine cable system is, with the exception of some 7,000 miles, entirely under British control, and has been the result of private enterprise."

I must add that I concur entirely in his observations that

"The value of the submarine system as it is now controlled, under British management, it is impossible to overrate, either from a political or commercial point of view. In regard to our enormous commerce and its relation to the movements of our great mercantile marine, both the one and the other are more or less controlled and influenced by our marine system. The economy in the working of ships is very great indeed; and in commercial transactions there are few of

any magnitude which do not involve the forwarding and receiving of telegraphic messages. These circumstances show that it is of great importance that the control of the telegraphs should be, as far as possible, in British hands; while it is of equal importance that the tariffs should be as low as it is possible to make them."

I will now direct attention to a proposal to connect Canada and Australia by cable, upon which subject papers will be circulated to you. The question of connecting Australia with Canada by cable, and so affording an alternative means of communication beyond those supplied by the Eastern Extension Telegraph, has been from time to time mentioned in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, but it was first brought formally to the notice of Her Majesty's Government on the 29th of July, 1886, by a letter from the High Commissioner for Canada. This letter, together with a report by the Superintendent of Electric Telegraphs, New South Wales, dated the 31st of March, 1886, will be found among the papers I am about to lay before you. The scheme is opposed by the companies which own the existing telegraph lines communicating with Australia, and on the 28th of January of this year I received from Mr. Pender a letter enclosing copies of letters and memoranda, which will also be found among the papers, suggesting that a reduction of the existing tariff charges might be effected upon a guarantee from the Colonies. The promoters' scheme alluded to by Mr. Pender has not been communicated to Her Majesty's Government, and his own figures appear to be but a very rough estimate. They furnish, however, the only information I possess upon the matter. A very strong case would have to be made out to justify Her Majesty's Government in proposing to Parliament to provide a subsidy for maintaining a cable in competition with a telegraphic system which at any rate supplies the actual needs of the Imperial Government. I fear that at the present stage I can only invite the Australasian and Canadian members of the Conference to favour Her Majesty's Government with their views generally upon the scheme for laying a cable across the Pacific from Vancouver to some point in one of the Australasian Colonies. The Australasian representatives will perhaps further consider, and favour Her Majesty's Government with their views upon, the general proposal to have a reduction of existing tariff charges under a guarantee from the Colonies. But besides these special subjects referred to by my predecessor, several others may be advantageously discussed. There are some, for example, of a political character. These must be treated with moderation; but it is an advantage on the one hand that Her Majesty's Government should be brought directly face to face with the opinions of the leading men of the Colonial Governments, and that they, on the other hand, should recognise the position—often a very delicate one—of Her Majesty's Government, and learn the reasons for their action or inaction. Let me refer to an important question—that of the Pacific Islands, which received so much consideration in the Federal Council which sat about a year ago. Upon a question of this kind full information is naturally desired, and, subject to political necessities, it is right that such information should be given by the Imperial to the Colonial Governments. The position of the French in the New Hebrides has been, and not unnaturally, a burning question, and a good deal of dissatisfaction has been freely expressed. I trust that the statement which I shall make to the Conference on a future day will show that, although the negotiations have not been completed, due care has been taken to secure the independence of the group. Papers will also be laid before the Conference showing the position of affairs with respect to Samoa. But I may state now that it has been agreed that a conference shall be held at Washington, at which the three Powers of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States will be represented; and it is confidently expected that an arrangement will be arrived at by which due provision will be made for preserving the independence of the group of islands, and for securing to each Power full freedom of commerce, navigation, and jurisdiction in matters affecting its subjects. Her Majesty's Government will further urge the establishment of a joint Land Court, for ascertaining and securing, as far as may be practicable, the land claims of all persons of whatever nationality. Upon these and similar questions I refrain to-day from going into details, as full discussion will be invited at subsequent meetings of the Conference. I sincerely hope also that a full discussion with those Australasian members of the Conference who are interested in New Guinea will result in a satisfactory settlement of the questions connected with that island. On a future day I shall be in a position to state the decision of Her Majesty's Government, the terms upon which they will advise that Her Majesty's sovereignty be proclaimed, and the contribution they are prepared to make. The scheme for the administration of the country, for which a good basis of settlement is to be found in Sir S. Griffith's proposals, will have to be discussed and settled. Passing to the other hemisphere, we have Canadian and fishery questions of great and vital importance to those countries. With respect to the Dominion fisheries, it would be manifestly inexpedient for me to do more than state that Her Majesty's Government are in communication with the Government of the United States, and that they trust that the negotiations may result in an equitable and satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties. I desire, however, to recognise the readiness which the Dominion Government have shown to meet the views of Her Majesty's Government, and to facilitate an arrangement of this question. With respect to Newfoundland, the reasons which weighed with Her Majesty's Government in not allowing the Bait Bill to come into operation for the present fishing season, have been fully stated in my despatch of the 3rd of February last; but additional statistics, which have been recently furnished, point clearly to the great loss inflicted on the Colonial trade by the system of bounties given by the French Government. These facts will, of course, receive the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government, who will have the advantage of a full discussion of the subject with Sir Ambrose Shea and Mr. Thorburn. There are several questions of importance respecting the position of affairs in South Africa, upon which Her Majesty's Government desire a full discussion with the representatives of the Cape Colony and Natal. Any proposal which would tend to advance

a general settlement of those affairs, and thus to avoid future complications and difficulties, shall be carefully considered. Connected with this subject is the defence of Table Bay, a matter necessarily of great interest to the representatives of the Cape of Good Hope, and, indeed, to many other members of this Conference. I will now only say that the matter has received careful consideration, and I hope very shortly, and before the Conference is closed, to be able to present to those representatives proposals on the part of Her Majesty's Government for the joint defence of that important station, thus providing a safe base for naval operations as well as a secure harbour for the commercial marine of the Empire. Reverting again to questions of more general interest, I would refer, in the first place, to a matter which has received some consideration—namely, the enforcement of Colonial judgments in the United Kingdom, and upon which papers will be laid before you. The trading relations of the United Kingdom with the Colonies are so vast and important, and their greater development is so much to the benefit of both, that any obstacle to their free exercise deserves careful investigation with a view to removal, if such a course be possible and justifiable. Lord Stanley of Preston and Lord Granville viewed with favour a suggestion which had been made for providing by legislation an easy method of enforcing in this country judgments of Colonial Courts, without putting the Colonial judgment creditor to the expense and trouble of further litigation, as is now the case. A Bill has been prepared and will be laid before you, but it has been suggested by the Lord Chancellor that such legislation, if adopted at all, should be made reciprocal. Members of this Conference will have an opportunity of reading the papers and stating whether, in their opinion, the Colonies which they represent would wish that a measure of this nature should be proposed to the Imperial Parliament, and would be prepared to pass similar laws for the enforcement within the Colonies of the judgments of the Superior Courts of the United Kingdom, and for the adoption of a similar principle in bankruptcy matters and orders under the Joint-Stock Companies Acts. As connected with this subject there is the further question of resealing Colonial probates, upon which the views of the Conference are also desired. Papers will also be laid before you respecting the employment of naval and military officers by Colonial Governments. Rules have been agreed to by the Treasury as to the pay and pension of such officers, which involve an important concession to the Colonies, and which will greatly facilitate the entry of officers both on the active and retired list into Colonial service. It has been suggested that it would be desirable to give the Conference an opportunity of stating its opinion on the question of any alteration in the existing laws relating to the mercantile marine, in order to secure more adequate and uniform provision for the preservation of life at sea. Papers on this subject will be laid before you, and I may take this opportunity of reminding you that the general question of the loss of life at sea has recently been the subject of a long and careful inquiry by a Royal Commission, which has, however, not yet presented its report. In addition to the principal subjects which I have mentioned as about to be introduced by Her Majesty's Government to the consideration of the Conference, there are other matters of practical importance which will be brought forward, either by myself on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, or at the instance of one or more of the Colonial representatives. I will mention some which have already been noted; and while it is possible that some of them may, through want of time or for other reasons, not be discussed, other subjects may hereafter be proposed. Among them are:—(1) The effects of the difference between the law of marriage in this country and some of the Colonies; (2) the provisions of the Colonial Loans Act; (3) the enlargement of the powers of trustees to invest in Colonial Inscribed stocks; (4) the expediency of taking the next census in 1891 on the same day and in the same manner in all parts of the Empire; (5) the exemption from probate or succession duty in one part of the Empire of property owned by a British subject in another part. Such practical questions, although they may not attract the imagination of those who have supposed that the present Conference had in view some large political objects, will, I have no doubt, receive careful examination from the capable men of business now assembled in London. I am aware that Colonial Ministers are here at great personal and public inconvenience, and that they could not have left their Colonies for any other purpose than the settlement of matters of urgent practical importance. It will therefore be my desire to assist, as far as may be in my power, in so arranging the course of business as to consult the general convenience and secure the best results; and I feel much confidence that we shall be able hereafter to refer with satisfaction to this first Colonial Conference as having done good work, and, what is far more valuable, contributed to a good understanding in many directions. (The right hon. gentleman was frequently cheered in the course of his address.)

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Lord Granville.

LORD GRANVILLE said,—Sir Henry Holland has conferred upon me the privilege and the pleasure of saying a few words on this important occasion. For obvious reasons, those words will be few. Some years ago I had the advantage of serving with Sir Henry Holland in the Colonial Office, and was able to appreciate his services at that time. He has alluded to the absence of all political feeling from this assembly. (Hear, hear.) I am bound to admit that there are opinions of Sir Henry Holland upon home politics of which I do not approve, and I am also perfectly aware that there are views of ours on home politics at this particular moment which Sir Henry Holland thinks simply detestable. (Laughter.) But that—and I believe that I am speaking for others here present as well as for myself—will not in the slightest degree diminish my willingness, or indeed my anxiety, to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government on great Imperial questions such as those which this distinguished assembly have had brought before them to-day. In pursuance of proposals made last summer from influential quarters, Mr. Stanhope assembled this Conference. I have always been of opinion that although there might be difficulties, although there might be risks, Mr. Stanhope was perfectly right in making those proposals. And, indeed, no little justification has been given to his

decision by the manner in which the Colonies have responded to it. (Hear, hear.) We have heard to-day Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, the official representative of the country, in a striking speech give a cordial and genial welcome to the distinguished men here present. We have also heard with great interest the excellent address delivered by Sir Henry Holland. I alluded just now to the possible difficulties and even risks that might be encountered; but of this I feel certain—that those difficulties and risks will appear or not according to the judgment and tact of the president of the Conference, and according to the amount of co-operation which he receives from all the members of it. I therefore notice with great satisfaction what appeared to me, if I may be allowed to say so, the sense of moderation in the observations which he addressed to us; and I observe with still greater satisfaction the general acquiescence in this moderation, which seemed to be testified to by you all. (Hear, hear.) The assembling of this Conference is creditable to Her Majesty's Government; they are responsible for the meeting of it. It would be presumptuous for me to say more than that; but I feel convinced that good practical results will follow from it or not, according to your strict adherence to the line of principles to-day laid down. I will not venture to prophesy as to what may be the exact results; but of this I have not the slightest doubt that Sir Henry Holland in his address was perfectly right in saying that nothing but great good can arise from the meeting of the Government, whoever they may be, with the distinguished men who have been sent by the Colonies on this occasion. The Colonies have sent some of their Prime Ministers, ex-Prime Ministers, and Ministers, and others who have achieved for themselves great distinction in public and official life; and I may venture to say this, that in some respects these Colonial statesmen have an advantage over public men in this country. We succeed one another. We find on most subjects long-formed traditions; we are involved in a heavy and highly trained system, and almost naturally fall somewhat into a fixed groove, and follow certain lines followed before. But these men, who by their own weight and ability have become the leaders of opinion and men in our great dependencies, have had themselves to get a firm grasp of great principles, to study how to apply them to a new state of things, and have been obliged to put themselves more completely in touch perhaps with those they govern than is possible in an old and more populous country. I cannot doubt that such an intercommunication must be of the highest value in increasing the knowledge both as to facts and—what is quite as important—as to feelings; that it must destroy misconception and prejudices on the one side and the other, and, as a necessary consequence, that it will enable you, actuated by the public spirit which I am sure is present with each one of you, to come to sound, statesmanlike conclusions, profitable alike to the Mother Country and the Colonies, as the result of your labours. I am only an interested looker-on, and can only venture to say to you God-speed and to express to you the earnest wish that the result of this Conference may be not only to retain but greatly to increase the links of steel and of silk which bind the different portions of this great Empire together—an Empire which we have heard this morning has so greatly developed itself, an Empire which promises to raise almost to a miraculous height the reputation of the British race. (Cheers.)

SIR HENRY HOLLAND then said that there were many gentlemen present whom all would like to hear, but he had found it necessary, in consultation with the representatives, to define and to a certain extent limit the course of the sittings. Before adjourning, therefore, he would call upon one gentleman from each of the Colonies; and as it would be convenient to proceed in the order of seniority, he would call first upon Mr. Robert Thorburn, Premier of Newfoundland, the oldest of the Colonies of the Crown.

The HON. ROBERT THORBURN (Premier of Newfoundland) said, with respect to the ancient Colony of Newfoundland, which he had the honour of representing in a dual capacity, first as the present Premier of the Colony, and secondly as a delegate to the Conference, associated with Sir A. Shea, the oldest, and he might add the ablest statesman the Colony possessed, he would say that he highly appreciated the honour that had been conferred on Newfoundland in being granted precedence as the oldest of all Her Majesty's Colonial dependencies. He felt it would be premature at this early stage of the proceedings to refer in detail to matters in connection with the Colony he had the honour to represent, but he would take the opportunity of referring briefly to the valuable resources of the Colony, which every one knew were mainly in its inexhaustible fisheries, which were of greater value than the richest mines. He was sorry to say that the competition of bounty-sustained foreigners had exercised a most depressing influence on the operations of British fishers, who were without any artificial stimulus, and here he would express his thanks to the Right Hon. Sir H. Holland for the assurance that Her Majesty's Government had the representations of the Colonial Government under their most careful consideration, and he felt assured, with a due appreciation of the gravity of the issues at stake and the intrinsic strength of the case, that the interests of the Colony were safe in the hands of Her Majesty's Ministers. The geographical position of Newfoundland was a most commanding one, stretching across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with only a narrow entrance through the Straits of Belle Isle on the north, and a comparatively easily defended outlet by the south, from which it was evident that a well-devised scheme of defence was necessary in conjunction with their great and prosperous neighbours of the Dominion of Canada, whose existence would be fatally imperilled were Newfoundland in the hands of a foreign Power. Newfoundland was possessed of one of the finest and most commodious dry docks in the world, capable of taking in the largest class of Atlantic steamers; and with a maritime population in the Dominion and Newfoundland capable of furnishing 50,000 of the finest seamen in the world, and the coalfields of Cape Breton in close proximity, the value of such resources could not be overestimated in case of war. He ventured to predict that if the grand project of Imperial Federation

ever became a reality the Conference would prove to have been the school from which the finished project emerged. (Hear, hear.)

SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL (Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario and delegate for Canada) said that he wished to return thanks on behalf of the Dominion to the chairman and to Lord Salisbury for their kind welcome that day. To Lord Salisbury he especially felt indebted, not only for his welcome, but for the useful and suggestive speech which he had been good enough to deliver. (Hear, hear.) They saw from that speech that Lord Salisbury was ready to meet them cordially, was willing to listen to the suggestions that might be made, and was anxious that there should be every opportunity given to remove any misunderstanding that might exist, and to increase the cordiality now existing between the Colonies and the Government. On behalf of Canada, he could say, with great confidence and heartiness, that he and his colleague, Mr. Sandford Fleming, would do all in their power to obtain useful and good results from the Conference. They felt that misunderstandings might exist which personal intercourse would remove—and, as far as Canada was concerned, he did not think there were many, and none which might not be removed by a cordial desire to meet each other's views, and to do that which was best for the whole Empire. (Hear.) That cordial feeling would maintain a useful influence on the deliberations of the Conference from that moment to the last meeting. They were delighted in Canada to respond to the invitation issued by Mr. Stanhope, and to have the opportunity of meeting their fellow colonists and the members of Her Majesty's Government, but especially their fellow colonists. It would be a great advantage, a great source of strength and kindly feeling for them to meet face to face, and to find what manner of men they were who peopled the various other Colonies. They met in a hearty good spirit and felt as one people; and they would do all that in them lay to maintain the stability of the Empire to which they all belonged. He had heard Mr. Stanhope's circular condemned for not comprising more subjects. He believed that it was wisely framed, and that it embraced subjects not only sufficient for the assembly, but subjects which must be dealt with before any further steps towards Federation or Union could be thought of. Mr. Stanhope was, therefore, not only free from the blame attached to him by some, but had done what was best in confining the matters for deliberation to those mentioned in the circular. (Hear, hear.) Those subjects would be enough for their consideration, and a good understanding on them would pave the way to another and closer union in such a way as not to hurt the feelings of any of the Colonies or the Imperial Government. It would step by step unite all into one grand union for the consolidation, defence, and prosperity of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

SIR PATRICK JENNINGS (ex-Premier of New South Wales) said he had listened with feelings of the greatest pleasure to the kind and cordial welcome with which the Australians had been met, and with feelings of the deepest interest to the remarks of Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury had mentioned that one of the Colonies—meaning New South Wales—had instructed its representatives to take no part in discussions on the question of Imperial Federation. He thought, however, that the list of subjects which had been read would be a very considerable part of Imperial Federation. The Chief Secretary for Victoria had stated the other night that the subject was very conspicuous by its absence. He thought that it had been divided into about ten parts—the points set down for discussion, the sum of which was Imperial Federation. Whatever the feelings of the Colonies might be on that subject, they would meet together cordially to discuss temperately and with due regard the subjects placed before them. The great bulk of the Australian trade was done with their own kith and kin in the British Empire; and they had come together to endeavour by every means in their power to protect that trade by establishing some joint system of naval defence. (Hear.) He believed that if that was the single result of the Conference a great and useful work would have been performed. They would justify their meeting together by conferring in a spirit of conciliation and compromise and with a desire to do what was best for the whole Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. S. DODDS (late Attorney-General for Tasmania) said that their meeting that day distinctively marked a new departure in the policy pursued by the Home authorities in reference to the Colonies. The time when Australians might justly complain of the indifference on the part of the Government to their representations had passed away. There had been a time, not very far back, when Australians were forced to the conclusion that Englishmen regarded them as acquaintances whom it was inconvenient to know; and Englishmen forgot that the Colonies had been peopled by Englishmen endeared to the Mother Country by ties of kindred and associations. When their representations had been received with indifference, a feeling of depression passed through the Colonies, which might have resulted in estrangement if its cause had continued to exist. But now the desire at home was to draw closer the bond that connected England with her Colonies, and though that cord might be of silk, its threads were the enduring ones of deepest affection. He considered that although the subjects which were set down for discussion were very important, yet they sank into comparative insignificance compared with the higher result of bringing the Colonies closer to the Mother Country. If the Colonies felt that their claims to attention were recognised, a great step would have been taken in that work of which they were now possibly laying the foundation—the formation of a united Empire. Great responsibility devolved upon the representatives at the Conference; and to a great extent in their hands lay the result. They might achieve success or they might meet with failure, but that would depend very largely on the course of action which they laid down for themselves. A too-persistent pressing of their demands might defeat the objects which they had in view, while a wise moderation in all their action could not but lend a commanding dignity to their labours and ensure success in the future. On behalf of his Colony he would promise a strong co-operation in the settlement of all those questions which seemed

more urgently to demand attention: and for Tasmania, too, he might say that in movements which had for their object the unification of the Empire it had always taken a foremost place. There appeared to him, however, to be on the part of the bulk of the English people rather a desire not to give attention to the Colonies. What was most needful in England was a better understanding of the conditions of Colonial life, a more accurate knowledge of the Colonists, and a better appreciation of the sentiments and national aspirations which sprang from independent forms of government and rapidly-developed and growing communities. England should remember the extent and resources of the Australian Colonies, and that they possessed open spaces capable of absorbing millions of her surplus population. (Hear.)

MR. THOMAS UPINGTON (Attorney-General of the Cape) said that, as the representative of South Africa, he was specially authorised to thank the late Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Stanhope). During his period of office they recognised in him one who was in thorough sympathy with Her Majesty's subjects in the outlying portions of the Empire, and it was with the greatest regret that they heard of his retirement. Listening to Sir Henry Holland's observations, and knowing the kind interest he had taken in the Colonies, they were satisfied that in him they had a worthy successor to Mr. Stanhope. (Hear, hear.) The day of holding the Colonies at arm's length had passed away, and the Colonies had now come to be recognised as a most important power of the great British Empire. As representing South Africa, he might say on behalf of his colleagues that they were going into the Conference heart and soul to do business in a business-like way; and, what, perhaps, was of very great importance in these days, to do it in the shortest time and in a very few words. (Hear, hear.)

MR. JOHN W. DOWNER (Premier of South Australia) said that, on behalf of the Colony they represented, Sir Arthur Blyth and he thanked Lord Salisbury and the other members of the Ministry for the speeches they had made and the generous welcome they had extended. The Province of South Australia had been founded in the year which inaugurated the happy era when Her Gracious Majesty ascended the throne; and in that distant Colony the blessings which had accrued during the reign of Her Majesty were gratefully recognised and remembered. He ventured to think that the construction by South Australia of the telegraphic line across the continent of Australia had done something to draw more closely together the ties that bound Australia to the throne. On behalf of his fellow Colonists he thanked Her Majesty for having called them into her councils, and while in those councils they would give the closest attention to the matters which Her Majesty's Ministers might bring before them, and in turn would endeavour humbly to assist the Government by such proposals and suggestions as their experience in South Australia might enable them to offer. They would ever bear in mind that all individual interests must be subordinated to the welfare of the Empire generally and to the preservation of its unity. Neither in England nor in any of Her Majesty's possessions did there exist a warmer love for the Queen than in South Australia, and they prayed that Her Majesty might long live to occupy the throne she had so adorned, and bring joy to the subjects to whom she was so dear. He had written out these words because he wished to express the feeling of South Australia, not in the language of rhetoric which the enthusiasm of the moment might tempt him to employ, but rather in the more deliberate language of thought. He was perfectly satisfied that the United Kingdom would have no reason to regret having called the Colonies into its councils. (Hear, hear.)

SIR F. DILLON BELL (Agent-General for New Zealand) said that all those who had come from the other side of the world had listened with pleasure to the striking speech of Lord Salisbury, but they could not have assembled without being particularly gratified to find that a part had been taken by a statesman on the other side of English politics, such as Lord Granville. (Hear.) It was the greatest encouragement to them, coming from such distant parts of the Empire, where they had had very little communication among themselves at the commencement of the proceedings, to find that the hostile feeling existing between the great political parties at home was set aside in the welcome given to the delegates. As regarded the future business of the Conference, he attributed immense value to the fact of their coming together in consultation with the Imperial authorities. He believed a still greater benefit would be gained by bringing them together, and obliging them, in the vast issues that lay before them, to bury, not only their own petty vanities, jealousies, and wishes, but to realise that their duty was to assist and not to embarrass Her Majesty's Government, not to add by any ungenerous action to the tremendous cares that already weighed upon the Government. In that spirit every one of the delegates would meet Her Majesty's Government, and in that spirit lay the success of the Conference. (Hear, hear.)

MR. ALFRED DEAKIN (Chief Secretary of Victoria) said that on behalf of that Colony he wished to express the deep sense of obligation felt throughout its length and breadth by all on account of the summons which had been tendered to them, and further to express their acknowledgment for the wise and weighty words which they had heard from Lord Salisbury and Lord Granville. The Colonists of Victoria were deeply interested in having expressed at the Conference some views which had not yet been put forward, although he could cordially agree with all that he had heard. There had been a time when an invitation to such a Conference would not have been sent from the Mother Country, but there had never been a time when such an invitation would not have been heartily responded to. Perhaps it was because the territory of Victoria was small that her politicians and people had taken the largest views, and had prosecuted them with the most extraordinary energy. They cordially agreed with the sentiments expressed with regard to the subject of a great common defence by sea and land, with the knitting together of the Colonies among themselves as well as with the Mother Country, and with the preservation

of their shores from the terrible taint of foreign convictism which threatened them. Sir Henry Holland had not alluded to the question of the importation of foreign convicts in the Pacific; but he would say that the Colonies would look with the greatest eagerness for the statement which no doubt the chairman would make at the proper time on the question. He should have been glad to have been able to convey to Lord Salisbury some sentiments of the Colonists on account of the joint offices which he held. He knew the difficulty of communicating the wishes of many thousands of people thousands of miles distant, even to the Colonial Office, which was specially charged with their interests; and he would be the last to blame the officials for evading a difficult question when possible; but even when the natural inertia of the Government Department had been overcome all was not achieved, for behind the Colonial Office was the Foreign Office, and behind that again was that mysterious entity, the Cabinet, which was walled and roofed with good intentions unfulfilled. The Colonists of Victoria not only wished to express their thanks for the considerate treatment which they had received from the Government, but they would desire also to receive from the Cabinet every consideration for the questions of great Colonial interest which the Colonial Secretary might lay before it. They had noticed indications of an idea that there was a difference between Colonial and Imperial interests. That was a distinction which Colonists could not draw; for with the humiliation or weakening of the Colonies the whole Empire was humiliated and weakened, and with the advance and prosperity of the Colonies the Empire advanced and prospered. Discussions had taken place in England on the subject of a spirited foreign policy, and some of them longed to see, as a vital question of home politics, the establishment of spirited Colonial policy, such as other nations were following. He was convinced that the people of Victoria would continue to press their views until either they convinced the home authorities of their expediency or were themselves convinced of their in expediency. But while expressing their views they were quite prepared to sink them if they could not convince their colleagues and the Imperial Government of their justice. They wished to work in the utmost harmony with the Mother Country, to admit her international obligations, and to see Imperial interests override local interests. They relied with perfect confidence, after their recent encouragement, upon the Government and the British people, and believed that Colonial policy would come to be considered Imperial policy and Colonial interests Imperial interests. (Hear, hear.)

SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH (Premier of Queensland) said that in no Colony was Mr. Stanhope's invitation more warmly received than in Queensland. It was taking a new step in the history of the Empire, and he felt great delight in listening to that part of Lord Salisbury's admirable speech in which he hoped that the results of the meetings might prove to be the best and most lasting memorial of this Jubilee year. He hoped that the presence of Lord Granville might be taken to indicate for the future a continuity of Colonial policy, which was no less important than a continuity of foreign policy. It had been said that there was a probability of the New Guinea question, which had been causing anxiety for some time, approaching a satisfactory solution, and he thought it was most likely to do so by the method of summoning the Colonists, who were familiar with all the circumstances, and who could in personal intercourse express their views more exactly than was possible in writing. He believed that there was no difference of opinion between the Colonial Office and the Australian Governments on the point—at least, no substantial difference—and any small difference that might exist was merely one of misunderstanding.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND then called upon Mr. Stanhope.

MR. STANHOPE said:—It is a great pleasure to me to be able to add my voice to those who have offered a hearty and cordial welcome to the members of the Conference, and I am deeply gratified at the kind words that have been used in relation to myself. But I am much more grateful to the Colonies for, and I am proud of, the manner in which they have responded to the invitation which, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, it was my privilege to send. And feeling as I do the deepest personal interest in this Conference, may I be permitted to express the satisfaction which, in common with all my colleagues in the Government, I have in the fact that it is presided over by a gentleman who has such an intimate knowledge of the feelings of the Colonies? Sir Henry Holland has justly the honour, because upon him will lie the burden and heat of the day. I rejoice to think that one of the great subjects to be noticed, that of defence, specially concerns the department over which I now preside. The time appears to me especially favourable for its consideration. Except in one remote part of Her Majesty's dominions the Empire is at peace, and precautionary schemes wisely laid and boldly carried out may lead not only to the preservation of the Empire from war, but certainly tend to minimise its dangers. I therefore venture to offer to this Conference the hearty co-operation of the department with which I am now connected, and it will be a great satisfaction to us if in the smallest degree anything we can do will tend to its success. (Hear, hear.)

SIR HENRY HOLLAND then announced that Australian naval defence would be the first subject for consideration, to be followed by the question of the extension of Colonial judgments, and the reform of the system for saving life at sea. Thursday he considered it expedient, after consultation with many members of the Conference, to make a holiday, and he would therefore propose that the Conference should adjourn from Wednesday evening till Thursday week.

The motion having been agreed to,

SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL rose to move that advantage should be taken of the meeting of the Conference to draw up an address of congratulation to Her Majesty on reaching the Jubilee year of her reign.

The motion was carried unanimously.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND then stated that he had found that several deputations of Colonists desired personally to present addresses to Her Majesty, and he had learnt that Her Majesty had been pleased to consent to receive them at an early date after her return.

The Conference then adjourned.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE. THE WHY AND THE WHEREFORE.

(FROM THE "LEEDS MERCURY," APRIL 20, 1887.)

ON the 9th of August, 1886, a deputation from the Imperial Federation League waited upon Lord Salisbury, at the Foreign Office. The proposal which the leaders of the deputation laid before the Prime Minister was of a twofold nature. In the first place, they asked that a Conference, composed of members from each of the great self-governing Colonies, should be convened in London, under the auspices of the Home Government. In the second place, they requested that certain matters of common interest to all parts of the Empire should be submitted for the consideration of the Conference when assembled. Deputations to Ministers too often end in a few complimentary phrases. In this case, however, the result was far more satisfactory. On the 4th of April, 1887, a Conference such as that proposed actually met in London, and its members are at this moment considering the details of a programme which, as far as it extends, is that of the Imperial Federation League.

The result is, no doubt, eminently satisfactory to the voluntary association which has taken the lead of late in the promotion of Imperial union. It is infinitely more satisfactory to the public, which reaps the advantage of their efforts. The question, one portion of which the delegates have set themselves to solve, is beyond all dispute the greatest which this country will have to deal with in a not very distant future. We stand at the parting of the ways. Every one who has given the slightest attention to the condition of our Colonial Empire, every one who has studied the course of history, or who is acquainted with the natural forces which influence men's actions, is aware that our present relations with our Colonies are, and must be, temporary only. In this matter there is no standing still. Every day the facts of the situation are changing; every day we are coming nearer and nearer to a solution. That solution may be the destruction of the Empire as we know it, or it may be the unifying of the Empire by rational methods and on broad principles. It is possible for a reasonable man to anticipate either of these conclusions; it is possible for a reasonable man to desire either of these conclusions; but to anticipate or to desire the continuance of our present formless and haphazard system is the part neither of reason nor of sense.

It is the fashion among a certain class of persons to speak of Federation and the questions connected with it in sneering tones, and to affect to regard it as a fantastic and sentimental idea. As not unfrequently happens, this spirit is merely the outcome of want of information and want of thought. The future relations of the great English-speaking peoples to one another may be most uncertain, and may not be susceptible of any alteration by active effort on our part, but that they are of the most overwhelming importance and interest there can be no doubt whatever. Already one great branch of the English-speaking people has prepared for the future, and the scheme of government, devised by the deliberate wisdom of a few, has become accepted as the most precious national inheritance of a nation of fifty millions. That scheme has already stood the trial of a protracted war, and has overcome the differentiating effect of varied climate and immense distance. It remains for the other great branch of the English-speaking people to achieve the same result by the same or by some equally effectual means. That a union can be obtained by active political exertion on our part has not yet been proved and is fairly open to dispute. That such a union is in itself desirable seems almost beyond contention. This is, fortunately, a question which involves no party issues, but if it appeals more strongly to the traditions of one party than of another, it is surely to those of Liberalism. The accepted commonplace of almost every Liberal politician is the practical identity of interest between different portions of the community.

Apply these commonplaces, as we are bound to apply them, to the British Empire; and every single argument in favour of encouraging its different sections to form themselves into independent nations instantly falls to the ground.

If ever a case existed in which interests were identical, it is that of the various sections of the same people which are now growing up in different parts of the world.

Of all British interests, the greatest and the most unvarying is that of peace. Every one knows that between nations communicating only through the ordinary formalities of diplomatic representation, jealous on either side for their national dignity, and animated by all the force of national pride, questions of the simplest nature are constantly magnified into the most serious and dangerous disputes. It ought not to be so, doubtless, but the history of the world tells us that it is so, and we may be sure that when once we begin to conduct our relations with our great Colonies on these terms the same difficulties and the same dangers will arise which have arisen in other international disputes; and the very character of the disputants would render a peaceful solution difficult of attainment.

Once let there be war between two English-speaking peoples, and in the fulness of time they may become friends again, allies again, but one people never more.

At the present moment there is absolutely no method by which any matter in dispute, save a purely judicial question, can be rationally arranged between Great Britain and the Colonies, or between any two of the Colonies. Any day may find us face to face with a danger which it would be impossible to avert. Time, therefore, presses. It is of the essence of the question.

It is right that the attention of Englishmen should be called to the immense importance of the Conference; it is right that they should be reminded how vitally they are themselves concerned in the settlement of the matters which are at present under debate; and lastly, it is essential that they should be convinced, as, indeed, they will require to be convinced, that the methods which they are asked to approve are rational and practical, and that the objects which they are invited to promote are not only attainable, but are in themselves of obvious value and profit to the United Kingdom and to the Empire.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

43, ST. MARGARET'S OFFICES, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

Chairman.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.

LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.,

THE HON. HAROLD FINCH-HATTON,

Bankers, MESSRS. HOARE.

Vice-Chairman.

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W. Johnston, M.P.
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H. Kimber, M.P.
Colonel King-Harman, M.P.
L. P. Labilliere (late Victoria).
Colonel Sir W. Owen Lanyon, K.C.M.G.
Donald Larnach.
H. L. W. Lawson, M.P.
The Right Hon. Sir A. H. Layard, G.C.B.
Elliott Lees.
Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart.
Stanley Leighton, M.P.
Sir Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., M.P.
N. E. Lewis (Tasmania).
The Right Hon. Viscount Lewisham, M.P.
Rev. J. J. Lias (Cambridge).
J. Stanley Little.
Sampson S. Lloyd.
G. B. Longstaff.
A. H. Loring.
General Lowry, C.B.
Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.
Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P.
J. M. Ludlow.
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D'Alton McCarthy, M.P. (President of the Imperial Federation League in Canada).
R. Douglas McLean (New Zealand). (of Canada).
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William Mackinnon.
Sir George Macleay, K.C.M.G. (New South Wales).
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P. H. Nind (British Guiana).
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J. C. Payne (Lagos).
J. Horne Payne, Q.C.
Major-Gen. Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., M.P.
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Harold A. Perry.
W. Copland Perry.
The Right Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, K.C.B., M.P.
W. Pomfret Pomfret, M.P.
The Duke of Portland.
Professor Postgate (Cambridge).
Dr. W. R. Pugh (Victoria).
P. Ralli.
James Rankin, M.P. (Hereford).
Edward Rawlings.
Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B.
The Right Hon. Lord Reay (Governor of Bombay).
Peter Redpath (Canada).
Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson, K.C.B.
Reginald N. Rogers (Falmouth).
John Rolleston (Leicester). (Minister in Canada).
The Right Hon. Sir John Rose, Bart., G.C.M.G. (late T. B. Royden, M.P. (Liverpool).
G. W. Ruden (Victoria).
Albert O. Rutson. (New South Wales).
Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Agent-General for W. A. Sandford).
Lieut.-Colonel Myles Sandys, M.P.
The Hon. J. W. Sauer (late Minister at the Cape).
Sir Thomas Scanlon, K.C.M.G. (late Premier at the Professor J. R. Seeley (Cambridge). (Cape).
The Hon. James Service (late Premier of Victoria).
H. Seton-Karr, M.P. (Liverpool).
Walter Severn.
William Shaen.
Sir C. Farquhar Shand (late Chief Justice, Mauritius).
The Master of Sidney College, Cambridge.
Col. H. A. Silver (Chislehurst).
S. W. Silver.
Col. E. Coysgarne Sim.
Alfred Simmons.
Sir John Simon, M.P.
Philip Vernon Smith.
Sir Francis P. Smith (late Chief Justice of Tasmania).
Samuel Smith, M.P.
The Right Hon. W. H. Smih, M.P.
R. Murray Smith, C.M.G. (late Agent-General for Arthur Somerset. (Victoria).
W. Garland Soper, J.P. (Cape).
The Hon. R. Southey, C.M.G. (Cape).
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J. R. Tanner (Cambridge).
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The Hon. Hallam Tennyson.
J. J. Thomas (Lagos).
W. Tipping.
C. Tottenham.
Silvanus Trevel (Truro).
C. L. Tupper (Simla).
Alex. Turnbull (West Indies).
W. S. Turner (British Guiana).
Professor Tyndall.
C. J. Valentine.
P. Vanderbyl.
The Right Hon. Sir Harry Verney, Bart.
C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P.
Lieut.-Colonel Campbell Walker.
Robert Walker, C.E.
T. D. Wanless (Victoria).
J. H. B. Warner.
R. H. Lee Warner (Hereford).
Major-General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G.
Herbert Waterhouse.
Dr. Herbert Watney.
The Hon. J. B. Watt (M.L.C., New South Wales).
Sir Richard Webster, Q.C., M.P.
Sir F. A. Weld, G.C.M.G. (Governor of Singapore).
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Professor Westcott (Cambridge).
William Westgarth (late Victoria).
The Very Rev. Dean of Westminster.
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Major-General Sir Owen Williams.
Lieut.-General Sir George Willis, K.C.B.
Z. A. Williams (Lagos).
Sir Samuel Wilson, M.P. (late Member of the Legislative Council, Victoria).
The Very Rev. The Dean of Windsor.
Major G. de Winton.
Baron H. de Worms, M.P. (Liverpool).
W. Basil Worsfold.
H. Smith Wright.
James A. Youl, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
Frederick Young (Vice-President Royal Colonial Institute).

PLAN OF TABLES AT IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE BANQUET, APRIL 2, 1887.*

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Méjor de Winton	J. M. Ludlow	James Rankin, M.P.	—	Frank Hardcastle, M.P.	Rev. A. E. Barber	W. Ewart, M.P.	G. Stiebel	Alex. Murray	R. W. Turnbull	J. Flux	Rev. Canon Curtis	Austin Lee	Alfred L. Cohen	F. Faithfull Beck	Dr. G. Paton	Rev. E. S. Dewick	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* This plan is given as it was arranged, but some few of the gentlemen whose names appear in it were unable to be present.

Imperial Federation.

JUNE, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE powerful Fishmongers' Company, of which MR. GEORGE WESTON is Prime Warden, did our cause good service by inviting LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON to address them at a banquet a few weeks ago. The PRESIDENT of the BOARD OF TRADE made the most of his opportunity, and treated the company to some sincere and uncompromising utterances upon Imperial Federation. It is worthy of remark, that he was responding at the time to the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers," and must have spoken under a full sense of the responsibility imposed upon him by his position.

BUT unrestrained advocacy of our principles is fortunately quite compatible with Government policy, whether that Government be Liberal or Conservative. We should have heard similar sentiments from another President of the Board of Trade, even of an opposite party to LORD STANLEY. This is what he said, as the result of mature experience and constant attention to the drift of public opinion:—

"I believe it is the desire of the vast majority of the people of this country that our Empire shall be more and more closely united and knit together, and that we shall bring into closer touch with us those Colonies which the enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon race has led us to found. We are approaching the time when our children will emerge from tutelage, and when they will demand to be admitted into partnership with us. I am glad that an endeavour has been made to seize the opportunity of conferring with the Colonists who are now among us on this subject, in order that when they return home they may take back with them the message that we in England are earnestly desirous of working with them, and that we have no wish to cast off the ties which bind them to us."

No part of LORD STANLEY'S speech was more frequently applauded than this passage, or, we may add, more deservedly.

AN interesting example of the natural facilities which this country possesses for transacting business with the Colonies has recently been manifested in South Australia. A report was called for by the Commissioner of Public Works upon the difference in the cost of local and English tenders for bridge ironwork upon one of the Colonial railways. It appeared that the price of the ironwork, if manufactured in the Colony, would have exceeded £12,500, while the net cost of the same imported from England would be £8,288. The difference represents a gain of more than fifty per cent. by purchasing in the English market.

MR. LANDSEER, a candidate at the recent general election in South Australia, in addressing a large meeting of electors at Mount Barker, spoke with approval of SIR JOHN DOWNER'S appointment as a delegate to the Imperial Conference, and said that it would have been wrong not to send home the best man in the Colony upon an occasion which marked the "starting of a great bond to bind together the old and the new world. The Conference would lay the foundation-stone of a great future. It meant the union of the Mother Country and the Colonies for mutual protection." These sentiments were received with cheers, and the fact that the constituencies of South Australia expect candidates to state their views upon Imperial Federation shows that the subject is rapidly acquiring a firm hold upon men's minds. Candidates do not generally embark upon new political topics in their speeches unless under pressure of public opinion.

AT the annual dinner of the Royal Literary Fund, SIR EDWARD CLARKE alluded in glowing terms to the mighty influence exerted by English literature in modern life. He aptly reminded his hearers that the time was at hand when many a noble accession would be received from works planned and executed in the great Colonies and dependencies of the Empire, and congratulated British authors upon their task of creating a literature not of one people only, but of a multitude striving to enrich our stores of learning in all parts of the world. Well might SIR E. CLARKE lay emphasis upon this. Of all the bonds which tie the Empire together, none is stronger than our common language.

W. R., a correspondent of the *Southland Times* (New Zealand), writes from Invercargill to advocate a uniform postage stamp and postal notes for Britain and her Colonies. This would greatly facilitate the transmission of small parcels and encourage trade generally, and there can be no doubt of the enormous convenience of such facilities. There does not appear to be any insuperable difficulty in granting the boon, for if a uniform coinage is practicable, the same system might surely be employed in the issue of uniform stamps and notes. To take one of the most trifling benefits that would ensue, there are few people who have not at some time or other desired to enclose stamps for a reply in a letter to the Colonies, and felt the inconvenience of being unable to do so. We are glad to see that W. R. adds, as an argument in support of his suggestion, that it would greatly promote social intercourse and IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE question of State-directed Colonisation was discussed by the Colonial Delegates and a large number of members of Parliament in the Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons on May 11th. SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH, Premier of Queensland, and MR. J. G. COLMER, Acting High Commissioner for Canada, while concurring as to the importance of directing emigrants from the United Kingdom to the Colonies, rather than to foreign States, insisted upon reserving to the Colonies the right of rejecting unsuitable persons. SIR F. DILLON BELL laid the blame for the non-production of a scheme upon the Home Government. For many years he stated that he had urged successive Secretaries of State to promote the formation of a settlement of Scotch Crofters in New Zealand, but no action had been taken. SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT said he believed in a scheme being practicable. Through the medium of the Poor Law Guardians eligible emigrants might be sent out, with funds advanced by Parliament and vested in trustees for the purpose. Other speakers followed, and the meeting wound up with a dinner in the evening.

IN addition to MR. OSBORNE MORGAN'S admirable speech, which will be found in another column, two remarks made at the Colonisation meeting deserve to be recorded specially, as bearing upon our own cause. One was a sentence in the speech of MR. JOHN ROBINSON, delegate from Natal, who said, "Emigration in connection with the Colonies is a misnomer: the transmigration of citizens of the Empire from one portion of it to another is, properly speaking, Colonisation." At the dinner, with which the proceedings concluded, SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH said that "in his belief the sittings of the Conference would prove to be the first steps towards a great Council of the Empire."

THE same evening the directors of the Hampton Plains Syndicate of Western Australia dined together under the

presidency of LORD CASTLETOWN. Alluding to the Colonisation meeting that was taking place simultaneously, he said, "We in a minor degree are doing our part to solve the great national problem of emigration, and I cannot help thinking that we are bringing together the links which are being forged all over the world to bind the Colonies to the Mother Country. We are placing, so to speak, a little bit of mosaic in the Empire by proposing to establish happy homes for thousands of English families, who will create prosperous Colonies in the near future." If "the City" once begins to take an interest in Colonisation, as this enterprise seems to imply, we expect that more will be done towards relieving the country of its surplus population than is likely to be effected by any State aid for a long time to come.

OUR readers who have been accustomed to trace MR. GOLDWIN SMITH's views in the columns of the *Toronto Week*, will no doubt have observed that he has severed his literary connection with that journal.

WE frequently have occasion to point out cases in which the Colonies receive educational advantages from their connection with this country. The Universities have acted honourably and wisely in throwing open their doors to students throughout the Empire, and promoting the affiliation of Colonial seats of learning by every means in their power. It may be safely asserted that for every Colonist who is a recipient of privileges from a British University, the cause of United Empire gains an adherent. Among the most recent *alumni*, are MR. DAVID HARDIE of Brisbane, MR. L. S. MANNING of Christchurch, New Zealand, and MR. C. H. J. SOUTER of Emmaville, New South Wales. The University of Aberdeen has conferred degrees in medicine and surgery upon these gentlemen, who have passed the necessary examinations. We hope they will join the League, which aims at preserving and cementing the connection that has enabled them to gain the world-famed honours of a Scotch University.

MR. DEAKIN, Chief Secretary for Victoria, well expressed the loyal feeling of Colonists towards our great Universities on the occasion of his visit to the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, a few weeks ago. At the luncheon given by DR. BUTLER in honour of his guests, MR. DEAKIN declared that what the Colonies most covetously desired, and at present greatly lacked, was the high intellectual culture which distinguished Cambridge, "I feel," he said, "that we owe a great debt to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. There is a personal link that binds all who have been present, and thousands who have not been present at these great institutions. The Colonies as a community owe the Universities the same debt as England does, for we see in them the intellectual centre of this great Empire, whose future power is without limit."

Not only do the Colonies appreciate their facilities for study at English Universities, but those Universities are themselves proud of the enlarged sphere of operations now open to them. Witness LORD GRANVILLE's address upon Presentation Day at the London University, of which he is Chancellor. "We cling," he said, "to the Imperial character (loud cheers), which this University alone possesses, and to the extension of our influence over every part of the Queen's Empire (renewed cheers)." Oxford and Cambridge will hardly acquiesce in this claim to a monopoly of Imperial characteristics, considering the efforts they are making in the same direction. But the rivalry of these great insti-

tutions in such a work is a spectacle which must rejoice the heart of every Federalist.

MR. J. A. R. MARRIOTT, M.A., has just delivered an interesting course of lectures at Altrincham in connection with the Oxford University Extension Scheme. The lectures, eight in number, dealt with the "Rise and Progress of the English Colonies" from their infancy to the present date. The student of history ought not to dispense with a single one of the lectures, but the general reader will naturally turn to the last, which sums up the present condition of our Colonial Empire, and considers the future policy to be adopted in dealing with it. MR. MARRIOTT is one of the most active members of the Oxford Branch of the League, so an accurate idea may be formed of the conclusion at which he arrives.

THE *Albany Mail* (Western Australia) of March 19 contained the following announcement:—"The Marquis of Salisbury will present Mr. Downer at a drawing-room on next Friday at Montague House." In this country we are so often twitted with deficiency of knowledge concerning things Colonial that it is refreshing to find our friends in Western Australia in similar plight as regards ourselves!

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE put the case admirably for Imperial Federation in a single sentence, at the opening of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Exhibition, on May 11. "Leading men from the Colonies," he said, "have told me that when they come from distant lands to Great Britain, they come home. As that feeling exists among them, we are bound to help them. There is a most friendly feeling between the Colonies of this great Empire and ourselves, and all that is wanted now is to assure them that they are as safe by our help as we are certain of their assistance when the moment of danger arrives."

MR. RAIKES told the Colonial Delegates the other day that he hoped they would give credit to the Postal Department for the most ardent wish to keep alive the national sentiment of the unity of the Empire, and that we were all one in this sentiment. He also gave it as his opinion that the use of the cable would year by year tend to bind still closer the Mother Country and the Colonies. Towards the fulfilment of these aspirations MR. RAIKES can, if he likes, do more than anyone in England. With such distinct views upon the value of cable communication, we shall expect to find MR. RAIKES a warm ally of any scheme for improving it. Since he asks us to give his department credit for wishing to maintain the unity of the Empire, we hope he will be ready to honour his draft when presented in the form of a demand for cheap postage to the Colonies!

MR. SERVICE gave his audience what we feel convinced was an unnecessary caution, at a speech he made on board MESSRS. THORNYCROFT's new torpedo boat on May 10th. He reminded them, that if England were to disregard Colonial wishes now, when the whole population of Australia numbered only three and a half millions, the Colonists would submit with resignation for the present, but in thirty years' time Australia would probably number twenty millions of inhabitants, and she would then be strong enough to carry out her own wishes without the aid of England, and she would do so independently of the Mother Country. It behoved the English Government, therefore, to bear this in mind while the opportunity was still open for binding the Colonies closer to the Mother Country.

THE BISHOP of MANCHESTER, speaking the same day at Blackpool, urged the duty of closing the Imperial ranks to meet the two other great Powers of the future on equal terms. Russia in the East, and the United States in the West, are evidently destined to play a mighty part in history. How can the British Empire hold its own, asks BISHOP MOORHOUSE, against such competitors? Only, we reply, by combining all the elements of greatness which the sons of England have sown in Australia, Canada, and South Africa into one irresistible Federation.

IF any one still had doubts as to the objects of the Imperial Conference, MR. STANHOPE's statement at the St. Stephen's Club dinner, on May 18, must have finally set them at rest. "With the growth of the Colonies," he said, "has grown the desire for a closer union with the rest of the Empire. IT WAS TO PROMOTE THIS FEELING THAT THE RECENT CONFERENCE WAS HELD." On the same occasion SIR ROBERT WISDOM acknowledged, in warm terms, the interest felt in this country concerning the Colonies. He had not visited England since he was a child, and declared that "he was delighted to find that the Colonies were appreciated at their proper value." When SIR ROBERT returns to New South Wales, we hope he will spread the tidings among his colleagues, and assure them that we in England are neither so ignorant nor so negligent of their interests as is sometimes supposed.

MR. GOSCHEN gave the stereotyped answer to the deputation that asked him to devote the Post Office surplus towards lowering the rates of Colonial postage. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that such a course would involve an increase in the income-tax, and would therefore be unsatisfactory to the taxpayers at large. But he has still to meet the argument that to treat the Post Office as a revenue department is economically unsound, and that to collect a tax upon the poor man's correspondence is little better than imposing a duty upon his bread and butter.

A SIGNIFICANT step in the direction of Imperial Federation will shortly be taken in accordance with the unanimous request of the Colonial Delegates. Her Majesty's title will be extended so as to include the whole of Her Dominions. The new style is expected to run thus:—"Queen of the United Kingdom and of the Colonies and Dependencies of the Crown, Empress of India." The sentiment of this lengthy scroll is good; but we should prefer something shorter. Why not "Queen of the British Realm, Empress of India?"

A GOOD many people are crying out against the Canadian Government for having raised the duties upon imports of iron and steel. But the outcry is wholly irrational. Business is business, and as long as England continues to treat Canada on the same level as foreign nations, she cannot expect to be treated differently herself.

WE desire to call the attention of our readers to the announcement that a dinner will be given on July 6 by the General Committee of the League to MR. STANHOPE and SIR HENRY HOLLAND, for the purpose of congratulating them upon the success of the Imperial Conference, and the extent to which the objects of the League have been forwarded during their administration. The chair will be taken by the EARL of ROSEBERY, who will deliver an address upon the work of the League past, present, and future. The dinner will, we believe, take place at the Hôtel Métropole, and will be of a private character.

TRADE ROUTES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

SIR CHARLES NUGENT, K.C.B., a member of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League, has been lecturing before the Royal United Service Institution upon the communications of the Empire. It is of great importance that the attention of the country should be directed to the effect upon our sea-borne commerce of war with a great maritime power, and Sir Charles Nugent is to be congratulated upon his able treatment of the subject.

When we remember the havoc that was wrought among the merchant fleets of the United States during the Civil War by a single vessel like the *Alabama*, the ease with which she evaded pursuit and capture, in spite of a large number of cruisers specially despatched to waylay her, we cannot but shudder at the dangers in store for the vast shipping interests of the British Empire should we ever be drawn into war, even if every possible precaution is taken for protecting them. During the Civil War the United States commerce was practically swept from the seas, whatever of their merchant navy escaped the *Alabama* was either laid up in port or transferred to the English flag. Although our position is in every way infinitely a stronger one as regards the protection of our commerce than was enjoyed by the United States in 1861, the trade we have to defend is also infinitely greater, and our enemies will certainly be far more numerous and powerful than the one or two vessels that constituted the whole Confederate Navy.

Sir Charles Nugent rightly lays stress upon the absolute necessity of clearly defining the trade-routes between various portions of the Empire, and organising a system of vigilant patrols upon those routes, which alone can enable our mercantile marine to keep the seas. The cruise of the *Alabama* proved the futility of despatching men-of-war in chase of her. Admiral Semmes was always careful to move to a fresh cruising-ground before the Federal gunboats had time to come up with him; he tells us himself that the right way of stopping his depredations would have been to station men-of-war at the crossings and converging points of the various trade-routes, and his experience is too great to be despised.

Before an effective system of patrol can be organised, it is essential to decide upon what are the best routes, and to impress this upon the minds of our shipowners. Sir Charles Nugent specifies five main routes to our territories over sea. They are:—1, the Suez Canal route; 2, the Cape of Good Hope route; 3, the route by Cape Horn; 4, the Canadian-Pacific route; 5, the prospective route, *viâ* the Panama Canal.

In our opinion the Suez Canal route is dismissed with too little consideration; it is assumed to be closed as soon as a war broke out with France. But provided the Canal is not actually blocked by sunken vessels, we believe the dangers of the Mediterranean passage are much exaggerated. The proximity of our strong places, and the ease with which the shelter of neutral ports could be reached—for it is highly improbable that all the Mediterranean powers would be hostile—would be an enormous advantage to our merchant steamers. The risk of encountering an enemy might be greater in the narrow seas than on the ocean, but the chance of escape would be far better. The Suez Canal has proved itself the natural highway to the East, and should our commerce be diverted to the Cape route in time of war the loss would be enormous. We may also remind Sir Charles Nugent, who speaks with some glee of French shareholders being deprived of their dividends if the Canal were closed, that this country will, after 1893, be entitled to dividends upon £3,532,040 of share capital, and that interference with the traffic will involve a direct pecuniary loss to the nation equal to that incurred by France.

The importance of the route to Australasia *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope is of course immense. Sir Charles Nugent believes that homeward-bound vessels can be secured against serious risk until they have passed Table Bay, and reached the latitude of the Cape de Verde Islands; there the trade from South America converges, and the route to the United Kingdom would have to be carefully patrolled the whole way. He is also much struck by the comparative safety of the North Atlantic route, with its extension *viâ* the

Canadian Pacific Railway to our Eastern possessions. But, however useful this means of communication may be for the conveyance of troops and military stores, we believe that the expense of breaking bulk and transshipment would be too great for it to become a substitute for the other commercial routes to Australasia. In protecting the West Indian Trade, and the enormous traffic of the United States and Canada with this country, the shortness of the ocean passage and its northern position would be invaluable aids, and so long as we can keep the route open our food supplies are secure.

Whether we agree with Sir Charles Nugent's conclusions or not, every one must admit that he has done good service in provoking discussion upon a question of vital interest to the country. Our trade with British possessions amounts to nearly £200,000,000 a year, and with the risk of war always at hand, the duty of laying timely plans for the protection of that trade is unmistakable.

THE INSECURITY OF CANADIAN PORTS ON THE PACIFIC.

WE hope that the authorities have taken note of a recent debate in the Provincial Legislature of British Columbia, when some very plain speaking was indulged in concerning the defenceless state of the coast. A resolution was carried requesting the Dominion Government to take the matter in hand, the preamble stating that "the defences of the coast and ports of British Columbia are not in a state to resist any sudden attack by an enemy." Colonel Baker, who moved the resolution, stated that their position would be deplorable should an enemy make a landing on their shores, for their only defence was eighty militia and fifty rifles in Victoria, and eighty militia at Port Moody and New Westminster. Nor does there appear to be much chance at present of preventing a landing, if Mr. Bole, a subsequent speaker, can be relied upon.

"We have Esquimalt and Victoria," he said, "virtually entirely unprotected, because the armament in British Columbia is not able to contend with anything more than an unarmoured cruiser, and a first-class ironclad might come and knock Victoria into smithereens, and then ravage the mainland in detail. Not only Victoria and Esquimalt, but our coal supply is at the mercy of an enemy. This moment a gunboat, one of the obsolete class which was found of little use in the Crimean war, might go to Nanaimo and successfully take possession of the coal mines there, or else destroy them. The terminus at New Westminster would be at the mercy of the enemy, because, although two twenty-four pound smooth bores might do a considerable amount of damage among a band of hostile Indians, they are not of sufficient calibre to warrant our defending the river against a hostile fleet armed with modern guns. Burrard Inlet would be in the same position, and we all know the Canadian Pacific Railway is of great strategical importance."

If this is really a correct representation of the condition of the Canadian Pacific ports, immediate steps must be taken to protect them, either by the Dominion or the Imperial authorities. We hear a great deal about the construction of docks and harbour works at Esquimalt, and yet Mr. Bole tells us that there are no guns able to contend with anything more than an unarmoured cruiser. Is this the old story, rehearsed already at Singapore, of fortifications waiting for guns which never arrive? Or with whom does the fault lie? It is useless trying to conceal such lamentable insecurity. The intelligence departments of foreign nations may be reckoned to know all about it, even though the news is startling to Englishmen. Publicity will prove the best antidote to negligence and a false sense of security. English and Canadian money is being daily embarked in various enterprises on the Pacific coast; the railway terminus and the proposed line of steamers will add enormously to the amount of fixed property requiring adequate protection; this can only be refused at the risk of checking the influx of capital, upon which the prosperity of the district depends. We hope, therefore, that unless Mr. Bole's statements can be satisfactorily disproved, the utmost exertions will at once be used to make the defences of British Columbia something more than a name.

THE CORDEN OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

NEW SOUTH WALES has embarked in earnest upon her Free Trade Policy. The Colonial Treasurer, Mr. Burns, in making his Budget statement before the Legislative Assembly, announced that in future the tariff would contain only twenty-seven classes, although by a readjustment of duties he hopes to obtain not far short of the same amount of revenue as before. A new excise duty of 4d. per gallon on Colonial beer is estimated to produce £225,000; the duty on spirits will be raised from 12s. to 14s. per gallon, the rate levied in South Australia and New Zealand, so as to yield a revenue of £885,000; and the excise duty on tobacco will be increased 3d. per lb., making the revenue from that source £300,000. The new tariff will include no article selected for other than revenue purposes; besides articles of food, such as tea, coffee, sugar, rice, preserved fish, jams, &c., the goods liable to duty are cement, galvanised iron, iron and steel wire, nails, oils, powder, timber, and candles. Whatever is not mentioned in the tariff will come in absolutely free, and it is obvious that an enormous boon has been granted by this measure to the English manufacturer. Under the old tariff the specific duties were less formidable to the importer than the *ad valorem* tax of five per cent. levied upon goods not enumerated. These *ad valorem* duties are swept away altogether. Let us see how the change affects the English producer in one or two of the principal imports into the Colony. In 1885, leather manufactured goods to the value of £633,000; machinery, £350,000; drapery, £2,900,000; hardware, £474,000; and wearing apparel, £760,000, were imported from Great Britain. These five articles alone amount to over five millions sterling, and the *ad valorem* duties upon them to £250,000. What an impetus to trade this relief will give! There are, of course, a large number of articles, which space forbids us to enumerate, that share in the general emancipation, and their aggregate value is very considerable. On the whole, we shall not be far wrong in putting the total reduction at about £450,000.

When Ministers give such tangible proofs of their determination to make good the pledges they have given to their constituents, their speeches in Parliament assume the importance which accrues to the utterances of men who mean what they say, and have the power to verify their words. The strong assertion of Free Trade principles, which occupied a large part of Mr. Burns's Budget speech, deserves more serious attention than if it were a mere rhetorical flourish prefacing the new departure. It is well worth the study of people in this country who are apt to look upon "the Colonies" as Protectionists without exception. In New South Wales, at any rate, a belief in Free Trade has evidently taken deep hold of the popular mind, and will not be easily eradicated so long as it includes such sturdy advocates as the present Colonial Treasurer. His profession of faith was as follows:—

"We hold that taxation should not be in excess of actual requirements for the ordinary purposes of government, that it should fall equitably on all classes, that it should not be enforced for aiding any industry, and that protective duties must create vested rights and monopolies inimical to the interests of the community, and depress industries which, if left alone, can flourish and multiply unaided and unfettered by artificial support."

"We also hold that the moment any tax gives even what is called incidental protection it should be modified or repealed, as the profit which passes into the pockets of the local manufacturer through the continuance of the tax is bound to produce an interest in its retention, and it may be its extension, for the benefit of private individuals, and that all attempts at the imposition of taxes of a protective character should be resisted to the uttermost, and particularly in their initial stages, as we cannot afford to try experiments with such taxes, knowing full well that whenever they are once imposed they will never be repealed with the consent of the parties who have a directly selfish interest in their continuance."

"We also think that a purely revenue tariff is best designed for promoting the healthy development of our various resources and industries, and that we should do nothing in respect of taxation to encourage the people to follow other than natural laws, which we must do when we teach them to look for the interference of the State on behalf of industries which cannot be sustained without artificial support."

Mr. Burns speaks plainly, and the actual reforms to which we have alluded are sufficient proof of his sincerity. Of

almost greater interest, inasmuch as facts are on the whole more valuable than opinions, is his reference to a previous attempt at imposing protective duties in the Colony, and the actual consequences that ensued :—

"This is not the first time," he said, "we have had *ad valorem* duties in this Colony. They were adopted in December, 1865, and after an experience of eight years they were repealed towards the close of 1873. Then, as now, they diverted business from the Colony, and fostered all kinds of chicanery for the evasion of the duties, to the great disadvantage of the conscientious and honest trader. (Hear, hear.) Mr. George A. Lloyd, who moved and succeeded in carrying the repeal of the duties in 1873, summed up in a few words the evil results of his experience of them while he was a member of a Government. He said: 'The effect of these duties has been to hamper our trade and to drive a large portion of it into other channels. Every hon. member who has been engaged in business knows that seven or eight years ago we did a large trade with New Zealand, but since the imposition of these duties and other restrictions almost the whole of that trade has been lost. They have had a most baneful influence on the mercantile community, inasmuch as they have given rise to a system of demoralisation, the extent of which it is hardly possible to estimate.' If hon. members had an opportunity of knowing the extraordinary means which have been adopted by some houses to evade these imposts—(hear, hear)—they would, I am sure, admit that the existence of these imposts was an evil only to be tolerated in the most exceptional circumstances. There have been instances of men, honourable in all other respects, stating that if they did not resort to the expedients unscrupulously adopted by their fellow-tradesmen, they must inevitably be ruined, for it would be utterly impossible for them to compete in business if they paid the duty honestly on the full value with others who succeeded by false invoices and other dishonourable practices in getting their goods through the Customs, on the payment of less than half the duty. (Hear, hear.) The same facilities and temptations exist now for the evasion of the duties, and that they have prevented the investment of capital in the Colony, and interfered with the business of the distributing houses, and especially the transactions with Queensland, cannot be doubted. (Hear, hear.)

This staunch adherence to Free Trade in New South Wales is in striking contrast to the Protectionist Tariff of Victoria, with its long list of specific duties, and tax of 20 or 25 per cent. *ad valorem* upon many of the principal imports. We do not venture to pronounce an opinion as to which of the two is pursuing the wiser policy. The conditions of life in both are so similar, that it is difficult to believe both can be right in the diametrically opposite policies they have adopted. But there can be no doubt that whatever may be the effect upon her own internal economy, New South Wales has bestowed a generous boon upon the Mother Country, in throwing open to our merchants and manufacturers a practically free market for their goods to the value of £12,000,000 a year.

AN IMPERIAL CENSUS.

ACTION TAKEN BY THE LEAGUE.

THE Executive Committee of the League have determined to make strenuous efforts for procuring the consent of the authorities to taking the census of 1891 upon a uniform basis throughout the British Empire. The anomalies at present existing are so great that it is impossible to obtain uniform statistics for purposes of comparison in many of the most important heads of census returns. For example, we understand that there are no fewer than nine different methods of compiling the statistics of age in use in different parts of the Empire.

It will be obvious that India does not stand upon the same footing as Great Britain and her Colonies for census purposes, and although its inclusion would have been desirable if it were practicable, we shall be quite satisfied if we can secure uniform returns from the English-speaking peoples. It is upon the strength and progress of the dominant race that the welfare of the Empire depends; and it is scandalous in an age when the tabulation of statistics may be looked upon as a well-nigh perfect science that all calculations as to the united population of this great Empire should be falsified and confounded by neglect of uniform enumeration.

The correspondence which we publish to-day shows what has already been done by the League to set the ball rolling. The disposition of the authorities is evidently to give the matter full consideration, and if feasible to take

steps for the adoption of our suggestion. We have a powerful opponent to win over in the Registrar-General for England, Sir Brydges Henniker; but seeing that his arguments are chiefly based upon the difficulty of including India, we may fairly hope to convince him of the vast benefits that would accrue from a uniform census of the Colonies and the United Kingdom alone. The proportion of the population of India may be four-fifths of the whole population of the Empire, but for all practical purposes India is not upon the same plane with ourselves, with Australia, Canada, and South Africa. India is the jewel of the British Crown, which it is our duty, the duty of England and her Colonies, to guard and protect. Let us know the true strength of the guardians, and we can afford to remain in comparative ignorance about the wealth of our ward.

Sir Brydges Henniker alludes to the expense of a special Imperial Census Committee to collate the returns; but we do not ask for that. What we want is to have the returns presented in such a form that those taking an interest in the subject can themselves collate them. With the present diverse methods of census-taking, it would defy the skill of the ablest committee in the world to collate the returns; we ask that the various methods shall be so simplified and harmonised as to make it possible for any private person to summarise them who possesses an elementary knowledge of arithmetic.

No expense need be incurred by the public if the necessary arrangements are made betimes. No additional machinery need be set in motion; no additional statistics collected; no extra staff employed. All that is required is to collect the essential returns upon one system; to print the forms and tables upon one system; to ask the usual questions upon one system.

We do not believe that the scheme will be met with the opposition Sir Brydges Henniker fears; the Colonies are fully alive to the importance of knowing the truth about the population of the Empire; there is a growing tendency to concentrate the united forces of the Empire upon any question of the day; to consider it as one and indivisible in its relations with foreign States. In fact, all the considerations which have hitherto conducted to the collection of complete census returns for the United Kingdom may now be advanced with equal force in favour of adopting one system for the United Empire.

COLONISTS ON THE COMMERCIAL QUESTION.

STRONG speeches were made by some of the Colonial representatives who dined with the Fair Trade League after their annual meeting on April 28. Those who spoke on the occasion were Sir Samuel Griffith, Sir Graham Berry, Sir Robert Wisdom, and Mr. J. S. Dodds, and their views cannot fail to interest even those who disagree with them.

The question of a commercial union of the Empire is one that cannot much longer be kept in the background. What is in every one's heart will find expression in words and action before long. The closer the bonds of the Empire are drawn, the more distinct will appear the profundity of the gulf which at present separates England and her Colonies, each from each, in the matter of commercial intercourse. We do not think the time is yet quite ripe for a declaration as to how the gulf may best be bridged, but that it must and will be done somehow we are firmly convinced. Second only in importance to the wishes of the thirty millions of British subjects in England are the feelings of the ten millions in our Colonies. Before any definite action can be taken, the whole Empire must be agreed upon the policy to be pursued; but before that universal harmony can be inaugurated, an accurate comprehension of mutual needs and sentiments is indispensable.

It is because they furnish an important contribution to the sum of our knowledge concerning Colonial opinion, and because they represent powerful sections of their respective communities, that we desire to place on record the words of those Colonial statesmen to whom we have already alluded.

Sir Samuel Griffith began by asking whether the object of England's Free Trade were universal philanthropy? This was not the view taken in Australia, where men did not believe that the Government ought to recognise any

duty above the interest of their own country. He then proceeded to give his own opinion, as an Australian, concerning what might be done to improve the existing state of things. We reproduce his exact words:—

"I do not think that there will ever be a *zollverein* of the British possessions; it is quite impracticable, and I do not think it is desirable, for so many of the British possessions depend upon the customs for their revenue. But I maintain that if in any country it is desirable to establish a customs tariff, the duty ought to be higher to foreigners than to kith and kin. (Loud cheers.) I have no doubt that before many years are over that principle will be recognised as so axiomatic a truth that people will wonder that it has ever been ignored. (Cheers.) In Australia there is another fact which shows the inapplicability of the doctrine of universal philanthropy to practical politics. If the one great end of man be to buy in the cheapest market, then he ought to procure the cheapest labour. In Australia and other countries we have had an opportunity of seeing what buying in the cheapest market may mean from the competition of Chinese labour. (Hear, hear.) Our own people are accustomed to a certain degree of comfort and civilisation, and are unable to compete in labour with the Chinese, who are less civilised, and whose wages cannot maintain a higher condition of life. (Cheers.) This is another element in the great question of Free Trade. In America the people do not intend to substitute the Chinese civilisation for their own, nor do the colonists of Australia." (Cheers.)

Sir Robert Wisdom was the next speaker. By announcing himself to be a Free Trader, although, perhaps, the intelligence proved somewhat distasteful to the majority of the guests, he procured an amount of attention which might hardly have been accorded to a representative of a political minority in New South Wales. But Sir Robert Wisdom, in formal opposition to the Parkes Ministry, still retains sympathy with them on the subject of Free Trade; and Free Trade is, after all, the one subject upon which Sir H. Parkes got an unmistakable mandate from the country. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that Sir R. Wisdom, in spite of his Parliamentary opposition, is a fair representative of New South Wales feeling on the question of Free Trade. He says plainly, "I am a Free Trader," and adds significantly, "but I am at the same time open to conviction. I freely admit that there are many elements entering into the question of Free Trade which need consideration, and if I could be convinced that Fair Trade was the best, not for England alone, but for the whole of the British Empire, I should adopt those views."

Then came Sir Graham Berry, who is so well known as an advocate of Protection that a repetition of his views on the general question would be superfluous. Suffice it to say, that he attributed the "unexampled prosperity of Victoria" to the success with which he had himself combated the "orthodox view of so-called Free Trade."

Lastly, Mr. J. Stokell Dodds, representing Tasmania, made an interesting speech. He proclaimed himself to be a Free Trader, "with one qualification"—a very considerable one, moreover, for Mr. Dodds is apparently in favour of raising all revenue by means of customs duties. What would be thought in England of a man who called himself a Free Trader while proposing to substitute a high tariff on imports for our present system of taxation? Mr. Dodds asked one very pertinent question: "If," said he, "England were to extend to her Colonies exceptional advantages over the foreigner, would she not expect in the course of time reciprocal action, and that the Colonies should admit into their ports English manufactures free of duty?"

Now, this question received from those present two answers. Some shouted "No," and others "Preferential." Mr. Dodds wisely addressed himself to the former. He assured his audience that he was "glad to hear them say 'No,' for it would be an impossibility at the present time for the Colonies to do so." We are not about to discuss this matter now. But we would warn Mr. Dodds not to suppose for an instant that this country is going to make any more one-sided bargains; if this great subject ever comes within the range of practical politics, it can only be upon a fair basis of mutual advantage. The question of admitting British goods free of duty need never form part of the programme. But what must be insisted upon as an absolute essential of any alteration in the existing system is that neither England nor any one of the Colonies be called upon to make a pecuniary sacrifice in one direction without obtaining some compensating advantage in another.

THE EXTENSION OF INTERCOLONIAL COMMERCE.

THE proposal to establish some direct line of communication between Canada and Australia does not seem to be very welcome to the United States, judging from a recent article in an American trade journal upon the subject. Of course the writer's object is to prove that neither of the Colonies would benefit by the change, and that it is far better for all their business to pass through the hands of New York and Boston middlemen. But the uneasiness is too genuine to be concealed, and there is a curious admission which, judging by the general tone of the article, looks almost like a slip of the pen, when the writer confesses that "the establishment of a line of steamers between any Canadian port and the Australian Colonies would place our (United States) shipping houses at a decided disadvantage." This is equivalent to saying that there is a very considerable trade between the British Colonies which might be carried on by British ships. Instead of transit, warehouse, and harbour dues going to the United States they would be retained in Canada, and the case seems one in which patriotic and commercial considerations point in the same direction.

We are glad to find that Sir Robert Stout, Premier of New Zealand, to whose views on Federation we recently gave prominence, is taking this matter up, and has communicated to Sir John Macdonald his desire to improve and extend the trade of his Colony with Canada. Sir Robert Stout points out that New Zealand obtains many articles from the United States, which the Provinces of the Dominion could supply equally well; he finds that in exchange for these goods the exports from New Zealand to the United States are almost *nil*, and suggests that Canadian merchants might be able to encourage a trade in some of the products of New Zealand if that Colony were to obtain from them the supplies at present derived from the United States. Whether the proposal will be attended by any decided results it is impossible to say. But Sir Robert Stout deserves our congratulations for having taken the initiative in a matter so completely in accordance with the federal idea. He does not leave any room for doubt as to his object. At the conclusion of his letter he says:—"I have a strong feeling that the commercial intercourse between your great Dominion and the whole of Australasia should be encouraged. . . . I need not say that the binding together of the several parts of the Empire by commercial enterprise would be the best form that Imperial Federation can take for many years to come. . . . I intend to bring the subject before the Chambers of Commerce in New Zealand, in order to see if some enterprising merchants can work it out with some of your merchants, and initiate a trade so desirable as that between British North America and this Colony."

In other parts of the Empire the same tendency may be noted. It was said of the recent Conference that one of its results had been to acquaint the respective delegates with the fact that there were other Colonies in existence besides their own. The jesting remark may serve to illustrate the serious efforts now being inaugurated for promoting the extension of intercolonial trade. First we find New Zealand making overtures to Canada; turning to another quarter, Fiji may be observed proposing a reciprocal treaty with Victoria, and the Government of the latter Colony taking formal cognisance of the suggestion. These are signs of the times which cannot be disregarded, and indicate that it will no longer be sufficient for economists to base opinions touching the commerce of the Empire solely upon the relations between Great Britain and her Colonies. The commerce of one Colony with another is a factor which compels recognition, nor will any proposal for commercial union meet with success unless it satisfies the requirements of the Colonies in their dealings with one another as well as with the Mother Country.

THE Canadian Government has discontinued the bonus certificates offered for the past two or three years to emigrants proceeding to British Columbia. The bonuses were given owing to the additional cost of reaching the Pacific Province compared with other parts of the Dominion, and especially in consequence of the fact that until quite recently passengers have had to travel by way of the United States. Now, however, through rates are quoted by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

MANSION HOUSE BANQUET TO MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

SPEECHES BY LORD ROSEBERRY, SIR H. HOLLAND,
MR. STANHOPE, AND THE SPEAKER.

THE representatives at the Imperial Conference were entertained at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor on May 4th, when a brilliant company of 350 guests assembled to do honour to the Colonial Delegates. The speeches were of a particularly interesting character, and pervaded by the spirit of Imperial Federation throughout. The Earl of Rosebery, Chairman of the League, Mr. Stanhope, our Vice-Chairman, and Sir Henry Holland, a member of the Executive Committee, were the principal speakers, and their words will be read with keen interest by all members of the League. Sir Reginald Hanson struck the right chord in proposing "The Defensive Forces of the Empire," instead of the usual toast of the Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces. He desired to give a wider signification, he said, to the toast, and one that would include the forces of the whole Empire. Subsequent speakers adopted a similar tone in rising above the narrow boundaries of the United Kingdom into the freer atmosphere of Imperial politics in the widest sense of the word. The speeches were of such importance that we need make no apology for the following extracts. After referring to the valuable services rendered in the cause of Imperial defence by Lord Carnarvon's Commission, and to what had already been done by Canada in the matter,

MR. STANHOPE said,

"We have had evidence within the last few days of the spirit in which the Australian Colonies have approached the subject of their own defence. They have not grudged money, they have given every possible energy towards putting their defences into the most perfect state which modern science allows; and in mentioning the name of my colleague, Sir James Lorimer, Minister of Defence for Victoria, I name one of those statesmen who has endeavoured to master—and I know he has succeeded—the main conditions under which that defence should be undertaken.

"We are satisfied that there is now a perfect agreement between the Cape and the Imperial Government towards carrying out the adequate defence of Table Bay. (Cheers.) I do not think it is possible to exaggerate the importance of this link in our ocean communications, and I believe that the time is not far distant—I believe it is very close—when we shall be able to point the fact that all the main lines of the commerce of this Empire are adequately connected and defended. (Cheers.)

"We of the Imperial Government, who are determined to strive for the fulfilment of this object, will cordially welcome any result so happy, because we believe that in Imperial defence, properly so called, is to be found the permanent peace of the Empire, and the extension of the commerce of which we are all so proud." (Cheers.)

WELCOME IN THE NAME OF ENGLAND.

The LORD MAYOR then proposed the toast of the evening. He said that it had been remarked that the Conference was suggested during the *régime* of one political party, and had been carried into effect during the *régime* of another. That fact showed that there was no party feeling in the Parliament of England with regard to the wish that the bonds of union between our Colonies and ourselves should be drawn closer. In the name of the Corporation, and he believed in the name of the English people, he bid his Colonial guests a hearty welcome.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND responded first on behalf of the Conference. It is gratifying to hear from the lips of the President that he believes in its success, and the emphasis he laid upon the words "*this first Conference*" are of good omen for the future. He spoke as follows:—

A MEETING FOR BUSINESS.

"Although I am proud—and wish always to be proud—of having presided over this assembly of eminent men, statesmen of Greater Britain, yet the success of the Conference—and I believe in that success—is due not to any efforts that I have made, but to the tact, intelligence, loyalty, and business-like way in which the Colonial delegates have done their work. (Cheers.) We had no rules of procedure, no *clôture*, no half-past 12 rule (laughter); but then, on the other hand, we had no blocking or obstruction. (Cheers.) We had full and frank discussion, which brought out all the details and salient points of every question; but I will venture to say, looking back upon the Conference and its meetings, I cannot remember when one unnecessary word was spoken, except by the President. I have said that

I believe this Conference to have been successful, and I think it has been successful whether we look at the actual work done, the practical outcome of the Conference, or whether we look at it in the light of more general results." (Cheers.)

THE DOWNING STREET DEMON LAID.

"As to the wider and more general results of the Conference, I think it is a good thing to have brought the heads of our principal departments—my friend Mr. Stanhope, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Stanley of Preston, Mr. Raikes, and others—face to face with the leading men from all parts of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) And it is a good thing also that these leading men should learn their views and by what principles Her Majesty's Government are actuated in the proceedings they have taken. (Cheers.) In regard to any great Colonial question, there used to be an impression—I hope it has been tolerably well dispelled by this time—that the Secretary of State for the Colonies was a kind of Downing Street demon (laughter), placed in office on purpose to thwart all the wishes and aspirations of the Colonies. Well, on closer examination—and there has been a very close examination this year—the Downing Street demon has turned out to be like other ghosts and bogies—a very common creature of flesh and blood. (Laughter.) Speaking for myself, so long as I hold that office I earnestly trust that the Colonial Governments will believe that they have one who thoroughly and heartily sympathises with their wishes, one who is heartily desirous, as far as possible, to meet those wishes and aspirations consistently with the Imperial interests. (Cheers.) And let me say this, that to that limitation there has been on the part of the Colonial delegates a most hearty and loyal adherence. (Hear, hear.) They have recognised that they are fellow-subjects with us of Her Majesty, and that in certain cases the main interests of the Empire must be looked to."

THE COLONIES FRATERNISING.

"I would like also to observe that I think a further good has arisen from this Conference, and that is, that not only have the delegates been brought into touch with the statesmen of this country, but they have been brought into touch with each other. (Cheers.) Australasia, South Africa, Canada, Newfoundland, have all met round a table and have interchanged their views. We have heard a good deal lately about a round table; but I may claim that the discussions at the Conference table have led to material results which I am not prepared to attribute to the discussions at the round table. (Laughter.) There has been a free interchange of feelings, and a full and frank discussion which must lead to good; and I will conclude by saying that it has been a pride and a source of pleasure to me to have contributed, however humbly, to this first Conference in the Jubilee year of Her Majesty." (Cheers.)

CANADA PROUD OF THE EMPIRE

SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL said he felt it a very high honour to return thanks in that hall for the Colonial Conference. The members of that Conference were sent by their respective Governments with the utmost willingness to meet the wishes of the then Secretary for the Colonies. There never was a Conference presided over with greater patience, ability, and success than that of which SIR H. HOLLAND was the president. (Cheers.) The Conference had dealt with many subjects. He trusted that Canada had obtained in the eyes of the Empire that reputation which she had striven for years to obtain. The Conference had given the Colonies the opportunity of knowing each other, and it had given them an opportunity, which he was delighted to take advantage of, of respecting each other and of assisting in the exertions of the Empire. (Cheers.)

UNION IS EVERYTHING.

The EARL OF ROSEBERRY, in the course of his speech, responding for the House of Lords, said:—

"I feel this is an historic occasion, and I would it were earlier in the evening. But if I might say one word, dictated by my earnest interest in this Conference, it would be that, to my mind, viewing as I do the interest of the Colonies as an Imperial, and not as a Colonial or local interest, their future and their present policy lies rather in the direction of union than of separation. (Cheers.) For I hold that the natural tendency in the Anglo-Saxon race is to develop, and that it will take care of itself. But in an Empire larger than that which Charles V. ever ruled over, an Empire of so many regions and of such scattered populations, union is a greater necessity than anything. (Cheers.) After all, we need not fear for any countrymen of ours that they will fail to occupy whatever position may fall upon them; but in the career of an Empire like ours, as in all great careers, much self-control is no less necessary than ambition. (Hear, hear.) We have plenty of ambition; we need some of the self-control. By self-control I do not mean the self-control which is alluded to by the French proverb that

says, 'You should draw back in order to be able to leap the better;' but that which enables you to plant yourself firmly in the ground, so that you may mark, or leap, or strike the easier as you may prefer." (Cheers.)

ENGLAND GLORIES IN HER COLONIES.

The SPEAKER of the House of Commons said :—

"If I may for one moment dare to speak in the name of the Commons of England, I would say to those statesmen who are assembled in Conference—in the Conference initiated by the wise prescience of Mr. Stanhope, and presided over by my friend Sir Henry Holland with a wisdom and statesmanship to which much testimony has been borne to-night—I would say to those gentlemen that we, the Commons of England, nay more, every man and woman in England who has a heart to feel or any imagination that is not bounded by merely insular considerations, that we glory in their growth, that we rejoice and grow young again in the spectacle of their youth, and that we see with satisfaction deeply felt the mighty offspring of the Mother Country carrying the instincts and bearing the traditions of the Mother race into the remotest corners of the earth." (Loud cheers.)

MIGRATE AND FEDERATE.

IN the discussion which followed Mr. Baden Powell's paper on Colonial Securities, on May 10th, many very interesting things were said. Sir William Fitzherbert made an admirable speech, in which occurred the following fine passage on Emigration :—

"At my time of life, and after nearly half a century of endeavour to build up institutions similar to those which are our glory, and have been that of those who have gone before, I tell you plainly that there are too many of you in this country, and I am grieved to think that while there are Colonies in which the English language is spoken, where English institutions are abundant, where there is free education of a most excellent character, and where that love of liberty prevails which, thank God, is inherent in the British race, you still stop here, and even find it difficult to get enough to eat and to drink. Why do you do so? Is it because you are afraid of a sea voyage? Well, you might with reason have been afraid to undertake the journey fifty years ago; but under present conditions, if this consideration has any weight with you, I say you are unworthy of your great countrymen who, two centuries ago, made these islands what they are; and I maintain that the people of this country should call upon their leaders and rulers to assist them to promote in some effectual manner a steady stream of emigration from these shores every year."

Mr. Edward Langton, late Minister of Finance in Victoria, also made a valuable contribution to the debate. We have no space to reproduce his weighty statements upon the security of Colonial investments, but he wound up with a fine outburst of loyalty to the Empire which we cannot refrain from quoting :—

"Now, if there is one thing that Parliament can do it is to recognise that the soil of the British Colonies is British soil; and though there was some talk a few years ago among certain politicians that we Australian and Canadian Colonists might go, if we liked, I assure you—and I speak the unanimous opinion of the people of Victoria when I say it—that we do not intend to go; that we value our birthright too highly to think of going; that we consider your glorious traditions and history belong to us as much as to you; and that we would retain the charter of freedom and justice which is ours by birth, and hand it down to our children as the best heritage we can leave them."

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

MR. G. BADEN-POWELL, M.P., read a valuable paper on the above subject before the Royal Colonial Institute on May 10th. We extract the following passages, which are of special interest :—

COLONIAL AND FOREIGN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES COMPARED.

For many years I have carefully watched this subject, and I know that estimates have been made of total sums placed in such investments, but I have not yet discovered any exact and reliable statistics of such amounts. Happily for our present purposes, what we need are relative rather than positive figures, and here that much-abused institution the income-tax comes to our aid. The Commissioners of Inland Revenue have from time to time issued valuable analyses of the amount of dividends and annuities charged under Schedule C on stocks of the British, the Indian, the Colonial, and the Foreign Governments respectively. I have made a careful comparison of the figures so recorded for the two years 1872-73 and 1883-84. It is well worth while further to analyse these interesting records of the Income-Tax Commissioners :—

Where Invested.	Income Returned.			Income Tax Paid.		
	1873.	1884.	Increase or Decrease.	1873, 4d. in the £.	1883, 5d. in the £.	Percentage of total 1873-1883.
United Kingdom	21,161,000	20,195,000	— 966,000	353,000	420,000	53 49
India	7,026,000	7,152,000	+ 126,000	118,000	153,000	18 18
Colonies	2,838,000	6,445,000	+ 3,607,000	47,000	136,000	6 16
Foreign Countries	9,340,000	6,782,000	— 2,558,000	156,000	142,000	22 17
Totals	40,365,000	40,575,000	+ 214,000	674,000	851,000	100 100

ANALYSIS OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

It was not until Her Majesty had reigned fifteen or twenty years that the Colonies took, as it were, a new lease of life, and in their new-born energy began to attract on their own account the capital of the investors of the United Kingdom. I group the Colonies under four general categories, and find that the totals of the Colonial Government Loans have been as follows :—

Colony.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1885.
Australasia	58,000	11,878,000	39,040,000	96,132,000	140,897,000
Crown Colonies	892,000	1,920,000	3,663,000	5,606,000	6,303,000
North America	4,213,000	14,263,000	16,890,000	32,655,000	54,000,000
South Africa	nil	615,000	1,850,000	14,892,000	25,134,000
Totals	5,163,000	28,676,000	61,443,000	149,285,000	226,634,000

COLONIAL ASSETS.

In regard to the annual account, the following is a summary statement :—

Colonies.	Annual Charges for Debt.	Total Revenue.
Australasia	5,736,000	24,000,000
Crown Colonies	164,000	5,400,000
North America	1,273,000	7,124,000
South Africa	1,356,000	3,991,000
Total	8,529,000	40,515,000

In answer to the question, What security is there that the Colonies can pay the interest on and ensure the repayment of the capital they borrow? we have the fact that of that capital three-fourths has been expended on works which already yield sufficient net returns to supply interest and sinking fund, and a large proportion of which are saleable assets. Beyond this there are Government revenues and resources yielding annually more than one-quarter of the total liabilities.

RELATIONS TO MOTHER COUNTRY.

I feel that I have trespassed too long on the indulgence of the audience, but before I close I ask leave to refer to another debt owed by the Colonies, and one which they have clearly explained they never will repudiate. It is a debt which cannot be stated in £ s. d., nor in any such repayment expected or desired. It is simply a debt of true gratitude for the ungrudging assistance rendered by the Mother Country to all our Colonies in the days of their youth, aye, and of their infancy.

It may, however, be desirable to sum up this assistance. The British taxpayer has freely given direct and special financial aid to found the Empire. But let me not be misunderstood. The British taxpayer did so at the very outset entirely in his own interests, and from motives of pride in the coming greatness of his nation. Much of the existing National Debt represents the expense of laying the foundations of the Empire. The Cape Colony and British Guiana came into the Empire in exchange for a capital sum of £6,000,000 paid to Holland. Then, in wars and repression of insurrections, it may be interesting to remember how much has been spent of the British taxpayer's money, although in this case, again, his money was expended to carry out his own policy, or to make good defects and evils consequent on the policy he had previously adopted.

The historical record of special military expenditure within our own frontiers during the last 50 years reads as follows :—

Canadian insurrection	1840-44	£950,000
Kaffir War	1849-54	2,060,000
New Zealand War	1866	760,000
Ashantee War	1874-75	925,000
South African wars	1878-80	4,750,000
Transvaal and Zulu War	1880	2,300,000
Bechuanaland Expedition	1885	1,500,000
Total		£13,245,000

Other special expenditure was incurred in the Indian Mutiny, the Abyssinian Expedition—which cost £8,000,000—and more recently in Egypt and in special preparations in view of war scares, all in support of the prestige and the power of the Empire.

In addition to this, there has been a normal net expenditure of £2,000,000 a year for military purposes in the smaller Colonies. The British taxpayer has never grudged money to keep the British fleet efficient, and now he is freely granting what may be necessary to provide coaling stations and other defences.

All this marks his stubborn determination to keep inviolate and inviolable the whole of the British Empire, and it is this determination to strike when need arises that has won respect for the territorial integrity of the Empire, and for the lives and properties of its citizens. The sense of security has been at the

foundation of the financial credit the Colonies now enjoy, and it is a foundation which no one in the Mother Country will care or dare to disturb or weaken.

I trust that the analysis I have made, however dry and tedious, will at all events prove this: that, in addition to the iron links which steamers and railways and telegraph cables have set up to bind our Empire into commercial union; in addition to the silken threads of community in traditions, history, aspirations, and religion, which bind up the Empire in enduring political union—we must not fail to appreciate at their true value those golden links of capital and credit which bind the Colonies to the Mother Country and the Mother Country to the Colonies in that financial union which is the very life-blood of commercial progress and industrial prosperity.

APPENDIX B. STATISTICS OF COLONIAL GROWTH.

Colonies.	Annual Totals (in thousands).				
	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1885.
Population—					
Australasia	506	1,266	1,925	2,743	3,364
Crown Colonies ..	2,930	3,937	5,126	5,161	5,793
North America ..	2,491	3,320	3,833	4,504	4,919
South Africa	406	520	872	1,123	1,696
Totals £	6,333	9,052	11,746	13,531	15,792
Revenue—					
Australasia	2,939	6,774	9,737	20,606	23,573
Crown Colonies ..	1,776	2,850	4,178	5,311	5,421
North America ..	1,630	2,539	4,661	8,391	7,124
South Africa	318	863	861	3,519	3,991
Totals £	6,663	13,026	19,437	37,827	40,109
Shipping—					
Australasia	1,767	2,895	4,394	9,504	14,614
Crown Colonies ..	4,849	8,649	18,388	35,943	46,605
North America ..	3,756	5,736	6,236	8,749	8,235
South Africa	475	661	402	2,290	1,999
Totals tons	10,847	17,941	29,420	56,486	71,453
External Trade—					
Australasia	8,960	51,222	64,658	101,078	115,838
Crown Colonies ..	16,415	26,713	52,045	63,052	68,225
North America ..	12,719	24,565	39,278	45,420	43,103
South Africa	2,472	5,063	7,717	16,890	14,122
Totals £	48,566	107,543	163,708	226,501	241,288
Government Securities—					
Australasia	58	11,878	39,040	96,132	140,897
Crown Colonies ..	892	1,920	3,663	5,608	6,303
North America ..	4,213	14,263	16,890	32,653	54,000
South Africa	0	615	1,850	14,892	25,434
Totals £	5,163	28,676	61,443	149,285	226,634
Grand Totals in millions £	78	176	286	484	595

NOTE.—At recent rate of growth, estimated grand totals for 1891=870; for 1901=1,560.

APPENDIX C. PURPOSES FOR WHICH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT LOANS HAVE BEEN EXPENDED.

Colonies.	Amount (in thousands) up to 1885.							
	Expended upon.							
	Railways.		Other Public Works.		Immigration.		Wars, Deficits, and other charges.	
	Total.	Per Cent. of Total.	Total.	Per Cent. of Total.	Total.	Per Cent. of Total.	Total.	Per Cent. of Total.
Australasia ..	87,220	62	35,242	25	4,855	3.5	13,580	9.5
Crown Colonies	2,707	43	2,430	38	610	10	556	9
North America	36,500	67	13,250	25	Nil.	..	4,250	8
South Africa ..	17,100	67	5,388	21	410	2	2,536	10
Totals ..	143,527	64	56,310	24	5,875	3	20,922	9

NOTE.—These amounts do not give the absolute total expenditure on the several items, because large and varying amounts are spent, in addition, out of current revenue.

FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT PETERBOROUGH, CANADA.

ABOUT one hundred gentlemen assembled in the Opera House of Peterborough, on April 12th, to consider the Imperial Federation scheme, and the propriety of forming a Branch in that town.

The chair was taken by the Mayor, MR. STEVENSON, who read a telegram from Mr. Lyman, of Montreal, congratulating Peterborough upon the formation of the Branch, and wishing it success. Letters were also read from Mr. J. Castell Hopkins and Mr. Douglass, regretting their inability to be present. MR. J. H. LONG then addressed the meeting, who, after a few preliminary remarks, said that the fundamental principle intended to be taught by the League was that the British Empire

was too valuable and too important to fall to pieces, and its integrity must be retained at all hazards. (Applause.) He thought it was especially necessary that the people of Canada should cultivate this spirit. If Canada were to leave the Empire, Australia would follow suit, and then the Cape Colonies—and without these important adjuncts the British Empire would be shorn of a great part of her glory. Annexation would be bad for the Dominion, but worse for Great Britain. In connection with that, it seemed to be assumed that as soon as the majority of the people of Canada expressed for annexation, then the minority would have to yield. That blind doctrine he didn't believe in. A Canadian was born with an allegiance to the old country, and every Canadian he held responsible to God for the retention of that allegiance. (Applause.) There was really no difference between annexation and independence— independence was only a stepping-stone to annexation; therefore, the question was, whether they should be a part of the British Empire or of the United States. They should be careful to disseminate a knowledge of what the British Empire was, and this Imperial Federation League was intended for the purpose. When they remembered the vastness and power of the British Empire, they would be very foolish not to stand by its integrity. The Dominion had been built up by the shedding of blood, and they had no right to barter away so precious a birthright for a mess of pottage. (Applause.) Another wrong impression about this Imperial Federation scheme was that it would interfere with local questions.

The speaker then read the constitution of the League, and the instructions regarding the formation of Branches. He called the attention of the audience to the immense amount of League literature printed, which contained a good deal of historical, statistical, and geographical information, which they would be happy to distribute. It was hoped that those interested in the scheme would hand in their names that night. The fundamental principles of the League were:—No interference with local concerns at all; no distinction of party or creed; its object to be the cultivation of a love for the British Empire and a dissemination of knowledge in relation thereto.

MR. BRADSHAW thoroughly endorsed the language of Mr. Long. In this year of Jubilee it would be a good idea to take up the cultivation of a spirit of loyalty and a knowledge of the connection between the two countries. The question naturally arose, why should this Imperial Federation scheme be promulgated? There were some who advocated independence, while others talked secession. There were then two phases of the matter. Should it be annexation (or independence), or a continuance of their relations with the British Empire? Certainly neither annexation nor independence was wanted. Federation was wanted for mutual protection, and in connection with that some had the idea that Federation meant taxation—and with them the mighty dollar answered for loyalty. If Federation would induce increased taxation by the Colonies having to assist each other, it would be cried down by them. But if they were one body, and one of their members was unfortunate, why should not the rest stand a share of the burden? A council of representatives from each Colony could have much influence in preserving the integrity of the British Empire. Mr. Bradshaw referred to the trouble over islands in the Pacific Ocean and New Guinea, in which the action of the Colonies adjacent had been the means of securing them to the Empire. England was beginning to consider that the Colonies were not such small fry, and the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Government which had built it, had not done a little towards opening the eyes of the British to their importance. They would be recreant to their trust if they did not establish a Branch of the League, and he hoped such a Branch would be formed that night.

After some further discussion, MR. LONG moved, seconded by MR. ERSKINE, that a Branch of the League be formed in Peterborough.

On the question being put to the audience, it was unanimously carried.

MR. LONG then asked those gentlemen who wished to join to come forward and hand in their names. Thirty-six responded to the call, after which the meeting adjourned.

We are glad to hear that within a few days after the meeting the numbers of the Branch had already increased to fifty.

UNDER the title of "England and her Colonies," MESSRS. SONNENSCHN & Co. have just published some of the best essays upon Imperial Federation among those submitted to the London Chamber of Commerce in their recent prize competition. The prize essay, by MR. WILLIAM GRESWELL, who is, of course, a member of the League, and those written by MR. J. C. FITZGERALD, MR. W. J. BRADSHAW, MR. F. H. TURNCOCK and MR. C. V. SMITH, comprise the volume. CANON DALTON has, we regret to find, decided not to permit the inclusion of his essay, which, as our readers will remember was among those honourably mentioned.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

JUNE, 1887.

PRECEDENTS ESTABLISHED BY THE CONFERENCE.

AFTER a session of just a month the Imperial Conference closed on May 9th. Leaving for another opportunity the consideration of the actual results achieved in connection with the business proposed for discussion, we wish to point out some important constitutional innovations for which precedents have been established during the brief period of its sittings. It may, perhaps, hereafter be found that the Conference will take that high place in our annals which all are agreed in assigning to it, rather from the fact that it marks the commencement of a new era in the mode of administering Imperial affairs, than because it has been the means of executing large measures of practical reform. In a sequence of events, the first is seldom the most momentous; but it is justly remembered and recorded, when much that has developed from it is forgotten, as containing one of those epoch-making, creative impulses without which history would have coursed through other channels.

The rank and dignity which the Imperial Conference has assumed is rightly due to the leader of a sequence culminating in Imperial Federation. It has been the privilege of this Conference to be the pioneer assembly. Until April 4, 1887, the possibility of consolidating the Empire was an academic problem and nothing more. Men argued this way and that on the subject, but they could not claim for their theories the evidence of a single direct experiment. The best that could be said was that in other Empires, and in one portion of our own, consolidation had been found practicable, but the induction was hopelessly fragmentary and incomplete.

It will be obvious how great an advance has now been made. We are at last enabled to point to an actual attempt at consolidating the whole British Empire. The experiment is tentative and partial, but it is the first of the

kind, and for that reason of priceless value. As might have been expected, not only have old difficulties and doubts been finally resolved, but some entirely new facts are revealed.

The existence of the Conference has been destructive of numerous errors, and constructive of useful precedents for future action. It was asserted that the Colonies would view the idea with suspicion, and either refuse to join, or send delegates of inferior rank and calibre. This was the first error to be exploded. It vanished as soon as the news had time to reach England, that Mr. Stanhope's despatch was universally approved, and that the representatives would either be the prime ministers themselves or high cabinet officials of the various Colonial Governments. Then, again, fears were expressed that a deliberative Conference could come to no good, and that all practical issues would be swamped by a flood of talk. This error was disproved at the very first sitting, when it was seen that discussion was confined to terse and pointed comments upon the business immediately in hand. Another mistake was made as to the attitude the Home Government would assume; there were at one time grave anxieties lest the Colonial Office, jealous of its privileges, should successfully interpose to prevent a free exchange of opinions between the delegates and the Ministry. We had reason to believe that this anxiety was not unfounded, and we felt it our duty to aid in bringing public opinion to bear upon the Government for the avoidance of such a disaster. Fortunately, our efforts produced the desired result, as the names of Ministers who on various occasions attended the sittings are sufficient to testify. We rejoice to find that the prevailing suspicion, in which we ourselves shared, has turned out a mistake. The last error to which we shall call attention lay in the belief that each delegate would be impatient of discussion upon topics not immediately concerning his own Colony, and that combination of their varied interests would be impossible. But we are assured by those who were present that the liveliest desire was exhibited by all to thrash out the questions submitted to them upon a broad and unselfish basis, and as for the combination of interests, we need only repeat a remark made to us by one of the representatives, that he doubted whether another Conference would meet next year, as enough had been done to occupy the Colonial Parliaments at least a twelvemonth in the execution.

The dispersion of these errors may be utilised for the statement of the converse propositions. We are now justified in laying down four axioms. First, that all parts of the Empire view with favour the idea of joint discussion upon Imperial affairs. Secondly, that members of Colonial Governments are ready to assemble in London for the purpose. Thirdly, that the Home Government can partake in the Conference upon an equal footing. Fourthly, that discussion by a body of men representing the most diverse sections of the Empire can be temperately and wisely conducted to their mutual advantage.

The utility of these facts will be at once apparent when we consider how difficult it is to take the initiative in such a matter. It is well known that long and anxious thought preceded the summoning of the first Conference, and that it would never have been convened at all, had not the Government been urged to the step by pressure from without. But henceforward there will be no difficulty in repeating the summons whenever the state of affairs demands another session; it will be impossible any longer for Ministers to plead, as an excuse for neglecting to avail themselves of the wisdom of their Colonial colleagues, that the experiment might be dubious in its results. A great deal has thus been gained beyond dispute; but the Conference has done more than this. Not only has it solved the problem of success or failure in the sense most favourable to the hopes of Federationists, but by its discussions some new features have been developed, full of promise for the future.

The Conference has quite unexpectedly shown the ease with which the recommendations of an Imperial Deliberative Assembly can be carried into effect by executive bodies throughout the Empire. So much stress was laid from the first upon the purely consultative functions of the delegates, that this result caused general surprise. The process was not very complicated; the question under consideration was Australian defence; the delegates discussed it and came to

an agreement as to what was required; they telegraphed for the sanction of their respective Governments, and received that sanction subject to the subsequent approval of their Parliaments. Practically, therefore, the question is settled. The secret of this remarkable achievement appears to us to lie in the fact that each delegate received his commission from the dominant party in his Colony; he knew the lines on which his Government was willing to proceed, and was thereby enabled to speak with authority, and saved from assenting to anything unacceptable to his Ministry. On the other hand, that Ministry knew that the delegate would do his utmost to realise its wishes, and sanctioned the arrangement agreed upon, with confidence in its being the best procurable. Thus the successful raising of the necessary funds is ensured, the Ministry representing the majority in the Colonial Parliament, who have the power of the purse. Herein may be perceived the germ of an Imperial Council, fraught with boundless possibilities for the common weal. We believe it will be found to contain the solution of the hardest problem of Imperial Federation—namely, how to secure unity of administration upon a representative basis.

Another highly suggestive feature should not escape notice. It was found practicable to hold what might be called departmental sittings, attended only by the delegates of a few Colonies, for the discussion of particular questions in which they had a special interest. As an instance in point, it will be remembered that the South African delegates from Cape Colony and Natal had more than one special consultation with the representatives of the Home Government. The occurrence should serve to remind us that besides local affairs, which are properly administered by each Colony, and Imperial affairs, which concern the whole Federation, there is a large class of questions which may affect certain groups within the Empire, and demand the exercise of Federal authority upon a limited and partial scale. Legitimate subjects of Federal action on the part of England and Canada, England and Australia, or Canada and Australia, may frequently have no interest for the rest of the Empire, but it is of the highest importance that some machinery be devised for facilitating these and similar combinations, without clashing either with Imperial unity or local autonomy. The Conference, as we have said, has indicated the feasibility of such arrangements, and there ought to be no difficulty in defining gradually the limits of purely Imperial affairs, leaving the rest to be dealt with by the countries interested. By this means one of the gravest dangers of a Federation would be averted, for none of the members would have the opportunity of undue interference in matters outside their own sphere.

In conclusion, the brief duration of the Conference demands one word. The delegates knew beforehand that the session would not exceed a few weeks, but none of them demurred on that account to undertaking their long journey. Does not this prove that if ever the time came when a regularly-constituted Imperial Assembly were to meet in London, no difficulty would be experienced in procuring the presence of the most distinguished citizens of the Empire who might be called upon to serve, whether the session were at intervals of three years, or two, or one? Distance is clearly not considered by Her Majesty's loyal subjects, when they are summoned together for the good of their Queen and her dominions.

THE HISTORY OF THE NEW HEBRIDES DIFFICULTY.

THE condition of affairs in the New Hebrides is thoroughly unsatisfactory. So far back as 1878 the French Government raised the question of the independence of the islands, and stated that as they had themselves no intentions with regard to the group, they would be glad to receive a similar assurance from Her Majesty's Government. This request was ostensibly based upon certain articles in Australian newspapers advocating the annexation of the New Hebrides to Great Britain. Lord Derby, with the concurrence of Sir M. Hicks Beach, Secretary of State for the Colonies, promptly gave the required assurance that the Government "had no intention of proposing any measures to Parliament with a view to changing the condition of independence

which the New Hebrides then enjoyed." No further communications on the subject appear to have taken place until 1883, when the French Government, alarmed at the continued agitation by the Australian press in favour of annexation, obtained from Lord Granville a reiteration of the statement made in 1878. It should be noted that in this year a petition was forwarded to Her Majesty, signed by a number of New Hebridean chiefs, demanding annexation, which petition is said to have been prompted by a certain Mr. Thomas; this no doubt contributed to the renewed apprehension of the French Government.

The year 1883 marks an epoch in the history of the question. Hitherto we have seen that it was the French who professed to fear British annexation; their anxiety was not, perhaps, altogether unreasonable, for in a letter, printed among the proceedings of the Federal Convention at Sydney in 1883, Mr. J. G. Paton, senior missionary of the New Hebrides Mission, said:—"The sympathy of the natives are all with Great Britain, hence they long for British protection; while they fear and hate the French, who appear eager to annex the group, because they have seen the way the French have treated the native races of New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, and other South Sea Islands. Till within the past few months, almost all the Europeans on the New Hebrides were British subjects, who long for British protection. All the men and all the money used in civilising and Christianising the New Hebrides have been British."

This letter marks the turning-point; it contains, to our mind, evidence that the French had reasonable grounds for suspicion prior to 1883, and also that they henceforward set themselves to annex the islands on their own behalf. From that year up to the present time, it is from Australia and Great Britain that the protests against annexation have emanated; it is our Government which has been seeking assurances from the French, and which has signally failed to obtain any satisfactory answer.

The French occupation of the islands which has superseded British influence, differs from it in the important point of being supported by the Government, and by the presence of French troops, instead of being confined to the individual efforts of private persons. The latter was a legitimate influence acceptable to the natives; the former is hateful and compulsory. The latter was compatible with the independence of the group; the former is a distinct violation of an international engagement.

The agitation in Australia has continued to increase in strength, as proofs of the French resolve to annex the New Hebrides have grown and multiplied. In April, 1885, Lord Derby, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, having received a protest from the Presbyterian Church in South Australia, replied that any proposal having for its object the annexation of the New Hebrides to France would never be entertained without consulting the Australian Colonies, and without securing conditions satisfactory to those Colonies. The importance of the promise contained in Lord Derby's despatch was soon to be revealed. In February, 1886, an agreement was reported between Germany and France, delimiting their possessions in the South Seas, in which Germany engaged to do nothing calculated to prevent France occupying the New Hebrides. The news was telegraphed to the Federal Council of Australasia, then sitting at Hobart, and an address to the Queen was immediately adopted by it, stating that "Her Majesty's loyal subjects in Australia had always taken an especial interest in those islands, and regarded it as a matter of grave importance to the Australasian Colonies, that they should not fall under any foreign dominion." The address also referred to the assurance conveyed in Lord Derby's despatch in which the Federal Council asserted their full reliance.

Whether this Franco-German agreement did actually contain the objectionable provision or not, it is certain that almost simultaneously a proposal was made to Lord Rosebery as Foreign Secretary, that France would discontinue the transportation of criminals to the Pacific, if she might take the New Hebrides. The Australian Colonies, to whom, in accordance with Lord Derby's despatch, the matter was referred, promptly refused their consent, and the offer of the French Government was declined in consequence.

Notwithstanding this, in June, 1886, French troops were landed upon the islands, and they are there to this day.

It seems impossible that the matter can remain *in statu quo* much longer. We understand that the views of the Colonies were vigorously expressed at the Imperial Conference, and that they showed in unmistakable language the importance they attached to the subject. Lord Harrowby raised the question in the House of Lords, on May 2nd, and urged the Government "for the sake of the natives, for the sake of our Imperial and commercial interests, and for the sake of our good faith in public international agreements," to enforce a speedy settlement of the dispute. His temperate and able survey of the successive stages of the occupation was unanswerable. Lord Salisbury could only bring forward empty assurances made by France that no definite character ought to be attached to the occupation. His argument in attributing the presence of French troops to the occurrence of outrages in the islands seems to us singularly weak. If the outrages occurred at all, which is problematical, Lord Salisbury himself assigns them to 1885; but the French troops did not disembark until June, 1886, although when they were landed it was from the vessels on the station. At all events, they cannot be accused of undue haste in their desire to protect the inhabitants from further outbreaks!

If France continues to disregard the sacredness of her engagement, and persists in establishing herself permanently in the New Hebrides, it will become necessary for us to decide whether we intend to treat the question as a *casus belli*. In the present article we have simply endeavoured to place on record the facts which have induced the existing difficulty. We reserve for another opportunity the consideration of whether the New Hebrides are worth fighting for, in the earnest hope that the negotiations now in progress may be conducted to an honourable conclusion, and so all danger may be averted of an issue so disastrous to the interests of both parties to the dispute.

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC STEAMSHIP SUBSIDY.

THE important debate in the House of Lords upon the desirability of subsidising a line of ocean steamers from Vancouver to Hong Kong shows how keen an interest has at length been aroused in England concerning communication with the remotest parts of the Empire. As is usual, whenever matters bearing upon Federation are discussed, leading men of both parties were to be seen united in urging the Government forward. Lord Granville, Lord Carnarvon, and Lord Harrowby (who introduced the debate by a motion for papers) brought forward powerful arguments in favour of granting the request of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The service it is proposed to establish consists of three parts: a new and swift route from England to Canada, in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway trans-continental route, from the terminus of which at Vancouver a line of fast steamers will ply to Yokohama and China, with extensions as may be required to India and Australia. Concurrently, an independent British cable is to be laid down from Vancouver to New Zealand or Sydney, *via* the Sandwich Islands, and thus the chain of our communications round the world will be complete. The question arises whether the enterprise is one that deserves national aid. It seems clear that the line of steamers cannot, at all events for some time to come, be self-supporting. Regular trade routes are not easily altered; the experience of last season shows that there is a disposition to try the new way home from the East, which was adopted by several tea-ships. But there is little chance of diverting the main stream of existing traffic from its well-worn path. It would, indeed, be undesirable even were it possible to do so. We do not want to supersede an old route, but to create a new one, and this is a process which will demand careful fostering and extraneous assistance for a lengthy period.

Assuming that without a subsidy the enterprise will languish, if it does not perish, the important consideration has to be faced whether the case is one in which Imperial funds may wisely be expended. We are far from agreement with those who think the State purse the legitimate prey of

all speculative or philanthropic movements which plead the public good as an excuse for public support. There are many private efforts beneficial to the nation which do not involve the necessity of a national contribution. It is not sufficient, in our opinion, to prove that the Canadian Pacific Steamship Line would be a public benefit; we demand proof that it is a public necessity. These are not days in which we can afford to lavish the taxpayers' money upon luxuries; but still less can we afford to neglect the exigencies of the Empire. It is Lord Harrowby's belief that the acquisition of control over the great Pacific line is imperatively demanded, and we admire the courage of his advice to the nation on the subject. To those who say that this country cannot afford a subsidy, he replies, "Economise where you rightly can; if necessary, save the money devoted to the new Admiralty and War Offices; cease to buy works of arts; cease decorating your parks." Those are luxuries we can dispense with; but the subsidy asked for is a necessary of national existence.

It cannot be denied that the arguments adduced in favour of the subsidy are exceedingly forcible. The latest proposition, made subsequently to the debate under notice, is that the British Government shall contribute £60,000 per annum, and the Canadian Government £15,000. During the Russian scare in 1885 Mr. Gladstone's Government chartered nine vessels as armed cruisers in the Pacific for nine months, at a cost to the nation of £333,000. At the same time, £1,000,000 was spent in chartering transports, many of them being intended for the Pacific. Thus in a few months as much money was thrown away as would, if capitalised, have provided nearly the whole of the annual subsidy now asked. But the Government are to receive a much larger return for their money than the use of a swift fleet of cruisers in time of war. It is promised that all Government stores and war materials shall be carried across the continent over the Canadian Pacific Railway at absolute cost, and that the same shall apply to the transport of troops on service from the Atlantic port to Hong Kong. The "famine prices" which Governments are usually compelled to pay for similar facilities in time of war are notorious. It may be safely predicted that a generation will not pass away without witnessing another war scare, if nothing worse; and we have now an opportunity of deciding whether we will again squander our money as recklessly as ever, when the emergency arises, or whether, taught by past experience, we will make timely provision beforehand. We believe that as a question of national economy we shall reap an ample reward for granting the subsidy, but there is also another point which deserves consideration.

If by our refusal to contribute, the proposed line of steamers should fail to be established, is it quite certain that even with the most unlimited expenditure we could send sufficient transports and cruisers into the Pacific in the event of war? Few will dispute the absolute necessity for doing this if we want to protect and maintain our commerce in the China Seas; but it is very doubtful whether there are enough suitable ships afloat to do the work, even if the Admiralty were to requisition them all. Vessels with a speed of ten or eleven knots would be useless; but the number of really fast steamers is very small. The public does not realise how many ships of this sort would be required, and how few are available at present; but it does realise the fact that it is absolutely necessary for us to have *enough*, whatever the number may be, and with this conviction, it will approve the grant of any reasonable subsidy which, in addition to its other benefits, will hasten the construction of a new merchant squadron, able to keep the seas against a hostile fleet.

LAUNCH OF A PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAMER.—The *Victoria*, the first of the magnificent additions to the Peninsular and Oriental Company's already large fleet, was launched from Messrs. Caird & Co.'s yard at Greenock on May 9. Her dimensions are:—Length, 483 feet; breadth, 52 feet; and depth, 37 feet. She will register nearly 7,000 tons, and her triple-expansion engines are expected to develop 7,000 effective horse-power, which should drive her 17½ knots at full speed. In addition to the *Victoria*, the Peninsular and Oriental Company are also building at Greenock the *Britannia*, of nearly 7,000 tons, and at Messrs. Harland & Wolff's yard at Belfast the *Oceana* and *Arcadia*, of the same dimensions as the *Victoria*, and these four steamers are being constructed for the India, China, and Australian mail services of the Company.

*THE RIGHT HON. G. OSBORNE MORGAN
ON THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.*

ELOQUENT SPEECH AT THE COLONISATION MEETING.

AT the dinner given in the House of Commons to the Colonial Representatives by the Parliamentary Colonisation Committee, Mr. Osborne Morgan delivered the following stirring speech, of which we are enabled to present our readers with a verbatim report:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—The Chairman, no doubt for the purpose of enabling me to “rehabilitate my character,” has entrusted me with the duty of proposing what I may call the toast of the evening, “The health of our distinguished visitors.” Now, I could not help thinking as I was reading the report of the final proceedings of that Conference which has been conducted in so admirable a spirit, and from which we hope to see such good results—(cheers)—that only a few years ago such a meeting would have been an impossibility. Only a comparatively short time ago there existed in this country a numerous and able, though narrow-minded school of politicians, who held as a cardinal doctrine that the separation of our Colonies from the Mother Country was only a question of time, and that the best that could be hoped for was that, as years went on, they might drop off one by one like over-ripe fruit from the parent tree. Gentlemen, that doctrine is dead (loud cheers); or if it survives at all, it survives only in the minds of cantankerous newspaper writers and dyspeptic doctrinaires.

The statesmen of to-day—Liberal as well as Conservative—(hear, hear)—are wiser in their generation. They know that England has need of all her sons, and that, at a time when Germany is moving heaven and earth to get possession of a strip of fever-stricken land on the west coast of Africa, and when another great European Power is struggling—let us hope vainly struggling—to lay hands on a group of stray islands in the Pacific, it would be an act of something like criminal madness on our part deliberately to abandon the noblest heritage which God ever gave to a nation. (Loud applause.) And believe me when I say that that sentiment is not confined to statesmen or politicians. It has sunk deep into the heart of the whole nation, from the Queen on her throne to the humblest mechanic who is scraping together a few pounds to pay for the passage of his sons to a new world.

Gentlemen, I have been often told, and I think your experience will confirm what I say, that nothing strikes a Colonist re-visiting the Mother Country after an interval of a few years more than the quickened and diffused, and, I may add, the more intelligent interest taken by the mass of the English people in Colonial questions. Many causes, doubtless, have contributed to that result, a result from which, recollect, there is no going back, for every year that passes must of necessity help to widen and deepen that interest—the spread of education, and particularly of geographical knowledge among the working classes, the spirit of enterprise and invention that has converted the Atlantic into a kind of steam-ferry, and has “put a girdle round the earth” in less than “forty minutes,” and last, but not least, that marvellous exhibition of last year which has opened the eyes of the most sceptical among us to the astonishing progress which has been made. (Cheers.)

But I doubt whether all these causes put together are sufficient to account for this change of sentiment. It may be that we are at last finding out that our Colonies are the true vent for that enormous overgrowth of population of which our Chairman spoke this afternoon. It may be that in the presence of a common danger men almost instinctively close their ranks, and to whom, I would ask, are we to look for sympathy and support in the hour of trouble if not to those who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh? (Cheers.) It may be that the democracy of England are becoming proud to think that our great Colonial Empire was built up by the thews and sinews of working men like themselves, and that it was by the aid of their sons and their brothers that you ploughed the Prairie and cleared the Bush. (Loud cheers.) But be the cause what it may, the fact is there—that we at home are beginning to feel, in a sense in which we never felt it before, that your progress is our progress, that your interests are our interests, that

your honour is our honour. (Loud cheers.) Why, gentlemen, your very sports are matters of such importance to our newspaper readers, that the result of your cricket-matches and horse-races are telegraphed over to us at the rate of ros. a word. I well remember some three years ago stealing a few hours from that “dreary drip,” which we are told occasionally does go on, in what I may call another place (laughter), to see the great cricket-match at Kennington Oval between England and Australia, in which Mr. Murdock and two of his team made over 400 off their own bats. And when “the demon bowler” took three wickets in an over, and the young Victorian giant hit a ball into the middle of next week (laughter), there went up from 20,000 throats a cheer which told that these hard-handed sons of toil were proud to think that, under a Southern sky, by the shores of the grey Pacific, on the pleasant Darling Downs, or the slopes of the ice-crowned Alps of New Zealand, there was growing up a race of men—

“Such as the British mothers bore.”

And now, gentlemen, one word in conclusion. The time of your departure is unfortunately drawing near—too near. I sincerely trust that you will carry back with you some pleasant memories of the time you have passed among us, as you will certainly leave many very pleasant memories behind you. (Cheers.) And among those memories I would ask you to find room for one message. Tell the parliaments and the people of the great communities which you so worthily represent, that upon one point at least the heart of England is sound. Tell them that the word “separation” is no more heard among us. Tell them that we will stand by them as long as they stand by us, and that the Mother Country will spare no effort and no sacrifice to rivet yet more closely the links of love which bind her to her children. (Loud applause.)

*THE PROPOSED PARTITION OF
QUEENSLAND.*

THE movement for procuring the separation of the northern portion of Queensland from the south, with a view to the formation of a new Colony, culminated in a deputation which waited upon Sir H. Holland on May 17th. The deputation consisted of Mr. Finch-Hatton, M.P., Mr. Mark Stewart, M.P., Sir George Balfour, M.P., and Messrs. Lister, Hume Black, Charles C. Rawson, J. Barnes, H. Brandon, J. Hume Webster, and Isaac Merchant. The case of the deputation was stated by Mr. Finch-Hatton, who referred to a petition signed by over 10,000 inhabitants of Queensland in favour of separation. If this is a genuine petition from adults only, it represents a considerable percentage of the population. Mr. Finch-Hatton also said that nine out of the ten representatives of North Queensland in the Legislative Assembly supported the movement. Our readers will doubtless remember that the Assembly comprises about sixty members, so that there is evidently some up hill work before the separatists before they can expect to gain their object through the Colonial Parliament. It is argued that Queensland is too big to be governed from Brisbane, in the south-eastern corner of the Colony. For the purposes of comparison it may be mentioned that the area of Queensland is about 668,000 square miles, while South Australia extends over more than 900,000 square miles; in the latter Colony, also, the seat of government is in the extreme south. Mr. Hume Black (M.P. for Mackay, Queensland) also spoke in favour of the proposed new Colony.

Sir Henry Holland deferred his reply until May 20th, when he informed the deputation that although the Imperial Government possessed the latent power of interfering, that power would not be exercised in the case of a Colony having a responsible Government, and Her Majesty's Government could not proceed in the direction indicated by the deputation in the way of the proposed separation, unless there was an expression of opinion from the Colonial Legislature, on overwhelming evidence, in favour of the proposal.

THAT the Royal Colonial Institute is fast becoming a power in the British Empire is shown by the fact that the views expressed at the meeting held on May 11th on the important question of Colonial borrowings had a beneficial effect on the following day in the market for Colonial Government Securities generally. The *Times* gives this information in its City article of May 12th.

RECEPTION OF THE COLONIAL REPRESENTATIVES BY THE QUEEN.

PRESENTATION OF AN ADDRESS FROM THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE TO HER MAJESTY.

THE Delegates from the Colonies to the Imperial Conference were received by Her Majesty at Windsor Castle, on May 4th.

The Right Hon. Sir Henry Holland, G.C.M.G., presented to the Queen the following gentlemen, who handed to Her Majesty addresses from their respective Colonies:—

Sir Robert Thorburn, K.C.M.G. (Premier), Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G., from Newfoundland.

Sir Alexander Campbell, K.C.M.G. (Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario), Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., from Canada.

Sir Patrick Jennings, K.C.M.G. (late Premier), Sir Robert Wisdom, K.C.M.G., Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Agent-General), from New South Wales:

Mr. John Stokell Dodds (late Attorney-General), Mr. Adye Douglas (Agent-General), from Tasmania.

Sir Thomas Upington, K.C.M.G. (Attorney-General), Mr. Jan Hendrick Hofmeyr, Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Agent-General), from the Cape of Good Hope.

Sir John William Downer, K.C.M.G. (Premier), Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Agent-General), from South Australia.

Sir Francis Dillon Bell, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Agent-General), Sir William Fitzherbert, K.C.M.G. (Speaker of Legislative Council), from New Zealand.

Mr. Alfred Deakin (Chief Secretary), Sir James Lorimer, K.C.M.G. (Minister of Colonial Defence), Mr. James Service (late Premier), from Victoria.

Sir Samuel Griffith, K.C.M.G. (Premier), Sir James Garrick, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General), from Queensland.

Mr. John Forrest, C.M.G. (Commissioner of Crown Lands).

Mr. Septimus Burt, Q.C., from Western Australia.

Mr. John Robinson, from Natal.

Sir Augustus Adderley, K.C.M.G., from Bahamas, and Mr. A. P. Marryat, from Trinidad.

The following address was then read and presented to the Queen by Sir Robert Thorburn, K.C.M.G., Premier of Newfoundland, on behalf of the Conference, all the representatives being present:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"Your Majesty's subjects from distant provinces of your Empire, assembled in London upon the summons of your Secretary of State for the Colonies, to confer on questions affecting your Imperial possessions throughout the world, desire to avail themselves of the opportunity, which their meeting affords, to approach your Majesty with their humble, united, and earnest congratulations on the approaching completion of the 50th year of your reign.

"Your Majesty has witnessed the number of your Colonial subjects of European descent increase from under two millions to nine millions, and of Asiatic race in your Indian Empire from 96 millions to 254 millions, and of other peoples in your colonies and dependencies from two millions to seven millions.

"The area now governed by your Majesty in India is 1,380,000 square miles, and in your Colonies 7,000,000 square miles. The increase of trade, of shipping, and of revenue has been in proportion to that of population; and no one in your wide dominions is subject to any other sway than that of even and impartial law.

"Your Majesty's reign has under Divine providence endured for half a century; and amidst revolutions and changes of dynasty, and of systems of government in other countries, the principles of the laws of your predecessors for a thousand years still afford your subjects that safety and prosperity, and the Empire that stability, which claim the admiration of the world.

"We beg to assure your Majesty of the continued loyalty and devotion of your Colonial subjects; and we humbly pray that your happy reign may still be prolonged, and that your Majesty's throne may remain established in the land in justice and righteousness for generations to come.

"We remain, with the profoundest veneration, your Majesty's most faithful subjects and dutiful servants."

To which Her Majesty made the following gracious reply:—

"I accept with much satisfaction the loyal and dutiful address which you have presented to me on behalf of my Colonial subjects, and it has given me great pleasure to receive in person here to-day the representatives of so many portions of my dominions.

"I have observed with the liveliest interest the steady advance of my Colonies in wealth, population, and good government. This has been a constant and increasing source of gratification to me during the 50 years on the completion of which you now offer congratulations; and nothing can give me greater pride and pleasure than to know that the loyalty and affection of my subjects in distant lands have developed along with their prosperity and success."

Sir Graham Berry, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for Victoria), and Sir Cecil C. Smith, K.C.M.G. (Lieutenant-Governor and Colonial Secretary for Ceylon), were unavoidably prevented from being present.

THE NEW POLICY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE accession of the Parkes ministry to power is likely to have two important results. It will mark the commencement of a new and vigorous agitation against the French occupation of the New Hebrides. Hitherto Victoria has been alone in urging action upon the Home Government; henceforward she will have the strenuous co-operation of New South Wales. We shall also see fresh efforts made in the direction of Australian confederation. Our readers will remember that New South Wales was not represented upon the Federal Council at Hobart in 1886, for which reason, among others, the proceedings somewhat resembled the play of *Hamlet* without the title part. But Sir Henry Parkes is animated by the strongest desire to promote the federation of Australia, and his recent utterances on the subject are well worth noting, since his position as Premier will enable him to carry his aspirations into practice. Speaking at Deniliquin in February last, he said:—

Now in the close of my speech I desire to touch upon a subject upon which I am sure you will hold the same sentiments as myself. I mean the obligation cast upon me and all other men engaged in the conduct of the Governments of these Colonies to promote a more cordial understanding between the different Colonies of Australasia. (Cheers.) I have entered upon my work with the honest desire and intention to promote a good understanding by every means in my power. Within the next fifteen or twenty years the Australasian Colonies unitedly will have a population so large that we shall be able to present as many forms of national life, and as strong a national independence, as any country in the world. (Cheers.)

Let us look upon our isolated position, and reflect upon the beautiful order of Providence in creating this glorious and rich country, in the midst of wide and tranquil seas, far removed from all other nations of the world. We have such advantages derived from Nature that we should be able to hold our own with a comparatively small population against the most powerful State. I look forward to the consummation of those inspirations, and to the utmost of my power I shall lend my assistance to promoting that good feeling which ought to prevail, despite temporary and insignificant geographical lines of demarcation among the English people of this continent. (Cheers.) Why should Victoria not be as much New South Wales as it is Victoria? and why should not New South Wales be as much Victoria as it is New South Wales? Why should not the warm feeling of consanguinity, of blood, of language, and of faith prevail over every other consideration, and make us one people? (Cheers.) So far as is possible, I shall contribute to the accomplishment of that great end. (Cheers.)

Of course, it will be my duty to bear in mind the capabilities and resources of my own Colony, and at all times to see that justice is done to it. (Cheers.) I shall not permit New South Wales to lose any of its independence or power from considerations of this kind, but in doing justice to the Colony, with its magnificent resources, and seeking to run a worthy race in that race of emulation which all Colonies ought especially to engage in, I shall, in a broad and unqualified spirit, try to hold out the right hand of good-fellowship and brotherhood to all the peoples of this continent. (Loud cheers.)

"IMPERIAL FEDERATION."—The reading matter bears the signatures of well known writers, and is full of practical and wise thoughts on the rising star of English-speaking federation.—*Elmore Standard*.

REPRESENTATION OF THE LEAGUE AT THE CONFERENCE.

WE have been requested to publish the following correspondence:—

Imperial Federation League, 43, St. Margaret's Offices,
Victoria Street, S.W., February 13th, 1887.

SIR,—I am directed by the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League to forward to you a copy of a resolution passed at its meeting on the 10th inst.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR H. LORING, Secretary.

The Right Hon. Sir Henry T. Holland, Bart., G.C.M.G., M.P.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[COPY.]

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League, held on the 10th inst. at the above offices, the following resolution was passed:—"That the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League expresses to Her Majesty's Government a hope that the League may be associated, by means of one or more delegates, with the forthcoming Imperial Conference."

Colonial Office, Downing Street, 21st February, 1887.

SIR,—I am directed by Sir Henry Holland to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, enclosing a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League on the 10th February, expressing a hope that the League may be associated, by means of one or more delegates, with the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

In reply I am to transmit to you a copy of Mr. Stanhope's circular despatch to the Governors of Colonies of the 25th of November last, on the subject of the proposed Conference, in the sixth paragraph of which he states that he would "deprecate the discussion at the present time of any of the subjects falling within the range of what is known as Political Federation," and I am to request that you will state to your committee that, in Sir Henry Holland's opinion, the presence of delegates of the Imperial Federation League at the Conference would be contrary to the intention expressed in his predecessor's circular despatch, and to the understanding with the Colonies as to the business to which the Conference, which can only sit for a short time, will address itself.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN BRAMSTON.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.,
March 23rd, 1887.

SIR,—I have read to the Executive Committee of the League your letter of the 21st February, in which, after referring me to an extract from Mr. Stanhope's circular despatch, in which he states that he would "deprecate the discussion at the present time of any of the subjects falling within the range of what is known as Political Federation," you state that in Sir Henry Holland's opinion the presence of representatives of the League at the Conference would not be desirable.

My Committee, while cordially acquiescing in this decision of the Secretary of State, and disclaiming any desire to procure the modification of that decision, direct me to point out, with regard to the paragraph which you quote, that this League has nowhere proposed, or even contemplated, the discussion by the Conference of Political Federation. The subjects put forward by the deputation of this League, when advocating the summoning of this Conference to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies in August last, were precisely those practical and immediate matters of "defence" and "postal and telegraphic communication," which are mentioned as the first objects for the consideration of this Conference. My Committee are anxious that misapprehension with regard to their objects and action should not continue to exist, and I am to request that you will be so good as to lay this letter before the Secretary of State for the Colonies.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR H. LORING,

Secretary, Imperial Federation League.

John Bramston, Esq., Assistant Under-Secretary,
Colonial Office.

Colonial Office, Downing Street, 4th April, 1887.

SIR,—I am directed by Sir Henry Holland to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd of March, and I am to request that you will state to your Executive Committee that although the Imperial Federation League cannot be officially represented at the Colonial Conference, he has had pleasure in inviting several gentlemen who are members of it to be present in consideration of the interest taken by them in important Colonial questions such as those to which you refer.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

R. H. MEADE.

A reference to the published lists of those who attend the meetings of the Conference will show that the invitation was duly made and accepted. We may also mention that Mr. A. H. Loring, Secretary of the League, was present at the opening and closing meetings.

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE UPON THE FEASIBILITY OF AN IMPERIAL CENSUS IN 1891.

IN the month of January last the Executive Committee entered into communication with the various Departments of State, on the subject of collecting the Census returns of the whole British Empire upon a uniform basis at the next Census, which will take place in 1891. The letter drawing attention to the matter was accompanied by a copy of the memorandum issued by Dr. Grimshaw, Registrar-General for Ireland, which was published in the February number of this Journal.

The following are the replies received by the League, with some further correspondence on the subject:—

I.—FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

Whitehall, January 27, 1887.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst., and to acquaint you that it has been forwarded with the accompanying enclosure to the Local Government Board, for their consideration of the suggestions of the IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE as to the taking of a Census uniformly over the whole British Empire in 1891.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

GODFREY LUSHINGTON.

The Secretary to the Imperial Federation League.

II.—FROM THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND.

Dover House, Whitehall, January 25, 1887.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary for Scotland to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst., calling attention to the desirability of steps being taken with a view to the taking of an Imperial Census of the United Kingdom and Dependencies of the British Crown, upon a uniform system, so far as may be practicable.

I am to state that the subject will receive the consideration of the Secretary for Scotland, who will be glad if you will be so good as to furnish him with another copy of Dr. Grimshaw's Memorandum.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

F. R. SANDFORD.

The Secretary of the Imperial Federation League.

III.—FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

Dublin Castle, January 24, 1887.

SIR,—The Chief Secretary desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. in reference to the taking of the Census of the United Kingdom and the several Colonies and Dependencies in 1891 upon a uniform system, and to say that the Irish Government would desire to co-operate in such a scheme so far as might be possible, but that it must obviously rest with the Departments in London to initiate any proposals for carrying it into effect.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

REDVERS BULLER.

The Secretary of the Imperial Federation League.

IV.—FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

India Office, Whitehall, S.W., February 8, 1887.

SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated January 21, with accompaniment relative to suggestions for the taking in 1891 of an Imperial Census on a uniform basis for the United Kingdom, and for the various Dependencies of the Crown, including India, and in reply to inform you that a copy of your communication has been transmitted for the consideration of the Government of India.

I am at the same time to say that Viscount Cross is not sanguine that much can be effected beyond what has already been done to render the results of the Indian Census uniform in method, form, and classification with those which may be obtained in other parts of the Empire. The Indian Census returns have already, so far as is practicable, been assimilated to those in use in the United Kingdom. Very full and complete provincial reports have been prepared, and those have already, as is suggested by Dr. Grimshaw, been summarised in a general report for the whole of India.

Viscount Cross believes that these reports contain almost all the materials necessary for such a general Census report of the Empire as is contemplated.

On the other hand, there are certain particulars, such as those relating to ages, in which, owing to local circumstances and difficulties, the Indian Census tables must probably be long defective; and others, such as those relating to castes, which it is necessary to compile in India, but which are not applicable to other parts of the Empire.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

J. A. GODLEY.

The Secretary of the Imperial Federation League.

V.—FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Downing Street, February 1, 1887.

SIR,—I am directed by Secretary Sir Henry Holland to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ultimo, urging the desirability of adopting a uniform system of taking the Census of the British Empire, and enclosing a printed memorandum of suggestions by Dr. Thomas W. Grimshaw, Registrar-General for Ireland.

In reply, I am to state to you, for the information of the Executive Committee of the League, that Sir Henry Holland is fully alive to the importance of the question, and that his predecessors have already been in communication with Dr. Grimshaw on the subject. I am to add that he is now about to consult the Registrar-General, and after receiving an expression of his opinion, will be happy to receive the deputation, as solicited, should such a course then seem advisable.—I am, sir, your obedient servant.

R. H. MEADE.

The Secretary to the Imperial Federation League.

VI.—FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Downing Street, February 17, 1887.

SIR,—With reference to the letter from this Department of the 1st instant, I am directed by Secretary Sir Henry Holland to transmit to you, for the information of the Executive Committee of the League, a copy of the reply which has now been received from the Registrar-General respecting the proposals of the Registrar-General for Ireland relating to the Census of the United Kingdom, India, and the Colonies.

I am to state that while Sir Henry Holland will be glad to receive any observations which the Executive Committee of the League may desire to make in reply, he does not, as at present advised, think that any good would be gained by his receiving a deputation on the subject.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

R. H. MEADE.

The Secretary to the Imperial Federation League.

[Enclosure in No. VI.]

FROM THE REGISTRAR-GENERAL TO THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

General Register Office, 9th February, 1887.

SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst., enclosing a copy of a communication from the Imperial Federation League, and of a correspondence with the Registrar-General of Ireland, and of a printed Memorandum by that gentleman as to a scheme for reducing the next Censuses of the United Kingdom, India, and the several Colonies to precisely identical form, so as to allow of simple collation, and the consequent construction of tables relating to the aggregate population of the British Empire.

A copy of Dr. Grimshaw's Memorandum had already been forwarded to me by the Local Government Board, and I have therefore already given much consideration to the proposed scheme. The result of such consideration has been that I find myself unable to recommend the adoption of the proposal.

The scheme would certainly involve considerable expense, and the attempt to impose upon the several Colonies and Dependencies uniformity in respect of subjects of inquiry and forms of tabulation would not improbably meet with much opposition, while these evils would, in my opinion, not be compensated by any counterbalancing advantages.

I am not aware that any practical inconvenience whatsoever has been experienced by the want of uniformity between the Censuses of the various Colonies and Dependencies, and I fail to see any utility, practical or scientific, in tables such as are contemplated in the scheme, which should give, to take examples, the age distribution, the marriage condition distribution, or the occupational distribution of the aggregate population of the entire Empire.

As regards age distribution or marriage distribution, however, though, as I have already said, tables for the aggregate Empire would, in my opinion, be of no possible use, yet such, if desired, might be prepared, so far as the data permitted, without the expensive apparatus of a special Imperial Census Committee, were the Census authorities of each division of the Empire simply asked by a circular from the Colonial and Indian Offices to tabulate their age and marriage data, as most of them do already, by quinquennial periods.

I may however observe, as bearing on the utility of an Imperial age table, that the number of persons in India at the last Census, as to whose age no information could be obtained, was over twenty-four millions, a number about equal to the entire population of England, and further, that the ignorance of the natives of India, especially in advanced life, as to their age is such, that the Census authorities found it useless to attempt to deal with persons over sixty years of age, who consequently were tabulated in a single group. When these facts are taken into consideration, with the further fact that the population of British India concerning whose age distribution so little can be ascertained, constitutes four-fifths of the entire population of the British Empire, the utility of an Imperial age distribution table, to which apparently the Imperial Federation League attach much importance will, I think, appear, to say the least, very doubtful.

As regards the occupational Census, the objections to the proposed attempt at complete uniformity are very much greater. Real uniformity in this matter between populations differing so vastly from each other in their whole organisation, as say Ireland and India, appears to me to be utterly impossible; and mere superficial uniformity, which means the grouping under identical headings of facts fundamentally different to be a thing on every ground to be deprecated. As a matter of fact, the Indian Census authorities did in 1881 adopt the classification of occupations previously used in the United Kingdom, and a perusal of the Indian Census Reports shows how unsuited it was found to be for a country where the conditions of life and the circumstances of the people differ materially from those prevailing in Western Europe.

In short, then, I am distinctly of opinion that it is best to leave to each individual part of the Empire the choice of the subjects of inquiry that should be included in its Census, and the form in which the information when collected can best be tabulated so as to meet its own special conditions and requirements.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) BRYDGES P. HENNIKER,
Registrar-General.

The Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

VII.—FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

SIR,—I am directed by the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th of February, and to thank you for communicating to them a copy of the letter which the Registrar-General has written upon the subject of the proposal for taking an Imperial Census in 1891.

The Executive Committee is unwilling at the present inconvenient season to occupy more of your time than to point out that the objections of the Registrar-General are applicable rather to the proposals of the Registrar-General for Ireland than to those of the Executive Committee, which never contemplated a precise uniformity in the Censuses of the different parts of the Empire, and which specially guarded against any attempt, or appearance of attempting, to impose such uniformity upon the several Colonies and Dependencies.

The Executive Committee hope at a future time to be able to submit proposals which will not be open to the objections suggested by the Registrar-General.—I have, sir, the honour to be, your obedient servant,

(Signed) ARTHUR H. LORING, Secretary.

VIII.—FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

India Office, Whitehall, May 20th, 1887.

SIR,—In continuation of my letter of February 8th last, I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to forward herewith, for the information of the IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE, a copy of a letter from the Government of India dated April 26th, on the subject of the proposed Census of 1891.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

J. A. GODLEY.

The Secretary of Imperial Federation League.

[Enclosure in No. VIII.]

FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE VISCOUNT CROSS.

Simla, the 26th April, 1887.

MY LORD,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's despatch No. 27 (Statistics and Commerce), dated the 10th February, 1887, forwarding, for our consideration, copy of a letter, with accompaniment, received from the Imperial Federation League, relative to a proposal to take an Imperial Census in 1891 for the United Kingdom and for all the Dependencies of the Crown on an uniform basis, and also a copy of the reply which, under your lordship's instructions, was sent to that letter.

2. Reading Mr. Loring's letter with Dr. Grimshaw's memorandum, we understand the suggestion to be that the Census of the entire British Empire in 1891 should be synchronous, and also uniform as regards the information to be collected and the methods of collecting it, the forms in which the information is to be exhibited, and the system of tabulating the results. It is also indicated that the tabulation should be complete for each county or district, the tabulation of results for a province or for an entire administration exhibiting the aggregate of the county or district figures.

3. As regards the time at which the Census should be taken, the month of February has been found to be the most suitable in India, and we are disposed to adhere to this month, as, owing to climatic reasons, a later or an earlier month would be less suitable. But as, owing to these very reasons, February is probably unsuitable for many other portions of the British Empire, it would seem that there are difficulties in the way of making the Census synchronous.

4. With regard to the information to be collected, the methods by which it should be collected, the forms in which it should be exhibited, and the system on which it should be tabulated, all that we can now say is that presumably uniformity with other portions of the Empire on these points could only be attained at the expense of accuracy and effectiveness. But, apart from any such presumption, we may observe that any future Indian Census must adhere more or less closely to the arrangements which on these points were found so efficacious in 1881. The Imperial Federation League will readily ascertain these arrangements by referring to the various Indian Provincial Census Reports, and a consideration of them may possibly lead the Committee of the League to determine upon some plan which may suit the rest of the Empire without being unsuitable to India.

5. In conclusion, we beg leave to express our readiness to conform, as far as possible, to any general plan that may be elaborated and made applicable to the whole Empire; but we would suggest that such a plan should be drawn up with due regard to Indian circumstances as detailed in the Provincial and Imperial Census Reports of 1881. We cannot promise to adopt the plan which may be eventually agreed upon; but if the points in which it is considered that the Indian Census forms and procedure require to be modified to make them uniform with those proposed for the remaining portions of the British dominions, and the manner in which it is desired that they should be modified are placed before us, we will take the proposals into our consideration.—We have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

DUFFERIN.	G. CHESNEY.
F. S. ROBERTS.	A. R. SCOBLE.
T. C. HOPE.	J. B. PEILE.
A. COLVIN.	

HERE AND THERE.

THE POPE has created five new bishoprics in Australasia, and also three vicariates apostolic; he has further created ecclesiastical provinces for Brisbane, Adelaide, and New Zealand, with an archiepiscopal see at Wellington.

WE regret to hear that Captain Airey, of the New South Wales Permanent Artillery, has been severely wounded in an encounter with dacoits in Burmah. Captain Airey obtained six months' leave of absence, left the Colony, and proceeding to Burmah, became attached to Sir F. Roberts' staff.

AT the Queen's Drawing Room on May 10th, Lady Griffith of Queensland, Lady Thorburn of Newfoundland, and Mrs. John Forrest of Western Australia, were presented to Her Majesty by Lady Holland.

MR. FREDERICK MATTHEW DARLEY, Chief Justice of New South Wales, has been created a knight of the United Kingdom.

THE tenders for the recent South Australian 4 per cent. loan of £850,000 amounted to £2,341,600. The average price obtained was £103 2s. 6d.

INTELLIGENCE received at Sydney on May 6 from Noumea, New Caledonia, states that a French Resident has been installed in the Wallis Islands, in view of a possible British or German occupation.

THE death is announced of Dr. Herbert Binney, Bishop of Nova Scotia, which see he had occupied for over thirty years.

THE QUEEN has signified her intention of laying the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute on July 4th.

THE Newfoundland Bait Bill has received the sanction of the Imperial Government, and will come into force for the season of 1888.

THE Canadian Government are devoting £200,000 to the construction of a canal between Lake Huron and Lake Superior through Canadian territory.

THE whole of Zululand, with the exception of the New Boer Republic, has been officially proclaimed a British possession.

THE *Englishman's Journal* (Toronto) of April 17 contains two excellent articles upon topics connected with Imperial Federation; one by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, the other by Mr. Martin J. Griffin of Ottawa.

A LECTURE on Imperial Federation by the late Mr. Herbert Waterhouse has been privately printed as a pamphlet by Messrs. Byles and Sons, of Bradford, Yorkshire.

It is said that negotiations are being carried on by the Union Steamship Company and the Spanish and Portuguese Government with a view to the opening up of a through direct mail service between London and South Africa, *via* Calais, Madrid, and Lisbon. Mr. Evans, deputy-chairman of the Union Company, on his return from Lisbon the other day, had an encouraging interview with Señor Moret, and it is understood that his proposals have been favourably received by both Governments.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

DUDLEY.—A meeting of the Dudley Unity Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held at the Blue Boar Hotel, Stone Street, on Thursday evening, to discuss the position of the branch. The President, Mr. S. Sproston, occupied the chair, and there were also present, amongst others, Messrs. H. V. Mayer, Kinsey, W. Mayer, T. S. W. Good, Hipkins, I. Tivey, &c. &c. A discussion arose as to the best means of bringing the branch before the public, and it was suggested that a programme of debates, &c., be prepared for the winter session. It was also suggested that meetings be held in the various wards of the borough, and that lectures on "Imperial Federation" be given by the members of the society. It was decided that the suggestions should be considered at the next meeting. Mr. H. V. Mayer urged one and all to try and induce others to become members, and do all they could themselves to work for the interests of the society. He suggested that the branch should endeavour to hold a public meeting in the Liberal Workmen's Club. Eventually the suggestion was adopted, and a committee was appointed to have an interview with the committee of the Liberal Club, and ascertain the terms of the hall. A vote of thanks to the chairman terminated the meeting.

ISLINGTON.—At a meeting on May 12th, of the Anglo-Caledonian Debating Society, a paper on Imperial Federation was read by Mr. McDowall. The lecturer said that the main problem before them was how the various portions of the British Empire could be welded together into one solid and complete naval and military system, which would secure mutual protection against every foe, and guarantee the freedom of commerce. A secondary object was the promotion of commercial postal and telegraphic intercourse between the several countries of the Empire in time of peace. For instance, at present the imports into the British Empire from foreign countries exceeded the exports by £189,000,000, and it would be important to try and reduce this excess with a view to supplying our needs within the limits of the Empire. Mr. McDowall then proceeded to discuss the question of colonisation, which, to be successful, must, he said, be accompanied by an influx of capital. He concluded by advocating an Imperial Parliament for Imperial affairs only, composed of representatives from the various subordinate Parliaments of the Empire.

In the debate which followed, the speakers were all in favour of the principle, but there was less agreement as to the details of Imperial Federation.

KENSINGTON.—A meeting of the Kensington Branch of the League was held at the office, 99, Gloucester Road, South Kensington, on Tuesday, April 26th.

Among those present were J. Horne Payne, Q.C. (Vice-President), Lt.-Col. P. R. Innes (Hon. Treasurer), Walter Morrison, C. G. Burke, J.P., Col. Jemmett Browne, Ponsonby Moore, Gen. Leggatt, Cecil Norton, J. M. Ludlow, G. G. Tremlett, C. Freeman Murray (Secretary), and others.

Mr. J. Horne Payne, Q.C., presided, and having announced several letters from members regretting their absence, including one from Lord Chelmsford, he introduced Mr. J. M. Ludlow to the meeting.

Mr. Ludlow read a most interesting paper on "The Organisation of the Empire," which showed evidence of a careful study of the objects of Imperial Federation, and advocated the formation of a Council with representatives from all parts of the Empire.

An earnest discussion ensued, in which Dr. Wyld, Mr. Walter Morrison, Dr. Culver James, and others took part.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the reader of the paper.

MONTREAL (CANADA).—The annual University dinner of the Graduates Society of McGill University was held on April 30 at the Windsor Hotel. The chair was taken by our good friend Mr. Archibald McGoun, junr., who had on his right hand Sir William Dawson, and on his left Principal Grant. In the speeches which followed the dinner, MR. MCGOUN, in proposing the toast of "The Queen," said that the name and sovereignty of the Queen was the germ of a living union among many of the freest peoples of the world. Comparing the characteristics of the ancient Greeks with Britons of to-day, he pointed out that there never was a Greek Empire, and that fact constituted the main difference. Mr. McGoun continued as follows:—

"Our people have the constitutional idea firmly implanted in their minds, and proud as they are of the exalted virtues that distinguish the present occupant of the throne, they

value the office chiefly as the link that binds all parts of the nation together and unites them under a common flag. Still the existence of such sovereignty is but the germ of a more complete form of national unity. And this is the idea that has been kept in the foreground by the Queen in desiring the celebration of her Jubilee to take the form of an Imperial Institute, to gather together the products of all parts of her domain. Long live the Queen, then, and may her declining years see this link strengthen and develop into perfect unity of national life and aspiration. May she see the preservation of the perpetual unity of her people recognised as the worthiest object of ambition of every patriotic man in her realms. The days of tyranny are past, the days of unity are at hand, and may the Queen of the British people have the happiness of knowing that her influence for all that is good, right, noble, and true bears its legitimate fruit in the promotion of that love for one another in the hearts of her people that is the surest foundation of a throne and of an empire—

"Broad based upon the people's will
And compassed by the inviolate sea."

MONTREAL.—Rev. T. Cuthbertson, late of London, England, delivered an interesting address in Emmanuel Church, on April 10th, on "The British House of Commons and its Great Leaders." There was a large and appreciative audience. Referring to the question of Imperial Federation, he said he did not know whether such a scheme would ever be carried out, but there would ever be a federation of hearts, and the Colonies would ever stand by the Mother Country in the hour of danger. Politicians told us that the immense armies of Russia were waiting impatiently for the time when they would meet the British on the hills and plains of Hindostan, when they would trail in the dust the flag that had braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze. When that time came, however, when the mother was engaged in a struggle for life, the daughters would stand around her like a wall of fire and protect her with their own lives. When the question came up, "Shall Old England die?" her loyal sons in Canada, Australia, and all over the world would want to know the reason why.

As the lecturer concluded he was greeted with a burst of applause that lasted several minutes, and was afterwards tendered a hearty vote of thanks.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—In the Parliamentary Debating Society, Mr. R. Plummer (Secretary of the Newcastle Chamber of Commerce) moved the following resolutions:—

That this House approves of the following conditions as a basis on which to Federate the British Empire:—

- (a) An Imperial Congress of Home and Colonial Representatives, to meet at stated periods.
- (b) Small Consultative Council, to advise with Colonial Secretary.
- (c) Imperial defence to be organised at expense of Colonies and this country; also, penny postage and system of cheap telegrams.
- (d) Imperial Institute to be established at joint expense.
- (e) This country to supplement Colonial grants in aid of systematic colonisation and the opening up of new tracts of country by railways and other means.
- (f) The ultimate establishment of absolute Free Trade between this country on the one hand and the Colonies and Dependencies on the other, and between the Colonies and Dependencies themselves, with such import duties against foreign produce—inclusive of a duty of 5s. per quarter on foreign-grown wheat in this country—as may be deemed desirable.

A long and eloquent speech was made by Mr. Plummer in support of the resolutions, but it appears to have savoured too strongly of Protection for the taste of some members. The discussion that ensued lasted three nights, after which the resolutions were carried by the casting vote of the Chairman. It is understood that a decisive majority would have been obtained, had the principle of Imperial Federation been submitted without pledging the House to details.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—At the Conservative Working Men's Club on April 6th, Mr. F. Witty presided over a meeting to hear a paper by Mr. Burles upon Imperial Federation. Captain Dickson afterwards said he was of opinion that Imperial Federation must come sooner or later, and pointed out that our Colonies had hardly any army or navy with which to defend their coasts. Mr. Harrison thought if Imperial Federation was realised, the Empire would be as great in the future as in the past. Mr. Taylor said Mr. Burles appeared to have dealt more with the arguments for Imperial Federation than those against it; and he thought it would be well to hear the arguments of those that were opposed to it. The discussion was continued by Mr. Manchester and Mr. Hall; and Mr. Burles briefly replied.

WESTMINSTER.—At the weekly meeting of the Balloon Society, held at the Royal Aquarium, on Friday, May 13th, Mr. W. H. Le Fevre, C.E., in the Chair, a paper was read by Mr.

Thos. Moy, C.E., on the Patent Laws of the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and Dependencies. At the close of the lecture the following resolutions were carried:—

- (1) That the Patent Laws of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof, should be assimilated, as it will tend to increase our trade and stimulate our industries.
- (2) That a Committee be formed for the purpose of influencing public opinion both in the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and Dependencies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the Empire by carrying out the foregoing resolutions.

IMPORTANT DEBATE ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

At the meeting of the London Parliamentary Debating Society in the Westminster Town Hall on April 21st, Mr. F. P. Labillière moved the following resolution:—

PREAMBLE.—That, whereas it is expedient to consolidate and maintain the permanent unity of the United Kingdom and her Colonies, a system of Imperial Federation is essential to the complete political organisation of the Empire.

Be it therefore resolved:

1. That there shall be a distinct Parliament or representative body, and executive responsible to it, for the control of all Imperial affairs of common interest, such as foreign relations, military and naval defences, and means of communication.

2. That in such Parliament or representative body, the United Kingdom and all the self-governing Colonies, as well as Crown Colonies, shall be equitably represented.

3. That all portions of the Empire so represented shall contribute towards a revenue for Imperial purposes.

4. That such Imperial Parliament, or representative body, shall have no control over the domestic policy of the United Kingdom, or of the self-governing Colonies; and that all the rights of complete Provincial self government conferred by existing Colonial Constitutions be fully guaranteed by any Imperial Federal Constitution.

Mr. Labillière, who fills the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, was followed by Mr. F. Young, who seconded the resolution from the Opposition benches. Mr. N. Micklem, leader of the Opposition, then moved as an amendment:—

"That no artificial scheme, for binding together more closely the United Kingdom and the Colonies, can be adopted by this House which does not leave the United Kingdom absolutely free in its relations with foreign Governments."

His speech was immediately answered by one of his own supporters, and during the whole course of the debate not a single member was found to oppose the original resolution. The question throughout was treated as a non-party one. Mr. Labillière vindicated his introduction of Imperial Federation, upon the broad ground that whenever this greatest of all national questions was brought before any Parliament in the Empire, real or otherwise, it ought, on account of its overwhelming importance, to be proposed by whatever party might happen to be in office, and supported by all others. The debate was adjourned in deference to the magnitude of the subject, and at a subsequent meeting the amendment was rejected by a considerable majority, whereupon Mr. Labillière's resolutions were carried without a division.

FEDERATION AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Marlborough.—The lecture mentioned in our last issue was given on Thursday, May 5th, by the Rev. Canon Dalton, who discussed the various examples of Federal government already in existence, and showed how such a form of constitution was peculiarly applicable to England and her Colonies. Attendance was voluntary, but a large number both of masters and boys were present, and the lecturer's remarks were very well received. The Head Master, the Rev. G. C. Bell, was in the chair.

Charterhouse.—Dr. Haig Brown has kindly intimated his willingness for a debate on the subject of Imperial Federation to be opened at Charterhouse by a delegate from the League. It is hoped that Mr. W. F. Sheppard, of Trinity College, Cambridge, will attend in that capacity towards the end of next month.

Arrangements for lectures, debates, &c., at other schools are in progress, and will be duly announced. The help of members of the League in lecturing, opening discussions, &c., is urgently needed to insure the success of the movement.

Already, owing in great measure to the untiring efforts of Mr. H. F. Wilson, a considerable advance has been made in this direction. The result cannot fail to be felt in a large accession of members from among those who have during their school days evinced such a lively interest in Imperial Federation.

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN MORLEY ON THE TRADE OF THE EMPIRE.

FREE-TRADE SPEECH AT THE COBDEN CLUB.

WE like our readers to hear all sides of a question, and of none more than the Commercial question, which we venture to think will soon have to be grappled by advocates of Imperial Federation. Mr. Morley is, of course, a thorough Free-trader, but when he taunts the supporters of a Zollverein as "people who take phrases instead of going to things," he runs a risk of finding his words turned against himself. For what have Mr. Morley and the Cobdenites done during the last forty years, but shout "Great is Free Trade?" What practical steps have they taken to enforce it upon unwilling Europe and recalcitrant America? Have they not kept quiet and abstained from protest, while Colony after Colony adopted Protection? Have they not been content with the phrase instead of going to things? We gladly recognise in Mr. Morley's fine peroration that he is actuated by the same devotion to the Empire, and resolve to uphold its magnificence which animates members of this League.

"We have here representatives from those young and thriving and strong Colonies of ours who are not yet converted to our views." (Sir S. Samuel:—Some of them are.) Yes, some are, I am glad to know, but some are not. Upon the policy of the young Colonists I am not now going to pronounce any opinion. I have it, but I am not going to pronounce it; it would be inhospitable. (Laughter.) But I say no men, not even the representatives of Colonies, who will go through the Blue-book and report will say for one instant that we, at any rate in this old Mother Country, can put on one more shred or rag of protectionist policy. (Cheers.) Well, there was a very interesting gathering of what I may call the rival club the other day held at the Hotel Métropole. When I saw that the Fair Trade League, with the Colonial celebrities and others, were going to attend, I confess that for the moment it spoiled my appetite for coming to Greenwich; but when we read the report of the proceedings I think that the effect of it was to sharpen our appetites very much. (Laughter.) We found the discordant voices were of the most extraordinary kind.

IS A ZOLLVEREIN POSSIBLE?

One proposition, with which we were all very familiar, was that there should be a Zollverein or Customs Union within the possessions of the British Crown, and that plausible suggestion has no doubt met with considerable acceptance from people who take phrases instead of going to things. But a friend of mine, Sir Samuel Griffith, said that a Zollverein within the possessions of the British Crown was quite impossible, and he did not think it desirable, for so many British possessions depended for their revenue upon British duties. Well, that was a rather considerable wet blanket. (Laughter.) I understand that Sir Samuel Griffith on this occasion went on to say that though he disapproved of that Customs Union as impracticable he still thought that in any country desiring to establish a customs tariff the duty should be higher for foreigners than for their own kith and kin—a preferential duty in favour of your own kith and kin. That sounded very nice. (Renewed laughter.) But the question for us, and the question for the Colonies with such a tariff, is whether British goods are to get in and compete with native goods or not. If they are, then the object of the tariff in the Colonies will be defeated. If they are not, I do not see how we are to be benefited in having the preference, because we are their own kith and kin. (Hear, hear.) That is the point—having put on a duty to protect native industry are they likely—why should they lower it to a point which would admit our goods? Depend upon it that is all moonshine. I am speaking in the presence of gentlemen who know, and as a matter of fact I believe Sir Samuel Griffith brought that proposition forward next day at the Colonial Office, and the proposition met with uncommonly little favour, and was practically extinguished. (A voice—"That is not true.") I was told on very good authority that it was the true account of it.

THE COBDEN CLUB PROUD OF THE EMPIRE.

When they tax us with falling short of the force and the spirit by which great Empires are maintained they do us less than justice. I believe as much as any man that no kingdom can be kept up without force, without spirit, and without energy. But along with force and spirit and energy you must have also sobriety and judgment. (Loud cheers.) And all that we in this club, and those of us who endeavour to press its policy in other fields—all we insist upon is that you shall not forget the conditions upon which your Empire rests, and that these conditions will not be carried out by artificial opinions or by forced opinions. (Cheers.) The solar system itself would go to wreck if the planets were kept in their orbits by bands of adamant instead of by the law of invisible attraction. (Loud cheers.) We of the Cobden Club are as proud of what Englishmen do in every quarter of the globe as even the Primrose League—(laughter and cheers); and can we find ourselves here, at the gates of the sea, without reflecting that from this river there go forth great multitudes to carry our free ideas and our great literature all over the globe? We do not forget it, and I do not intend that the great process should ever for a moment cease. We are willing to do what we can in sobriety and wisdom to help it; but we will do it all in a spirit of justice and moderation, and in the spirit of adaptation of the means to the end.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

APRIL 19—MAY 19, 1887.

LABOUR TRAFFIC IN THE PACIFIC.

April 21st.—In the House of Commons SIR G. CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the regulations under which the labour traffic in the Pacific was now carried on were to be found in any papers already presented to Parliament, or if not whether he would present them; whether breaches of those regulations by vessels belonging to the various Australian Colonies and other offences committed by the crews of those vessels when committed beyond the territorial limits of the Colonies were now exclusively triable by Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, or were dealt with by the Colonial Judicatures; and whether Her Majesty's Government had departed from the intention that offences committed by natives against British subjects should always be dealt with by that Commission, and had approved a reversion to the system of dealing with them by act of war against tribes and people, as in some recent cases.

SIR H. HOLLAND: Two Colonies employ Polynesian labourers—Fiji and Queensland. The Fiji Ordinances and Regulations were given to Parliament in 1878 (Parliamentary Paper, 111). Those relating to Queensland have not been given, but could be given if the hon. member thinks it desirable to move for them. Speaking generally, regulations made under Colonial Acts have no effect beyond Colonial waters, except as being conditions under which licences are granted and enforceable by forfeiture of the licensee's bonds, but any acts amounting to criminal offences committed on the high seas or elsewhere within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty by the crews of vessels belonging to the various Australian Colonies are by the Act 12 and 13 Vict., cap. 96, triable in the Courts of any British Colony, or in the High Commissioner's Court, and some cases have been dealt with in the Supreme Court of Queensland. There has been no departure from any intention such as that described in the question. The hon. member will find the object of the High Commission accurately described in extracts from a memorandum written by Sir Arthur Gordon in 1881, which were given to Parliament in 1883. C3,641, pp. 28 to 31. He will there see that the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner extends only to British subjects, and that the High Commissioner has no authority whatever to deal, whether judicially or in his executive capacity, with the offences of natives not under the dominion of the Crown, and that the law officers have invariably advised that insuperable obstacles exist to any assumption of jurisdiction by Her Majesty over other than British subjects.

AUSTRALASIAN POSTAGE.

April 22nd.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. H. Heaton,

MR. RAIKES said,—The amount which the British Post Office will pay or credit to the Australasian Governments in 1886 out of the postage collected in the United Kingdom upon letters, &c., for Australasia may be estimated at about £50,500. The exact amount is not known, because all the accounts for the year have not yet been furnished by the Colonies.

In answer to a further question by Mr. H. Heaton,

MR. RAIKES said,—The annual payments to the French and Italian Governments for the conveyance of Indian and Australian mails since 1878 were as follows:—1879, payment to France, £40,605, payment to Italy, £26,622; 1880, payment to France, £44,609, payment to Italy, £30,162; 1881, payment to France, £46,294, payment to Italy, £31,395; 1882, payment to France, £47,964, payment to Italy, £32,549; 1883, payment to France, £49,913, payment to Italy, £33,926; 1884, payment to France, £53,140, payment to Italy, £40,115; 1885, payment to France, £52,922, payment to Italy, £40,268; 1886, payment to France, £54,044, payment to Italy, £43,840.

THE OCEAN ROUTE FROM CANADA TO ASIA AND AUSTRALIA.

April 29th.—In the House of Lords,

THE EARL OF HARROWBY rose to ask what course was intended to be taken by Her Majesty's Government respecting the proposals of the Canadian Government to establish a line of first-class Royal mail steamers between the Pacific terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Vancouver City and Hong Kong, China, and Japan, and to move for papers. He pointed out that the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway had created a great revolution in the condition of the British Empire. Vancouver and the Pacific Ocean was now within 14 days of the English coast. Comparing the times taken by the best of the steamers which the P. and O. Company proposed to put on in 1888 under the new contract, and the times taken by the Canadian Pacific route from England to Hong Kong, he found that it was 33 to 37 days by the P. and O., and 32 to 35 by the Canadian Pacific; to Shanghai 37 to 42, as compared with 32 days; and to Yokohama 41 to 45, as compared with 27 days. These were important figures, as showing that if we were barred from the Cape route or the Suez Canal we should have an excellent third alternative route. Lord Dufferin had stated "that the effect upon the native mind of English troops reaching India from the East as well as from the West would be enormous." Referring to the proposals made by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for a subsidy, he could not believe that the Government would really reject a proposal to take possession of the Pacific by means of a great line of mail steamers set floating under the auspices of our venturesome Canadian brethren. (Hear, hear.) The vessels would be invaluable in a war scare, and prevent the necessity for hasty and extravagant expenditure such as was made in 1885. The extension of commerce promoted by the new route would also be great.

LORD BRABOURNE urged that although the enterprise might not be remunerative immediately, at a future time it would probably repay us tenfold or twentyfold.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW recapitulated the negotiations which had taken place on the subject, and stated that they had now before them a proposal for a monthly service at a subsidy of £60,000. The Canadian

Government, after first declining, had consented to contribute, and the question was still under the consideration of the Government. As soon as a decision was arrived at papers would be laid on the table.

The EARL OF CARNARVON emphasised the important results which would accrue from the institution of the Pacific service, and specified among them a rapid postal and passenger route to the East; a British telegraphic line to the East; cheap and rapid transport for troops and stores across Canada to the East; a third route, in addition to the Suez Canal and Cape routes; a supply of armed cruisers available in war. If we did not assist some other Power would, and our supremacy in the Pacific would be seriously endangered.

The EARL OF DUNRAVEN and EARL GRANVILLE supported the scheme, and the EARL OF HARROWBY then withdrew his motion, in view of the assurance that the Government were still considering the matter.

ANNUAL REPORTS FROM THE COLONIES.

April 29th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Commander Bethell,

SIR H. HOLLAND said,—In the self-governing Colonies the Ministers are responsible for the preparation of the annual reports on those Colonies, and it would not be desirable to require the Governors of those Colonies to furnish their own report in addition. The Colonial Government reports are very full and able, and although they are too voluminous to reprint here as Parliamentary papers, a form in which they would not be very accessible to the general public, I will endeavour to make arrangements for placing them, as soon as they are received, in the libraries of the Houses of Parliament.

THE NEW HEBRIDES.

May 2nd.—In the House of Lords there was an important debate in which Lord Harrowby, Lord Rosebery, Lord Carnarvon, and Lord Granville took part, with regard to the French occupation of the New Hebrides. We have referred to the debate in another column.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Henniker Heaton, MR. RAIKES said, that the usual ship letter gratuity of 1d. per letter had been paid to the *Coptic* for mails for conveyance to Tasmania and New Zealand. The charge made to the public was 6d. per letter.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON thereupon called attention to the fact that although the British Post Office only pays 1d. per letter for the conveyance of mails by the regular monthly steamers of the Shaw, Saville, and Albion Line, which make the passage to Tasmania in thirty-nine days, the charge of 6d. per letter is made to the public.

AUSTRALIAN POSTAGE.

May 5th.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Henniker Heaton,

MR. RAIKES said,—The sums paid to the Governments of the Australasian Colonies on account of postage collected in the United Kingdom on correspondence sent in Australasian mails during the years mentioned by the hon. gentleman were as follows:—1879, £56,722; 1880, £36,757; 1881, £34,750; 1882, £38,209; 1883, £39,911; 1884, £42,374; 1885, £50,515.

NEW GUINEA.

May 13th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Sir G. Campbell,

SIR H. HOLLAND said,—The Government of New Guinea will be administered by an officer appointed by and responsible to Her Majesty's Government, and he will be guided by the instructions of the Governor of Queensland. The Governor of Queensland will be directed to consult his Government upon all matters relating to British New Guinea, but will not be absolutely bound by their opinions. The scheme will have to be approved by the Colonial Governments, and legislation will be necessary in Queensland. The details of the scheme will shortly be placed before Parliament, so that an opinion may be expressed upon it before it is carried out; but the formal sanction of Parliament is not required. A vote will have to be taken in due course of time.

ZULULAND.

MR. M'ARTHUR asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the heads of the Zulu people had accepted the boundary fixed by the recent convention with the Boers together with the British protectorate over East Zululand; and whether he was able to communicate to the House any information as to the establishment of law and order in Swaziland.

SIR H. HOLLAND.—No formal concurrence as to the boundary has been given by the Zulu chiefs, but they are understood to have accepted it now that they have been informed that the arrangement is final and cannot be altered. They received favourably the announcement that the supreme authority and protection of Her Majesty would be extended to Zululand. Her Majesty's Sovereignty will be declared over Zululand, which includes the Reserve and what has been called Eastern Zululand, and Residents will be appointed under the Governor of Natal, who will also be appointed Governor of Zululand, with power of legislating and establishing Courts by proclamation. As to Swaziland, Her Majesty's Government are precluded by Article 12 of the convention with the South African Republic from assuming the control of that territory, and nothing has occurred there to warrant active interference in its affairs. Assurances have been given by the Government of the South African Republic that they are mindful of the obligations resting upon them as upon Her Majesty's Government by the convention to maintain the independence of Swaziland.

ZULULAND.

May 17th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Sir R. Temple, SIR H. HOLLAND said,—Zululand came under the paramount

authority of Her Majesty at the end of the war in 1879, and that fact was fully recognised by the Zulus. The Zulu chiefs, frightened at the encroachments of the Boers, whom some of them had invited into Zululand, did ask us to defend them. We undertook to negotiate with the new Republic, which had been recognised by the late Government, and a line of boundary has been settled. On February 8th the chiefs were informed by Mr. Osborn that British protection, carrying with it the supreme authority of Her Majesty's Government, was to be extended to Eastern Zululand. I telegraphed on February 12th for information as to the feeling of the Zulus, and received an answer on the 14th giving Mr. Osborn's opinion that the majority of the chiefs, including Umnyamana, would gladly accede, that the people would be specially glad of British rule, the only obstacle being the opposition of Ndabuko. Again, on the 15th, I received a telegram from Sir Arthur Havelock stating that Mr. Osborn has just telegraphed to him that a favourable answer had been received from Dinizulu and Ndabuko, as well as the other chiefs, with regard to the agreement. Then, and not till then, Her Majesty's Government approved of Mr. Osborn's action.

FRANCE AND THE NEW HEBRIDES.

SIR J. GOLDSMID asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what notice had been taken of a petition, dated September, 1883, and presented to Her Majesty by Lord Normanby on his return to England, addressed to her by the chiefs of the Island of Tanna in the New Hebrides, objecting to French annexation, and saying that if the island was to be annexed by any civilised Power they would prefer it to be the Australian Colonies.

SIR H. HOLLAND.—The hon. baronet probably refers to a petition which was received in June, 1884, as an enclosure to a despatch from the acting Governor of Victoria. Lord Normanby does not appear to have been concerned with it in any way. The petition was forwarded at the request of a Mr. Thomas, correspondent of the *Melbourne Argus*, who seems to have been mainly instrumental in getting it up, and who witnessed the marks attached to it by the natives of Tanna. LORD DERBY informed the acting Governor, in reply, that he had laid the petition before the Queen, but had not been able to advise Her Majesty to take any action in reference to it; and that Her Majesty's Government had no reason to suppose that the French Government had any intention of taking possession of the Island of Tanna.

ZULULAND.

May 19th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Dr. Clark,

SIR H. HOLLAND said,—The Zululand which has been annexed includes all the kingdom of Cetewayo, excepting what has been assigned to the new Republic. It does not include any part of Tongaland. The areas of the parts of Zululand are—New Republic, 2,854 square miles; British Zululand, comprising the Reserve Territory and Eastern Zululand, 8,220 square miles. The new Republic is therefore little more than a fourth of the total area, whereas under the agreement of August, 1884, the Zulus had practically ceded 4,234 square miles to the Boers; the difference, 1,380 square miles, has been secured to them by the friendly intervention of Her Majesty's Government. Dinizulu, Undabuko, Umnyamana, and the other principal chiefs of Zululand received favourably the intimation that Her Majesty's supreme authority and protection would be extended to their country. It is proposed to grant them pensions during their lives. Zululand will not be annexed to Natal—at all events at present—and will be administered as a separate Crown Colony for the benefit of the natives.

DR. CLARK asked what was the estimated cost of the administration of the new Crown Colony of Zululand.

SIR H. HOLLAND replied that the increase in the cost of administration was estimated at £6,037 a year. The Government hoped to meet this in future years by a native hut tax, and by an impost such as was levied in the Reserve, but for the £5,000 of the current year it was not proposed to ask the British taxpayer to pay anything, because it would be met out of the Reserve fund, which had been accumulated by careful management. The Reserve had now become a part of Zululand.

Subsequently a debate took place upon the question of the annexation.

THE ROYAL TITLES.

MR. H. VINCENT asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government would consider, in connection with the forthcoming Jubilee rejoicings, and in concert with Colonial Governments, the desirability of advising the Crown to recognise the progress made during the 50 years of Her Majesty's reign by Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and many of the Colonies founded by the British people, by such further extension of the Royal titles as might place other portions of the Empire on an equality in that respect with Great Britain, Ireland, and India. (Hear, hear.)

MR. BADEN-POWELL also asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether any action had been taken in consequence of the agreement unanimously come to at the Colonial Conference that, subject to Her Majesty's pleasure, there should be an extension of the present title of Her Majesty, so as to include a distinct reference to the Colonies.

MR. W. H. SMITH.—My answer to this question will also be an answer to a question of which I have received private notice from the hon. member for the Kirkdale Division of Liverpool. The question of the hon. member for Sheffield was brought under the consideration of the Colonial delegates at the Conference, and after some discussion they expressed themselves in favour of an extension of title which would include the Colonies by special and distinct reference. Upon receiving an intimation of the opinion of the delegates, Her Majesty's Government instructed the Governors of the responsible Government Colonies to ascertain the views of their respective Ministers upon this question. To this inquiry full replies have not yet been received, and there seems some little difference of opinion on the subject. It will, however, receive careful consideration from Her Majesty's Government.

Imperial Federation.

JULY, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

OUR readers will note with satisfaction that MR. A. H. LANDSEER has successfully contested the constituency of Mount Barker in the South Australian general election. It will be recollected that we called attention last month to the Imperial Federation sentiments expressed by MR. LANDSEER during his canvass, and we are right glad to be able to congratulate him upon having won his seat.

THE importance attached by the Colonies to the session of the Imperial Conference is evident from the fact that the *Melbourne Argus* contained more than two columns of telegraphic intelligence about the opening meeting. Those who are in the habit of communicating with Australia by cable will be able to form a just idea of the expense of such lengthy messages, which would hardly have been incurred had not the proprietors of the *Argus* been well aware that the Conference was an event of unique significance in the history of the British Empire.

NEW ZEALAND schoolmasters are at present suffering under a genuine grievance. Their teachers' certificates, which are acknowledged in Sydney and the other Colonies, are treated as so much waste paper in Victoria, and before they can obtain employment there they have to sit for examination in Melbourne. It is stated that the New Zealand certificates are only granted after an examination fully as difficult as that in Victoria, and if this be so, the irksome formalities of a fresh examination might surely be dispensed with. The object can hardly be to "protect" Victorian teachers, for the obstacle, though tiresome, is trivial, and we believe that English certificates are available in the Colony without further local qualification. The Education Department of Victoria should remember the facilities granted to the Colony for affiliation of students to English Universities, which MR. DEAKIN prizes so highly, and follow the good example by throwing open the appointments in the elementary schools to teachers who have properly qualified themselves in other Colonies, without compelling them to undergo the same process twice.

WE are glad to hear that the Victorian Defence Forces have never before been so satisfactorily drilled as during the late Easter encampment. Both military and naval forces took part in the operations, which were prolonged for a full week. The troops were encamped on the ground selected for a permanent defensive position by the authorities, with a view to protecting Melbourne against an attack by land from the direction of Western Port. They have thus gained practical experience in their work at the very place where their services would be required in actual hostilities. It is also satisfactory to learn that an attempt on the part of the gunboat *Albert* to pass the forts at the Heads unobserved, failed completely, the vessel being promptly discovered by the torpedo boats on patrol duty.

AT a time when great efforts are being made to point out the difference between the National Debt of Great Britain and the reproductive loans of the Colonies, it is worth noting that all Colonists do not hold such sanguine

views about the expenditure upon public works as some who have been recently speaking on the subject in London. Our friend MR. McMILLAN, for instance, whose high position in the mercantile community of New South Wales is unquestioned, has recently spoken in the Legislative Assembly on the subject in a much less enthusiastic tone. "He did hope," he said, "that in the future the debt of the Colony would be of an interest-bearing character, so far as our public works were concerned—(hear, hear)—and that the loans would be for works that were really required, and not solely to give labour to the population of the country. He entirely dissented from any system which made it necessary to commence public works for the sole, or almost sole, purpose of giving work to the people of the Colony. The fact was, the way in which the public works had been entered upon in the past made it necessary to employ labour upon more public works in the future; which was a state of things that ought not for one moment to exist." We commend this passage to MR. G. BADEN POWELL, M.P. The public debt of New South Wales amounts to over £35,000,000.

IN his recently published memoirs, ADMIRAL SEMMES, of the Confederate States Navy, makes the following observations upon the Colonial policy of the British Empire. As a man who has travelled all over the world, he has had better opportunities than most people of perceiving the true value of Colonies, and his testimony is worth consideration as that of a disinterested outsider:—"Great Britain, with an infinite forecast, not only girdles the sea with her ships, but the land with her trading stations. In her colonisation and commerce consists her power. Lop off these, and she would become as insignificant as Holland. And so beneficent is her rule, that she binds her Colonies to her with hooks of steel. Colonisation is as much of a necessity for Great Britain as it was for the Grecian States and for Rome when they became overcrowded with population."

WE are glad to see that the old belief in the "bogey of Downing Street" has been banished even beyond the Antipodes. The *Lyttelton* (New Zealand) *Times* finds the conduct of SIR HENRY HOLLAND "particularly refreshing" as offering a "fine contrast to the grudging petty spirit" of its political opponents. SIR HENRY, if our contemporary is correctly informed, offered to alter the date fixed for the opening of the Colonial Conference, so that the Premiers of some of the great Colonies might, without interfering with their Parliamentary duties, be present in person on an "occasion unique in the history of the Empire and her Colonies." It is pleasant to think that the report which the New Zealand representatives will take home to their fellow-Colonists, after personal intercourse with the Colonial Secretary round the Council table, is not likely to do anything but strengthen the favourable impression they have already formed.

ACCORDING to the St. John's correspondent of the *Montreal Gazette*, the people of Newfoundland are beginning to wonder whether they did wisely in refusing to enter the Dominion when the opportunity was given them in 1867. This much at least is certain, that Canada has progressed very rapidly of late years, while Newfoundland has stood still. If prosperity refused to return to the fisheries—the staple and almost the sole industry of the island—perhaps the islanders might do worse than claim a share in the superabundant prosperity of the Dominion.

WHATEVER Englishmen may think of mail subsidies, Canada at least has no doubts on the subject. The

Dominion Government has provided in their estimates for a subsidy sufficient to secure the establishment of a line of steamers between Canada and the West Indies, and, what is more, the Halifax Chamber of Commerce has passed a resolution approving of the action of Government in the matter. Meanwhile, before these pages are in the hands of our readers, the first of the Canadian Pacific steamers from Vancouver to Yokohama and Hong Kong will have already sailed, and the route over which no flag but the British floats will have been actually established. Three old Cunard liners—the *Parthia*, *Abyssinia*, and *Batavia*—have been purchased for the service, which is to be performed once every three weeks in both directions. Canada, moreover, has not only created a new British highway across the globe, but has emphatically expressed its determination to keep that highway British at all hazards. The Manitoban Legislature having granted permission to establish connections between the Canadian Pacific and the United States lines, the Dominion Government has disallowed the charters, and the Dominion Parliament, by a majority of forty-eight, has approved their action. The Government held, it is stated, that any such charter was “calculated to weaken the Canadian Pacific and destroy its national character.”

THE scheme for the constitution of the General Council, which is to be the governing body of the Imperial Institute, has been put forward. The Council is to consist of a hundred members. Ten of these are to be nominated by the Queen; forty-five are to represent Great and forty-five Greater Britain. Of the representatives of Great Britain five—the SPEAKER of the House of Commons, the GOVERNOR of the Bank of England, and the LORD MAYORS of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin—are to be *ex officio* members. Seventeen are to be elected by the Mayors of the different corporations, arranged in groups for the purpose. The remaining twenty-three are to be nominated by various societies and bodies representative of the different trade and commercial interests. Of the forty-five remaining members India claims fifteen, Canada and Newfoundland ten, the Crown Colonies six, and the remaining great self-governing Colonies two apiece. The mode of election of Indian and Colonial representatives is to be determined hereafter. It is easy for detailed criticism to pick holes in so large a scheme; to suggest, for example, that Oxford and Cambridge had a better right to representation than the Royal Academy, or that New South Wales and Tasmania are scarcely of equal importance. But, on the whole, there can be no doubt that the scheme is both a wise and a generous one. Dublin and Edinburgh are put on a par with London, and in all respects care has been taken that, if any interests are over-represented, it shall be those which are least able to defend themselves. But the mission of the Imperial Institute is to prove that the Empire is one and indivisible, and we do wrong to speculate on the possibility of the shock of jarring and clashing interests ever being felt within its walls.

It is not so very long ago that, if a gentleman's son turned out a ne'er-do-well, he was shipped off to the Colonies, and his family washed their hands of him. But with steamers from London to Australia in five weeks, this convenient state of things perforce came to an end. The ne'er-do-well could get home again much too easily. Perhaps, therefore, on the whole, the modern system of training a lad for a Colonial life as one would train him to be a doctor or a solicitor is to be preferred in the interests of all parties. The Colonial College that has recently been established at Hollesley Bay, in Suffolk, where students learn to plough and to fell timber, to milk, and to manage

cattle and sheep, can hardly fail to do much good. On the one hand it will give the intending Colonist an education that must be of the utmost service to him in his after career; on the other it will afford those who are unfitted for a Colonial life an opportunity of learning the truth before it is too late. How many pitiful tales of gentlemen's sons touting for hotels, or breaking stones on the high road, might we not have been saved if Colonial Colleges had been established thirty years ago!

WE wonder what proportion of the electorate of Great Britain is aware that within the last two years the limit of British protection has advanced from Kimberley to Shoshong, a distance of between 400 and 500 miles, into the heart of Africa, and what is more, that the Government is now being urged—and as far as we can see rightly urged—to advance the frontier another 500 miles right up to the Zambesi river. There are two arguments advanced in favour of a forward policy, either of which is strong by itself; both together they will probably prove irresistible. The one that gold-miners are rapidly opening up the country, and that they will need the protection of a settled Government; the other, that if we do not move at once, Germany will, and then Natal and the Cape will be cut off for ever from all hope of trade with equatorial Africa. But neither the Cape nor Natal can undertake the task of administering these vast territories. As Imperial Federationists, therefore, we say, without hesitation, let the Home Government undertake the duty, provided it is understood that a new Province is being added to the Empire, not that we are conquering a territory to be handed over on the first opportunity to a Dutch republic.

WE are very glad to see that at a recent meeting of the Cobden Club a resolution was carried in favour of a reduction of postage between England and the Colonies. Such a reduction is, in the opinion of the Club, “highly desirable, and would tend greatly to the advantage of both the home and Colonial communities.” We are the more pleased to record this victory for our cause, since the Cobden Club has always been supposed, rightly or wrongly, to belong to the school of economists who scorn sentiment and measure national interests by the scale of pounds, shillings, and pence alone. If the resolution of the Club implies that the reduction of postal rates will pay directly, it is a valuable testimony to the truth of MR. HEATON'S calculations. If, on the other hand, the Club are coming to think that after all an Englishman is better than a foreigner—even to trade with—their adhesion to the cause of Imperial Federation will be all the more valuable, as showing that even the calm heights where the sages of political economy repose are not inaccessible to the wares of popular sentiment.

LESS eminent than the Prime Ministers and Chief Secretaries whom the Colonies sent us some weeks back, but scarcely less representative, we shall have shortly to welcome our Colonial rivals in outdoor sports. Failing an Australian team, Canada is sending a cricket eleven to try conclusions with the Old Country. According to the *Canadian Gazette*, “a Toronto sporting man, who says he has calculated the chances closely, ventures the opinion that the Canadians will win two-thirds of their matches.” We always knew that the Canadians were a bold race, but if the “Toronto sporting man” is a fair specimen, the race is even more venturesome than we had thought. We only hope the prophet may turn out as accurate as he is bold. Canada is also to the fore in the competition for the Kolapore Cup at Wimbledon. The other competitors include the Cape of Good Hope—a new entry, unless we are

mistaken—India, Jersey, and Guernsey. If the tiny Norman islands are to match themselves against great continents, such as India and Canada, the unprofessional observer will be apt to think that the contest ought to partake of the nature of a handicap.

As far as the Colonial Office is concerned, SIR EDWARD WATKIN is prepared to solve off-hand the thorny question of selection and promotion. Here is his recipe. No one, from the head down to the office boy, shall enter the doors without having passed in British Empire geography. Secondly, no one shall be promoted who has not visited some one British Colony or Province. Lastly, no one shall be eligible for the highest offices who has not visited and studied personally every portion of the British Empire. For our own part we confess that SIR EDWARD seems, if not to have suggested the ideal test, at least to have got nearer it than the Civil Service Commission.

WE are very glad to observe that the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute have followed our example in calling the attention of the authorities to the desirability of taking the next Census in one form throughout the British Empire. Members of the League may feel assured that they have embarked upon a reasonable and important enterprise when similar action is taken within a fortnight by the Colonial Institute. The more allies we have the better, for the work of moving official minds is not easy, and we shall be happy to supply information on the subject to any societies which are desirous of assisting us, with a view to combined and organised effort.

SIR FRANCIS DE WINTON read a very interesting paper on "Practical Colonisation" before the Colonial Institute on June 4th. Assuming that the necessity for colonisation had already been amply proved, COLONEL DE WINTON proceeded to unfold a scheme, based upon the experience already attained in connection with LADY GORDON CATHCART's crofter colony in Canada, and others. The whole paper deserves careful study, but enters too much into detail for us to summarise it here.

THE following address to HER MAJESTY, on the occasion of her Jubilee, has been adopted by both Houses of the New South Wales Parliament, on the motion of SIR HENRY PARKES:—

"To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. May it please your Majesty,—We, the members of the Legislative Council and of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, in Parliament assembled, desire to approach your Majesty and to offer our loyal and heartfelt congratulations on the completion of the fiftieth year of your Majesty's beneficent reign. We humbly trust that the Almighty may long preserve your life, that the weight of your great sorrows may be lightened by wise counsels giving happiness to your people; that you may at all times be sustained by the loyal attachment and affection of your subjects in all parts of the Empire; and we dutifully assure your Most Gracious Majesty that in no portion of your vast dominions are the sentiments of loyalty and love for your Throne and person more warmly cherished than by the inhabitants of New South Wales."

WE understand that a proposal has been set on foot in Canada for establishing an annual Imperial Congress for Scientific Workers, with the object of enabling men of science throughout the Dominion to communicate more freely with those engaged in similar pursuits in other parts of the Empire. This is, indeed, a practical measure of Federation which cannot be too heartily applauded. When will it be perceived that the course which individuals and great societies consider the most advantageous for their own

interests is equally certain to prove beneficial to the various portions of the Empire in administering national business?

WE welcome the adoption by the *Melbourne Argus* of the principle that sacrifices are worth incurring for the sake of promoting Imperial interests. In some recent remarks upon the proposed Trans-Pacific route from Canada to the East, the leading Victorian Journal says:—

"There is no objection at all to abandoning the present San Francisco contract for a Canadian service. On the contrary, Australia ought to make a financial sacrifice to promote the change—a change which means an American route through British territory; but, on the other hand, we cannot afford to check the development of the Cape and Canal routes, which are giving us the magnificent new vessels of the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient lines. Sentiment is sentiment, and we value the Canadian-Australian sentiment highly. But business is business."

We think it will be found that in this matter sentiment and business go hand in hand; the creation of a new route will not interfere with the old ones, but will breed fresh commerce along a line hitherto unfrequented.

WE are glad to record the fact that the Admiralty have begun to show themselves alive to the weakness of our arsenals and coaling-stations. A large increase has just been made in the number of torpedo boats assigned for their protection. Malta will have ten instead of four, Gibraltar six instead of two, Hong Kong and the Cape eight instead of two each. Esquimalt will have one additional boat, making three in all; Bermuda and Halifax are to be supplied for the first time with four each, and Port Royal with two. It was anticipated that all these torpedo boats would reach their destinations by the end of June.

THE dinner at which SIR HENRY HOLLAND and MR. STANHOPE are to be the guests of the General Committee of the League will take place in Willis's Rooms on Wednesday, July 6th, at 7.30 p.m. The affair promises to be a great success, and over one hundred and twenty tickets have already been taken. In addition to speeches from the distinguished guests of the evening, those who are present will have the privilege of listening to our chairman, the EARL of ROSEBERY, who has arranged to deliver an important statement upon the work of the League and its prospects.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

A LIMITED number of copies of "Fifty Years' Progress," printed on special paper, as presented to Her Majesty the Queen, can now be procured, handsomely bound in cloth boards, gold lettered, with marbled edges, price 2s., postage 6d. Early application to the Secretary is recommended.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1886 has been compiled, and is now ready for binding with the volume.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE AND THE COLONIES.

ON the anniversary of the Queen's accession the University of Cambridge assembled in its stately Senate House to do honour to six distinguished strangers. Of these, three received degrees on account of the work they had done in connection with the Colonies and India; another was the eminent Professor of Natural History at Harvard, who represented what were once Colonies of England, and what may once again form part of a great British Federation; and another was the chief magistrate of the great commercial centre of the whole Empire. This list is an unique one. It may, in fact, be said to be an index of the belief, now so widespread, in the essential unity of the Empire. It will, moreover, show that Lord Granville was scarcely accurate in claiming for the University of London the other day a monopoly of Imperial characteristics. Cambridge has for some years now regarded itself not merely as possessing Imperial but even cosmopolitan characteristics. It is a centre of learning and culture, and as such is open to all comers, and its honours are to be obtained by the most deserving, be he a Briton or a foreigner.

The University, as its calendar says, is a commonwealth composed of seventeen colleges and two public hostels maintained by the endowments of their several founders and benefactors, each college or hostel being a body corporate bound by its own statutes, but also under the jurisdiction of the general laws of the University. The munificence of some of these foundations more than rivals modern bequests to learning and art. Dons in the olden days often left all their wealth to their college. They were, in many cases, bachelors, and thus had no sons or daughters to endow. One sometimes wonders what will be the effect of the development of the custom of marriage among Fellows now-a-days.

The government of the University is vested in a Senate, and all graduates possessing at least a Master's degree can get a vote in this body. This is the legislative body of the University, but it has no right of initiation; nothing can be offered to it for confirmation unless it has been previously sanctioned by the Council of the Senate. This council consisting of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and sixteen other members of the Senate elected by resident members, by reason of its possessing the power of initiation does really all the rough work in the matter of legislation. Legislation takes effect so soon as confirmed by the Senate, unless it amends the statutes of the University, in which case it has to be confirmed, after due delay, by the Queen in Council.

Of the Fellowships there are nearly four hundred in the University, these being among the most valuable of its honours. Many of them are perfectly open; for example, eminent men of any nation are eligible for Fellowships at Pembroke College and at St. Peter's. In other cases they are obtainable generally by graduates of Oxford or Cambridge.

Foundation Scholarships are attached to every college. Their value varies, but in no case are they sufficient to cover the average cost of a University career, though with rigid economy they have been made to suffice. These Scholarships are open to all persons under nineteen years of age, though, of course, as a rule they are obtained by Englishmen who are on the spot, and who usually possess the greatest advantages in the way of training. The fact that the examinations are only held in Cambridge naturally limits competition from the Colonies. The chances of being successful must in every case be problematical; hence the reluctance of students to come from a long distance and at a great expense. Many Colonial students, of course, join the University as pensioners (as such paying for everything, and receiving no grants from their colleges), in the hope that they may be in the course of their career elected to vacant Scholarships or exhibitions. The income that a good man can win from the University and his own college combined is often very large; but he must be really able. Competition is still widening every day, and the standard, therefore, daily rising.

There are no Scholarships or exhibitions set apart by the University for Colonists as such, and we must confess this is as it should be; the University is meant for the nurture of the brightest intellects, and limitations of birth should have

no more place than limitations of creed. Private benefactors may indeed be allowed to aid in the development of their own country, or their old school: but the case is not the same for the University. The University is for all.

The estimation in which the different colleges are held varies, and new influences are at work affecting this. For instance, a prominent lecturer would in the olden times, when colleges were more exclusive, attract to his college the best students in his own subject. But now, with the system of inter-collegiate lectures, men from whatever college can attend the lectures of any great teacher, and hence it is no longer so much the ability of the teaching staff which attracts men to a particular college, but often social and other advantages not strictly intellectual.

Again the educational influence of University life is in some danger of being weakened by the growth of clubs and societies perpetuating old school acquaintanceships and feelings; and in so far as these draw a man away from the members of his own college they are to be condemned. It is because the University has hitherto been able to take men out of the old school grooves and place them amongst students from other homes that it has turned out men of liberal instincts and wide sympathies. In this way the formation of the Australasians' Club has its bad as well as its good side.

But, perhaps, the most important feature, from a Colonial point of view, of the University of Cambridge, as it is at present, is its attitude to the other seats of learning in the Empire. This attitude may be read in the report made on November 29, 1886, by the Council to the Senate on the question of affiliating the University of New Zealand to that of Cambridge. The Council gave it as its opinion that "the University should welcome opportunities for the extension of its relations with educational bodies beyond the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, and should show a readiness to meet in a liberal spirit such technical difficulties as the circumstances of each case are likely to introduce." This praiseworthy doctrine was adopted by the Senate, the report recommending the affiliation of the University of New Zealand being confirmed on December 9, 1886.

The question of affiliation attracted official notice in 1879 when regulations were drawn up to settle the terms upon which graduates from Universities other than those of Oxford and Dublin should be allowed to join the University of Cambridge: and though the statute of affiliation embodying these regulations was not confirmed by the Queen in Council till June of last year, the regulations then drawn up remained practically unaltered. They provide that it shall be permissible for the University to affiliate to itself any educational place in the British Empire where the students are seventeen years of age at least, and which is able to be regarded as possessing a reasonably stable foundation: this connection to be terminable by either society.

Students of such places, who shall have attended courses of lectures for three years, and shall have taken a degree in honours, will be excused one year's residence in Cambridge, and also the previous examination: he will, however, be expected to read for an honours degree at Cambridge. Then the regulations go on to sketch out the minimum intellectual standard which students who have not read for honours shall be expected to have attained, and we note in accordance with this that a student of the University of New Zealand, in order to qualify for the privileges granted under the statute, must have taken in his degree examination another language besides Latin and English; for the Colonial degree simply he would not need to have done so.

In the concession to New Zealand the foregoing was the only limiting clause; while in two respects the conditions prescribed by the regulations were waived in favour of the Colonial Institution—the requirement that the University of Cambridge be represented on the governing body of the local University was dispensed with, and it was decided that a candidate need not have taken honours in the local University, seeing that he would have to read for honours at Cambridge.

Such is the attitude of this University to the younger institutions in the Colonies, and it surely must be admitted to be a just and considerate one. The University welcomes most heartily students from the Colonies as well as from elsewhere: the conditions imposed on them are only in

accordance with the spirit of the institution they seek to join. It requires two years' residence at least—and wisely, for it is not a mere examining institution; it endeavours rather to compel each student to secure for himself the advantages belonging to life at Cambridge, which cannot be obtained at any college or university situated in the midst of a thriving mercantile capital, and with the non-collegiate element far outnumbering the collegiate. Cambridge means culture and refinement as well as degree examinations, and these can only be acquired gradually and on the spot. Greater opportunities towards obtaining the benefits of such a life could not reasonably be afforded to anyone; but if any Colonial student is able to avail himself of those that do exist, he will find on joining the University that it is liberal in fact as well as in theory, and his experiences will be new if he does not carry away with him pleasant and valuable recollections of his academical life in England.

FRANK KENDALL,

*Hon. Sec. Cambridge University Branch of the
Imperial Federation League.*

SPREAD OF THE LEAGUE'S INFLUENCE IN CANADA.

AT St. Thomas, Ontario, not a thousand miles from Toronto, we are glad to find that there are at least a few people who, in spite of Professor Goldwin Smith, venture to believe that Imperial Federation is not a fantastic dream. What is more, the editor of the *St. Thomas' Times*, though by no means blind to the difficulties to be overcome, considers that "the federation of such an Empire as that of Great Britain is a grand idea, which time, discussion, and earnest thought may possibly bring into the range of practical politics." The leading article from which we quote continues:—"It is clear that the time is fast approaching when there will be a general blending together of the Empire or perhaps disintegration. We do not believe in the latter. . . . In a vast and loosely-connected Empire such as that of Great Britain at present is, there must necessarily be grave difficulties in the way, but the mere fact of the greatness of the task should not discourage efforts for its accomplishment. . . . We trust that the Imperial Federation sentiment will grow to such proportions as will result in the Union desired. We shall always be glad to publish intelligent communications on the subject, and we hope that there is a sufficient number of British sympathisers in this city to organise a branch to affiliate with the London Central League." If the press throughout the Empire will follow the example of the *St. Thomas' Times*, and discuss the question as soberly and as temperately, the League has nothing more to ask at their hands. No one can be better aware than we are that much "time, discussion, and earnest thought" will be needed before any particular scheme can be said to have come within the range of practical politics.

It is to our old and tried friend Mr. Hopkins, of Ingersoll, that we are indebted for the ventilation of the subject at St. Thomas. He writes pointing out the cardinal principles of our faith, and urging that St. Thomas should follow the example of Montreal, Halifax, and other towns, and establish in this Jubilee Year of our Queen's reign a local branch of the League. Shaping his arguments dexterously to suit the special circumstances of Canada, he shows clearly enough that Canada could not stand as an independent state except at a ruinous cost, nor could it unite with its southern neighbour except at the sacrifice of its own individuality. It would be, he writes, "the death-blow to all our aspirations of national importance." None of our colonies have more to gain by the adoption or more to lose by the rejection of Imperial Federation than the Dominion of Canada. We trust that Mr. Hopkins will continue his propaganda on behalf of the movement, and that at St. Thomas in particular we shall hear ere long that his efforts have, by the formation of a new branch, so far at least been rewarded with success.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION, the official organ of the Imperial Federation League (published by Messrs. Cassell & Co.), will be found to contain much valuable information in regard to the great scheme for uniting the British Empire, which has recently been brought so prominently before the public, and appears to be approaching the desired consummation.—*Wakefield Herald*

THE PROSPECTS OF FEDERATION FIFTEEN YEARS AGO.

THE LATE LORD IDDESLEIGH'S OPINIONS.

TO-DAY, in this summer of 1887, when the air is full of talk of the greatness and the vast expanse of our Empire, when Colonial Conference and Imperial Institute are on every lip, when Imperial Federation occupies the minds and rouses the aspirations of our rising statesmen and legislators, it is difficult for us to conceive how such questions were looked at only half a generation back. Occasionally some veteran, like Mr. Bright, reminds us of the change; but in the case of a letter-writer of to-day, we are apt to think that it is not in us but in him that the change has occurred. How vast a change, however, has really taken place is shown by a lecture entitled "Distant Correspondents," delivered in December, 1871, by the late Earl of Idlesleigh, which is included in the recently published volume of his "Lectures and Essays." At that time, when men's minds were just recovering from the shock of the dismemberment of France, and the contemptuous denunciation of the Black Sea clauses in the Treaty of Paris by the Government of Russia, Sir Stafford Northcote, in his capacity, first, as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and latterly as negotiator of the Treaty of Washington, had been spending several months in Canada and the United States. On his return he delivered a lecture to his neighbours of the Exeter Literary Society.

What the general tone of feeling was on the subject of our Colonies may be judged from one or two extracts from this lecture. "I desire," said Sir Stafford, "as far as possible to keep clear of political topics, and therefore abstain from saying much that I could say. I hope that you will not think that I am going too far in saying this, that I believe that, if the Empire is to be kept together, it can only be kept together in a monarchy. Of course it is a question which every one must consider for himself—whether it is worth while keeping the British Empire together, or whether an insular independence may not be more conducive to our well-being and happiness. That is a point on which I do not now desire to argue with those who differ from me. . . . I will say this, that with regard to the maintenance of the British Empire, instead of holding that the great extent of our Empire is a source of danger to us, and therefore a cause of danger to peace, I believe myself that, if we act wisely, and if we are able to maintain proper relations with our Colonies abroad, the maintenance of the British Empire as it is, ought to be a great guarantee for peace. . . . I am fully persuaded that it is for the interest and peace of the whole world that we should, as far as possible, keep together the British Empire." Conceive a Cabinet Minister of to-day apologising with half-a-dozen "ifs" for a belief that the British Empire was worth preserving!

But it may be said Lord Idlesleigh was behind his time; that these were not the ideas current in contemporary life and speech. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence in this very essay—all the more valuable that it is so entirely unconscious—to show that he was not behind, but in advance of, his neighbours. There is what he says as to Canada: "I wish you to understand what the actual possession of this great Dominion of Canada actually is. Many persons think that it is a great tract of forest and snow and lakes, with some fishery; that it is a territory which the United States covet, and which we cannot defend; which is always wanting us to guarantee their laws or to lend them money; and that it will one day prove a trap for our soldiers, and the sooner we are rid of it the better. This is not the condition of Canada. It is as interesting a Dominion as it is possible to conceive. . . . According to the theory which has taken possession of other people, and rides them like a nightmare, the very fact of our having possessions which it is presumed the United States covet, is in itself a source of danger to the interests and friendship between the United States and England. I hold that to be fallacious; but there is no doubt that the contact between Canada and America gives a very peculiar interest to that particular Dominion, with which it is well that you should be acquainted. Not many years ago there were a few disconnected provinces lying all along the frontier; now they have bound themselves into a confederation spreading from the

Atlantic to the Pacific, and including the large territory of Hudson Bay, capable of producing corn and grass, and everything suitable for the service of man."

Going on further to speak of the prospects of the great North-West, "a territory of which I have spoken as being then given up to the silver fox and the marten," Sir Stafford points out that the United States transcontinental lines run for a considerable distance through desert, and he adds, "There is a very much better line to be established to the westward through British territory. That country is now being brought into the Canadian Dominion. It is a rich country, capable of growing wheat and barley and various other grains and vegetables. The climate also is very suitable, and, as attention is now being directed to that country, I have no doubt that, if what I have mentioned takes place, there will be an enormous development in that part of our dominions . . . It is very important that we should have a good outlet to the Pacific Ocean from the Canadian dominions. If this can be procured, I believe the prospects of the Canadian dominions are great and assured."

Sir Stafford evidently was by no means a fatalist who despaired of the republic. If, then, a statesman as wise and enlightened as he was, one who foresaw what the Canadian Pacific Railway might accomplish, before ever its track had been surveyed except by trappers and Indian hunters, could find it necessary to leave it an open question "which every one must consider for himself, whether it is worth while keeping the British Empire together," we may conceive what was the position of public opinion in the year 1871. If we find it difficult to realise that such fossil opinions were alive and vigorous so recently, that only shows the rate at which we have moved on in the interval. We are told that Imperial Federation is at best a dream of the far-distant future. We reply that in sentiment we are to-day nearer to the England of Elizabeth than to that of fifteen or twenty years ago. If the wish that the great daughter countries over the sea should disown their mother be the *nadir* of national feeling, and Imperial Federation be its zenith, we can at least claim that in the short space of fifteen years we have measured more than half the height. Who shall say how long it may take to climb the rest?

THE NEW CANADIAN TARIFF.

IF Burns had never written anything but the two lines—

"Oh! wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as others see us,"

his memory would surely be immortalised by this couplet alone. If we may judge by two leading articles on the subject of the new Canadian Tariff, published by the *Standard* and the *Nottingham Daily Guardian*, the need for the miraculous intervention that the poet prayed for was never more urgent than at the present moment. The *Nottingham Guardian*, in a temperate but sadly reproachful article, reminds the Canadian Government not only that English public opinion has gone so far as to favourably consider the proposal to subsidise for Imperial purposes a line of steamers sailing from a Canadian port, but also that we are the best customers the people of Canada have for their surplus productions. "The Mother Country buys largely of Canadian wheat, bacon, meat, cheese, and butter: in fact everything the Canadian people like to send finds a ready, and presumably a remunerative, market in Great Britain, and the industrial population of England and Scotland will certainly have some ground of complaint if in regulating their tariff the Canadian people do not bear in mind that there must be something like give and take in such matters." We pass over the *Guardian's* adoption, as far as the Canadian Pacific subsidy is concerned, of the somewhat cynical definition of gratitude as thanks for favours to come. But we would ask why Canada should be grateful to us for buying their bacon and their butter. Possibly, in Nottingham, Canadian bacon is preferred to that which is cured and packed in Chicago, and Canadian butter to French and Danish, not because it is better value for the money, but because it is produced by British hands on British soil. But unless this is so (and if it be so in Nottingham it is certainly not the case in other towns), why should Canada be grateful? It is true that if we threatened to retaliate with differential duties against

Canadian produce, Canada might consider whether it would gain or lose on the whole by the alteration on the tariff on iron. But we have proclaimed times without number *urbi et orbi* that we will have nothing to do with differential duties, not out of family affection, but because we do not believe they pay. Nor does the *Guardian* venture to hint at so abominable a financial heresy—at least on this side the Atlantic. For it does let drop a hesitating hint that after all geese and ganders are very different animals:—"If the advantages now derived from the Imperial connection are worth keeping, it might be as well to place Great Britain in a better position with regard to tariffs than foreign countries. It has always appeared to us to be of the essence of the federation idea that something of the kind should be done, and we fail to see any reason why it should not." But surely the goose may be allowed to look at the question from the other side.

But if the *Guardian* mildly reproaches, the *Standard* positively scolds, and that by no means mildly. If, says the *Standard*, "the Canadians can get us to lend them our money, they will flatter us and heap sounding phrases upon us till the most voracious appetite for such is cloyed to sickness. It is only when we expect them to pay us our money back, or at least to put up no barriers against our trade with them, that we find out how hollow these phrases are. No federation of the Empire can take place under any guise while its leading Colonies, which love us so exceedingly, strive their utmost to injure our trade." It will be news to our readers that Canada has hitherto been expected to pay us our money back, and failed to do so, or that a particular customs tariff was part of the consideration for the loan. We had hitherto fancied that Englishmen had lent their money to Canada because, while the interest was higher than that paid in England, the security was somewhat better than that furnished by Turkey or Peru, Honduras or Costa Rica. As far as we know, Englishmen have not as yet had any reason to complain of their bargain. To talk about "rabid exclusiveness," and indignantly demand, "Why should we waste a drop of our blood or spend a shilling of our means to shelter countries whose selfishness is so great that they never give a thought to any interest of ours?" is, we regretfully admit, a course little likely to further that federation of the Empire that we have so much at heart. "If it is persevered in, instead of drawing nearer together, the Colonies and the Mother Country must drift further and further apart, until one day complete severance takes place." We can hardly express how deeply we regret that a journal like the *Standard*, which takes so deservedly high a position for honest and sober patriotism, should have taken upon itself to administer to our Colonial fellow-countrymen so severe and undeserved a castigation.

Turning now from criticism to the new tariff itself, which, according to the *Standard*, "matters hardly a fleabite to us, as our trade in iron and steel with the Dominion has never exceeded in value a million and a half a year," it is worth note that in some respects the tariff is a free-trade one. The important item of steel rails for railway purposes, which amounted to £200,000 in 1885, and has averaged over £400,000 annually, if the last ten years be taken into the calculation, remains absolutely free from duty. Sir Charles Tupper's Budget speech calculates that "the increased duty necessary to carry out the policy of protection to iron will amount to about half a million dollars (say £100,000) per annum." But only about half the iron and steel imports of the Dominion come from Great Britain, so that the increased duty laid upon British industry amounts to, let us say, £50,000, levied upon £1,300,000, or roughly 4 per cent. This does not seem very crushing, especially when we remember that less than 4 per cent. of our total exports of iron and steel go to Canada at all. If one day complete severance is to take place, we trust, at least, the question will be decided upon some issue more important than whether a trade of £32,000,000 per annum is to bear an additional handicap of £50,000 a year or not.

It is also necessary to remember that a similar outcry was raised in 1879, when the tariff charges were undergoing revision, and that the event has falsified the sinister predictions then indulged in concerning the imminent ruin of English trade with Canada. The truth is that the new

duties are not intended to discriminate against England, but against the United States, and the favourable feeling entertained towards this country has been testified by the best of all certificates, in the shape of material reductions in the tariff, granted out of a desire to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of British manufacturers.

AN UNLUCKY QUOTATION.

THE *Toronto Week* has had a wonderful stroke of luck. It has managed to secure an entirely unique and independent report of the speeches at the opening meeting of the recent Imperial Conference. This good fortune is remarkable, because the report which has reached our contemporary is not only distinguished by essential differences from all others that we have seen, but the very points wherein departure from the unanimous concordance of the rest is observable are those upon which the sensibilities of the *Week* would otherwise have been shocked severely. It is easy to imagine with what fear and trembling the *Week* must have anticipated the assembling of the Conference. For months it had been inveighing against Imperial Federation, and endeavouring with might and main to throw cold water upon all patriotic aspirations towards Unity of the Empire; but in spite of its utmost exertions, a Conference had been summoned, amid universal rejoicing, for objects which looked uncommonly like the fulfilment of the *Week's* pet aversion. A crumb of comfort was derived from the exclusion of "Political Federation" from the programme. This, of course, was easily transformed into "Imperial Federation" and treated as synonymous by opponents of the League; but until the Conference had begun, and the Ministerial speeches been delivered, it was hardly safe to presume too far upon a fallacy, which a few sentences from Lord Salisbury might explode in an instant.

But everything comes to those who know how to wait; and to the *Toronto Week* there came at length, concerning the fateful 4th of April, a report singular and deceptive indeed—*una de multis splendide mendax*—but destined to fill with exultation its despondent columns. Henceforth there need be no anxiety about Imperial Federation. The snake, scotched as the *Week* vainly imagined already, had been killed outright by the Prime Minister of England. No need in future to argue that black was white and that political Federation was identical with Imperial Federation. The League should be hoist with its own petard; Imperial defence was distinctly part of its programme, and commercial union an object of its ambition. Both these aims, said that delicious report, had been absolutely and finally annihilated by Lord Salisbury. What a chance for a triumphant crow in the next issue of the *Week*! Out with the inverted commas and italic types; let the sentences be faithfully reprinted *verbatim et literatim et punctuatim*! Nay, let them also be stereotyped, for they must be served up again and again, until the adversary be utterly confounded!

Softly, softly, O friend! Were it not wiser, before stereotyping, before publishing even, to make quite certain of the report being correct? Suppose some mistake had arisen, suppose Lord Salisbury's words were not quite accurately recorded. What chagrin, what useless regret, if the *Week* be convicted of purveying news inconsistent with fact! Should such dire calamity ensue, the confidence of its readers would vanish for ever. As burnt children who fear the fire, they will be suspicious lest the foundation of all its arguments be rotten, and the whole superstructure of its attacks upon Federation untrustworthy. And it appears, after all, that there *was* a mistake somewhere; that the *Week* did somehow fail to discover what the Prime Minister really said; that in fact his words were the exact opposite of what our contemporary supposed. The following parallel passages will speak for themselves. We feel sorry for the *Week*, especially for its unfortunate italics.

LORD SALISBURY, AS REPORTED IN THE <i>TORONTO WEEK</i> .	LORD SALISBURY'S OWN WORDS AT THE CONFERENCE.
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BEFORE the German Empire was united there were two forms of union—the customs union and the military union. *Neither of these was possible in the British Empire.*

BEFORE the German Empire came to its present condition it had two forms of union, both of which I think might be possible in an Empire such as ours.

THE "LEEDS MERCURY" URGENT FOR FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

THE *Leeds Mercury*, one of the half-dozen most important newspapers published out of London, has devoted a series of six admirable articles to the work of the recent Colonial Conference. We call our readers' special attention to them for two reasons. In the first place, there is no Imperial Federationist, be he as well informed and as enthusiastic as he pleases, who might not obtain fresh information and fresh encouragement from their perusal. Facts and figures are handled in a way that could not fail to impress the dullest imagination. But more than this—Yorkshiremen are proverbially hard-headed; and when a great Yorkshire popular newspaper day after day gives the subject of Imperial Federation a prominent place in its columns, we may surely suppose that it is a subject which has riveted the attention of the readers of the journal.

It is obviously impossible for us in the space at our disposal to attempt even to summarise a series of articles; we trust that they will ere long be published in pamphlet form and circulated by the League as a Federation tract. Meanwhile, we can only briefly glance at salient points. The writer points out that the English-speaking races number already a hundred millions, half of them still being subjects of our Queen. In a generation or so the hundred millions must have grown to two hundred; those now alive may see them reach three hundred millions. "They live for the most part in the temperate regions of the earth, and possess the great wheat-growing tracts of the world." The future is in their hands. "We may regret it, we may dislike it, but it is among the certainties of the immediate future that French, German, and Italian must become practically provincial dialects." "Of all British interests the greatest and most unvarying is that of peace." "Over 50 per cent. of our corn supply is sea-borne, so is every pound of our cotton and the great bulk of our wool. Deprive Lancashire of its cotton, Yorkshire of its wool, and both of half their food, and it requires no word painting to enable us to comprehend the result. Shortly put, it would be ruin." What, then, do we do to protect our monopoly of the wheat lands of the earth, our huge commerce, our very life? For every threepence we spend on the protection of our commerce, France (in proportion to its amount) spends a guinea on hers. For every shilling we spend, Russia spends eight pounds. Surely the rest of the world is mad, or else we must be foolhardy to madness ourselves.

Turning to the use we make of the money which we do spend, the writer shows by flagrant examples how money is wasted for lack of organisation and co-operation. "Conceive," says he, "one of our great commercial firms, with branches in London, Calcutta, Montreal, Melbourne, and Hong Kong, allowing the staff of each branch to make contracts, to despatch cargoes, without any reference to what was being done at the other centres of the firm's operations." "It is no exaggeration to say that the value of both the Imperial and the Colonial armaments might be doubled by the outlay, not of more money, but of that apparently much scarcer commodity, brains." Co-operation then for defence is the first object. But there are other points not to be neglected meanwhile. "England, which thirty years ago was in advance of every country in the matter of postal facilities, is now behind such countries as Holland, Denmark, or even Peru and Brazil." The rate paid for letters to Australia is £200 per ton. "We now pay five pounds for transmitting letters which could be conveyed as freight for three-and-sixpence. When a proper system of Imperial postage has been established, there are plenty of other reforms to be taken in hand. Emigration must be organised by co-operation between the different Governments. Laws must be assimilated, harmonised, and simplified, till unity of institutions, customs, and conveniences among all British subjects becomes so much a matter of course, and their interruption so intolerable an interference with daily habit, that the very idea of abandoning such a system will appear too unreasonable for serious discussion."

We end as we began, with the hope that these most useful articles will be rescued from the oblivion to which is inevitably and speedily consigned all work, however admirable, that is buried beneath the mass of ephemeral matter which crowds the columns of a newspaper.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN THE JUNE REVIEWS.

THE most ardent advocate of Imperial Federation can hardly complain that the subject is being neglected at present. It appears impossible, alike for Colonists and for stay-at-home Englishmen, to discuss even such matters as new railways or fresh gold-mines without casting a glance forward towards the great idea which all are beginning to see looming in vague outline in the still misty distance.

In the *Fortnightly Review* Mr. Baden Powell, discussing the material development of the Colonies, shows not only that "the British Empire has grown fivefold in fifty years," but that all the time "India and the Colonies have maintained their economic position as great markets for the absorption of precisely those manufactures which seem to find their natural home of origin in the British Islands, and as great areas of supply for those very foods and raw materials which the dense and busy population of the home islands have neither the land nor the leisure to cultivate." "While the capital of the Mother Country more and more seeks investment in the Colonies, and less and less in foreign countries, there is also a growing tendency for the purveyors of the home market to seek the goods they desire from the Colonies rather than from foreign countries." "In all genuine popular movements," says the writer, "however much they may on the surface appear to be inspired by sentiment, there will surely be found a basis of economic fact." Such an economic fact, as a justification for the Federation sentiment, Mr. Powell finds in the circumstance that, whereas twenty-five years ago nearly all the wheat and flour imported into the United Kingdom came from foreign lands, to-day out of an enormously increased supply, not less than twenty-five per cent. comes from within the Empire.

In the last page of his article Mr. Powell raises incidentally a question of quite first-rate importance. It is this—As all the world knows, we are restrained by what are known as "most-favoured-nation-clauses," from reducing the duty on Spanish wines to 6d. per gallon, so long as claret or champagne is taxed at its present shilling. Similarly it would be impossible for us to raise the duty on Manilla cigars, while leaving that upon Havannahs at its present amount. But Mr. Powell asks pertinently: Have foreigners anything to do with our municipal taxation? Why should there be any duty levied on the transit of wine from Cape Town or Melbourne to London, or on tobacco from Jamaica to Bristol, any more than between London and Bristol themselves, unless it pleases us to levy it? The question seems to us of such very great importance that we shall hope to recur to it at an early date. Unless we are much mistaken, its free ventilation would have a very remarkable tendency to warn foreign finance ministers that it was scarcely safe to differentiate too severely against British iron or Jamaica sugar, for example.

It is hardly South Africa that Englishmen would expect to lead the way towards the accomplishment of the ideal of Imperial Federation. And yet Mr. Robinson, a member of the Natal Legislative Council, who describes himself as "one who believes implicitly in the unity of the Empire, and who cherishes most loyally the pride of British citizenship," writes most hopefully in the *Nineteenth Century*. He says:

I dare to believe, and confidently submit, that South Africa is now incomparably nearer the goal which Sir Bartle Frere set before himself at the outset of his mission than it was when he landed on its shores in April, 1877." That goal, Mr. Robinson tells us elsewhere, was "to be the harbinger of concord and union among the diverse races of South Africa." "I repeat my conviction that in no part of the Empire has more successful effect been given to that great principle of Colonial self-rule, which is the crowning glory of the Victorian era, than in that land of diverse races and conflicting conditions, the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope." It is the more gratifying to read this testimony from a citizen of the neighbouring Colony, as it certainly, to some extent, runs counter to ideas that have commonly been entertained in England on the subject. Comparing South Africa to-day with its condition ten years ago, Mr. Robinson finds that "race feeling is fast subsiding; how much so, only those who have lived in South Africa during this period can understand." "If tension exists now, it springs from fiscal inter-rivalry, not from race

jealousies." Mr. Robinson will scarcely go so far as to assert that race feeling has entirely subsided, but it is very satisfactory to learn, both from Mr. Robinson and also from Mr. R. W. Murray, in his "Glance at the Gold Fields from Kimberley" in *Murray's Magazine*, that the difficulties between English and Dutch are now mainly the opposition natural between farmers and traders, between town mice and country mice.

There can be no doubt that sooner or later, as Mr. Murray says, "the railway system is to be one way or other the solvent of the South African problem." At the present moment three lines of railway are projected to connect the Transvaal with the sea-coast. A continuation of the existing Cape Town-Kimberley line, as far at least as the Vaal, is likely to be undertaken almost at once. But it is also proposed to continue the eastern line from Port Elizabeth, and the northern from East London, to a junction at some point in the Free State and thence on to Pretoria. This latter scheme of a system of railway extension centreing in the Free State would, Mr. Robinson thinks, "do more to unify South Africa and to consolidate British interests therein than any other project. It would link both the republics to the two sister Colonies" of Natal and the Cape, and it would "bring all the civilised governments and communities of South Africa into direct railway connection." "It would be an iron bond of union more effective in its practical daily operation than any compact or diplomatic understanding."

We spoke strongly in our April number of the outrageous taxation imposed by the Boers upon every article imported for the use of the miners. It is only fair, therefore, to record what Mr. Murray says, that "the Kruger Administration has evinced the liveliest desire to meet the wishes and wants of the mining communities, and to prevent any discontent." At the present moment, indeed, it looks very much as if ere long the Boers would be an outnumbered and insignificant portion of the Transvaal population. Englishmen have before now drunk themselves out of a deficit, but this would be the first time they wiped out a military defeat with an industrial victory.

MR. GLADSTONE UPON THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.

MR. GLADSTONE is to be congratulated upon his strong convictions in favour of preserving the unity of the British Empire. During his recent sojourn in Wales he made several allusions to the subject, and although it would be idle to ignore the differences of opinion which exist as to his policy for securing that unity, no member of the Imperial Federation League can afford to disregard the adherence to our ranks of one of the most famous statesmen of the age. We reproduce the passages in which Mr. Gladstone announced his acceptance of our principles, with all his wonted enthusiasm and wealth of language. In the course of his journey to Swansea on June 2nd, Mr. Gladstone said, speaking at Llandillo station:—

"I am sure of this, that the people of Wales do not for one moment believe the preposterous and absurd statement that we are persons engaged in dissolving and breaking up the British Empire. On the contrary, we are engaged in tightening the bond and confirming the foundations of that great union—(loud cheers)—because we hold that the essential conditions that bind together any people who are to be firmly associated in one political structure are not simply in the Statute-book but in the hearts and affections of the people. (Loud cheers.) A statute is a very good thing if it is conformable to those affections and those convictions. But if the statute does not express them, if the statute has been faultily made and is unwisely maintained in its present form, then the best way is to seek as carefully and as prudently as you can to bring about that union of hearts, and to trust in that union of hearts for the fortunes of the future. We are labouring, gentlemen, for the fortunes of the Empire, which undoubtedly does contain this one weak point in it, that Ireland is not at present associated with us as she ought to be in the bonds of affection.

Again on June 4th, speaking at Singleton Abbey, near Swansea, he stated that the objects which he had in view were "the greatness of the Empire, the solidity of the Empire, and the true cohesion of the Empire." And at the conclusion of his remarks he said:—

"I mean to act upon that which I really recommend to all others—namely, to go forward to the realisation of the great

objects we have in view, objects which I may well call sacred, by the application of every principle that determines right and wrong in the transactions of mankind, and to believe that with respect to the details and the secondary arrangements, important as they may be, which group themselves round the greater purposes, we shall be well able, if we use common prudence and sagacity, if we do not like them, at the proper time to adjust them also, and that, by the blessing of the Almighty, that which has heretofore been true of England—that the sun never sets on the Empire of the Queen—will be true in this richer and truer sense, that it shall never set on an Empire which is not only vast in geographical extent, but strongly united in the hearts and minds of all those who people it."

Finally, addressing a crowded meeting at Cardiff, during an interval in his return journey to London on June 7th, Mr. Gladstone said, "What we have in view is the unity of this Empire." We appeal to the veteran statesman to throw his marvellous energy into the grand cause of Imperial Federation, leaving the arena of party politics to men who have not yet earned the repose which is so justly his due. In the advocacy of our principles, he will find a task worthy of his splendid powers, and will have the satisfaction of devoting himself to an object in which "none are for a party, but all are for the State." Rescued from the heat of painful controversy, working in unison with the most distinguished politicians on both sides of the House, towards the realisation of the grandest ideal of our times, he would be invested with a higher dignity than the ablest party-leader can ever attain; for his name would be handed down to posterity as a benefactor of that mighty Empire of whose unparalleled expansion he has witnessed so large a share.

FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

(From an article by MR. ARCH. MCGOWN, Junr., Secretary of the Montreal Branch of the League, in the *Toronto Englishman's Journal*.)

IN modern days, when free institutions have reached a high degree of development, there is in the minds of some historical students a settled aversion to Imperialism, and even to such a thing as an Empire, as being in their minds associated with arbitrary and irresponsible government. But the meaning of the term Empire was rightly expressed by Edmund Burke: "An Empire is an aggregate of many states under one common head, whether this head be a monarch or a presiding republic." The British Empire comprises, then, a number of free and freedom-loving states, whose people desire nevertheless to remain perpetually united under one flag, and for all purposes that can properly be dealt with by a common authority.

THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE EMPIRE.

Let us consider what are the matters that, in the British Empire, can be properly dealt with by a common authority. These I apprehend are the generality of those subjects that bring any one of the states forming the Empire into contact with the others or with any foreign nation; they are thus respectively intra-imperial and international concerns. First then, what have we in Canada in common with the other states of the British Empire? What are our common interests with England, with the East and West Indies, the Cape, Australia, or New Zealand? No doubt they all inherit the common traditions of the entire nation, but beyond that there are important interests resulting from inter-communication between them. Canada, for example, consumes a great deal of the produce of all those countries. The tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, rice, oranges, bananas, spices, drugs, sponges, indiarubber, wool, silk, satin, tin, lead, kauri, and hardwoods used here, are largely produced in one or more of the several British Colonies, not to speak of the manufactures of the United Kingdom. They, on the other hand, consume immense quantities of articles that Canada produces to the best advantage in her agricultural, animal, forest, mineral, and manufacturing industries. Trade in all these branches can be developed to an unlimited extent, and there is this advantage in trade with other portions of our Empire, and especially with the Mother Country, over trade with the United States, that while the United States are themselves exporters of everything we produce, and are our competitors in the markets of the Mother Country, of the British West Indies, and of every other country in the world, the United Kingdom is an importer of all we produce, and on a scale even much larger than we can now supply. Trade within the Empire can then be developed to an extraordinary degree, if fostered as it might be, were the people of the Empire to regard their relations with one another as of peculiar importance. All this would follow from spreading a feeling of common nationality. A distinguished Australian journalist, who visited us last summer, told our merchants that Australia imported large quantities of produce such as Canada supplies,

which they would buy from us by preference if they could get it at the same price as elsewhere, and would even pay a little more to get it from their fellow-subjects here.

ENGLAND'S QUARRELS ARE CANADA'S ALSO.

All parts of the British Empire are one nation in the eyes of the world; they have and must have a common army and navy of defence. We have indeed such an army and navy now, but the burden of maintaining it is altogether borne by the Mother Country, and she alone has up to the present had the control and administration of it. But as this country, Australia, and South Africa are rapidly advancing to the position of national manhood, they must speedily be given a voice in the control of the imperial forces, and must contribute to their equipment and maintenance each in proportion to its national importance. If Canada were to become independent she would of necessity establish an army and navy of her own, strong enough not only to suppress insurrections in her midst, but to protect, and enforce respect for, the rights of her citizens against the encroachments of all foreign powers. And it is more in accordance with our traditions, with the constitution we have established, to contribute a proper share to the support of the Imperial forces, and to demand a proper voice in its administration with the right of invoking its aid when necessary to support our fisheries or our commerce scattered over every sea, than to set about erecting a new defensive force. And if "the experiment of forming a great British State on this Continent has not yet failed" it is because Canada has shown no disposition to shirk her responsibilities through fear of "embroiling herself in the quarrels of the Old World," which after all are as much Canada's as England's quarrels, since they are for the protection of the commerce of the whole Empire, and must in the future be decided upon by all self-governing parts of the Empire alike.

AN IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF DEFENCE.

On the method of giving a voice, and of levying contributions, no great consensus of opinion has yet been reached. I can therefore only speak for myself, and my conviction is that the only way in which Canada can enjoy the authority she has a right to demand in the control of Imperial forces, and in all other matters of Imperial concern, is by having representation in proportion to her national importance in the Imperial Parliament that controls these matters, a Parliament that will deal with such matters alone. This I think is the only constitutional way known to modern representative Government.

HOW TO RAISE AN IMPERIAL FUND.

Having been given this, she should contribute to Imperial expenses in proportion to her actually realised wealth as compared with the other countries of the Empire, and this contribution should, I believe, be raised mainly by taxation upon imports from all nations that do not contribute towards the support of our British army and navy. That is to say, as nearly as possible, a uniform rate of duty should be levied (independent of ordinary revenue taxes) upon imports from foreign nations. A concession that might be made in the interest of peace and good fellowship throughout the world, is the exemption from such duties of any nation willing to grant like exemption from duty on all its imports from the British Empire. We should thus levy duties for revenue only on imports from our own people and from nations that admit our produce free; higher duties for Imperial purposes from every nation that taxes imports from our Empire. This would not imply a disturbance of tariffs, but would introduce the principle of discriminating duties; in regard to which England should take the position, that the different parts of the Empire, being liable to contribute to national purposes, are not separate nations, and that discrimination in favour of her own possessions is no breach of the principle in commercial treaties that all nations should be treated alike. It might be otherwise with the proposed exemption of free-trade countries, a subject that would demand careful attention and judicious handling.

KEEP THE BRITISH STOCK PURE.

It will I think be to the advantage of the people of this Colony to preserve, free from admixture and contamination, their national characteristics, through organic union with the fountain head of their institutions, instead of allowing themselves to disappear in the great vortex of the American social and political system; which may certainly produce a great and good people, but which is so far the agglomeration of many discordant elements. It seems to be in the interest of the highest civilisation that two nations should continue to exist on this continent: one the pure British, retaining organic connection with the parent stem and extending its influence into every other quarter of the world, pure in itself but binding humanity together; the other, American, assimilating and let us hope ennobling the cosmopolitan elements of which it is composed, but confining its energies to the continent of America, and isolating itself from the rest of mankind. Let the two work together on their own lines, friendly and full of emulation, but without bitterness or hostile rivalry.

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The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

JULY, 1887.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

"TWENTY-FOUR new members of the Canadian House of Commons have joined the Imperial Federation League." This was the answer flashed across the Atlantic to Lord Derby's ill-timed and inaccurate assertion at Liverpool on June 3rd, that the question of Federation is not seriously discussed in the Colonies. While he was actually speaking, files of the Canadian papers were on their way to this country with reports of a banquet given to Lord Lansdowne by the National Club of Toronto, which we are told was "one of the largest and most successful entertainments ever held in the Queen City, the principal men in Ontario's political, social, and mercantile life being present to do honour to the Queen's representative." And what was the subject upon which the Governor-General chose to dilate in addressing this brilliant assemblage? The very question which Lord Derby says is not seriously discussed in the Colonies at all!

Lord Lansdowne occupied the greater portion of his speech with a review of the relations between Canada and the Mother Country: "I have often been asked," he said, "what I thought about Imperial Federation, and I have always been tempted to say in reply that I will tell you what I think about Federation when you tell me what you mean by the word." On that occasion, however, the Governor-General did not succumb to the temptation, but told his hearers very plainly what he thought. We venture to think he would have done well to wait until we had revealed to him, as we now propose to do, the true import of our movement.

For—with all due deference we say it—Lord Lansdowne is befogged, and his vision so distorted that he confuses the narrow platform of political Federation with our far broader principles of Imperial unity. It is a well-known effect of

mirage at sea to make it appear as if portions of a distant promontory were detached from the mainland, and raised above the horizon like islands suspended in the sky, while the watery surface that really intervenes is invisible to the observer's eye. So it is with those who, like Lord Lansdowne, fix their gaze upon Political Federation; they are blind to the existence of principles of unity deep and wide as ocean itself, which must be recognised and acknowledged before the distant goal of an Imperial constitution is approached.

Our business lies at present in the emphatic assertion of those principles of Federation which are already admitted in theory, but remain too frequently neglected in practice. There have been several important questions of Imperial policy raised of late years wherein the Colonies have suffered severely owing to the weakness of the Federal bond, not a few occasions when they have been saved from disaster by its existence. It will not be denied that, in the recent fishery disputes, Canada, whether right or wrong, must have yielded to the arguments of her powerful neighbour had Canada stood alone. It is only because, as Lord Lansdowne himself says, *she has kept in line with and been well sustained by the Imperial Government*, that the dispute will be settled on a basis of justice instead of a high-handed disregard of treaties. But if this forms an example of the usefulness of the Federal bond, slight though it be as yet, when we turn in other directions we find lamentable testimony to its impotence. Would it have been possible for a great portion of New Guinea to have been lost to the Empire, had the Australian Colonies possessed adequate means of obtaining a hearing in Downing Street? And yet that loss is now admitted to have been a national misfortune. Would it have been possible for the New Hebrides to be permanently occupied by France, had the wishes of the same Colonies found authorised expression in the Imperial counsels? And is not that occupation allowed by universal consent to be dangerous to the peace of Australia? Would it have been possible for the Newfoundland Bait Bill to be hung up for a whole year in the Colonial Office, had our oldest Colony possessed a responsible spokesman in London? Would the development of South Africa be constantly impeded by the vacillating policy of the Home Government, had Ministers been aided and informed throughout by personal contact with such men as they have for the first time been in direct official communication with during the recent Conference?

These are all instances where distinct losses have been suffered by the Colonies, and by the Empire of which they form a part, owing to the want of some closer bond of union with this country. So long as Colonists are contented with the trivial influence upon the policy of the British Government that is compatible with a system of correspondence filtering through Agents-General and Colonial Office officials to the minds of responsible Ministers of State, we say they have only themselves to thank for the almost inevitable precedence accorded to questions of far less importance which are dinned, day and night, into the ears of the Government by those directly concerned in them. It is useless to grumble at apathy and neglect, unless the system which involves them is altered. To pigeon-hole correspondence is one thing, but to send empty away a powerful advocate, who has a right to be heard, is another, especially when his importunity coincides with justice, and can be renewed day by day until he is satisfied. If the Colonies have frequent reason to complain of our indifference, the remedy is in their own hands. They may rest assured that their demands will not be denied, for the people of England would welcome them with enthusiasm. But whatever they ask, and whatever we grant, will help to strengthen the Federal bond, and to prove that it is at present too weak to be efficient.

In these islands the chief obstacle to Federation, we believe, still consists in ignorance. Our people sincerely desire to combine with the Colonies for all practicable purposes, but they do not know what is practicable. How are they to learn, when prominent politicians like Lord Randolph Churchill delude them with such statements as that King George's Sound is "one of the most important waterways in the world;" that it is "on the road to Australia;" and that "£120,000,000 of British and Indian commerce

pass through it to Australia"? When a man who has been Secretary of State for India and Chancellor of the Exchequer talks in this way, it is evident that among the masses much instruction is probably still required even in the elements of Colonial geography. The work of the League in preparing the ground for Federation is not yet complete. By explaining the value of the Empire to its citizens, dwelling upon existing dangers and removing prevalent errors, we shall instil that knowledge of the situation which is an indispensable preliminary to wise action. The better the problem is understood, the plainer becomes the duty of keeping the Empire together for all our sakes. Lord Lansdowne defined this duty in well-chosen words when he said that on the one hand the strength and solidity of the central Government of the Empire must be left unimpaired, and on the other hand the Colonies must be afforded a real and not a sham opportunity of influencing its councils without depriving them of the liberties which they now enjoy. He declared that no such scheme had ever come beneath his notice; but a scheme is not required at present. What we want is a policy of Federation, rather than a scheme; a policy of binding instead of loosing; a policy of watchfulness for the interests of the whole Empire, not only of a part; a policy which dictates no despatch and passes no measure without considering how the Colonies will be affected by them, and which does not shirk the responsibilities of power, because they take us to the Antipodes.

The League has good reason to congratulate itself upon the success of its efforts to instigate the adoption of such a policy. Lord Lansdowne laughs at the writers of essays upon Federation, who begin, as he says, at a gallop, but come to a standstill before the end of the course. We admit that there is some truth in his observation, because authors too often devote themselves to the elaboration of a full-blown constitution; but it is hardly fair to ridicule these attempts in one sentence, and in the next to upbraid Federationists with their failure to produce a scheme. We of this League, however, are far from coming to a standstill; our progress is constant and daily increasing in rapidity; we do not attempt to run before we can walk, but already we have laid solid foundations in the shape of the Conference, and the admission of the principle that the Colonies ought to be consulted upon Imperial questions that concern them. Even Lord Derby admits that the idea of Federation is grand and attractive, and that it has in this country taken hold of the public imagination. We must endeavour to intercept the tide of sentiment at its height, and divert it into salutary channels of administrative reform. In the postal system, in the marriage laws, in public indebtedness, in statistical information, and a host of other important matters, there is plenty of solid work before us. In correcting anomalies and assimilating differences the Federationist may find ample scope for his energies, even though he be not prepared with an accurately proportioned scheme for an Imperial Parliament. Every total may be divided into an infinity of fractions, but even the smallest of them forms an essential part of the whole; and when we speak of Federation, although a perfect scheme may seem ideal, we have still a right to consider every point of common interest, common action, or common administration, as a definite contribution towards it, as forming part and parcel of what we mean by Imperial Unity.

THE TRANS-PACIFIC SUBSIDY AND THE CANADIAN TARIFF.

THE possibility of some form of reciprocity between England and Canada is becoming a practical question. At a large meeting of the Farmers' Alliance Executive held recently at Brandon, in Manitoba, a resolution was unanimously adopted in favour of soliciting "the assistance of capitalists and of the Government of Great Britain to build the Hudson's Bay Railway, on the distinct understanding that the manufactures of Great Britain be admitted at as low a duty as the exigencies of the Province will allow." In itself this resolution is not likely to lead to important results, for the Province of Manitoba has no power to exempt British goods from the Dominion Customs duties. But it shows clearly enough that the Canadians believe we have still something available

to offer in exchange for reductions in their tariff, in spite of our Free Trade policy; they believe that we may be induced to guarantee their loans, if they undertake to admit our manufactures on more favourable terms.

Had the Brandon farmers been able to forecast the debate in the House of Lords the other day upon the new Canadian Tariff, their hopes would have received temporary confirmation. For the whole tenour of that debate implied an intention of making the Canadian Trans-Pacific Steamship subsidy conditional upon certain concessions to British iron manufactures. Both Lord Granville and Lord Salisbury intimated that the attitude of Parliament towards the proposed subsidy would be influenced by that of the Canadian Government in regard to their tariff.

We wish emphatically to protest against the idea that there is the smallest connection between the two. The subsidy will not be a present from England to Canada, given as an act of grace to a poor relation; such generosity with taxpayers' money would meet with speedy and well-merited retribution. The question is one of Imperial interests, and if the subsidy is granted, it will be because the exigencies of the Empire demand more cruisers and better communications in the Pacific, not because Canada comes hat in hand begging for a favour; indeed, Canada herself would be the last to assume such an attitude.

But suppose, for a moment, that the subsidy were actually granted on the understanding that the Canadian duties on British iron should be reduced, or withheld because the duties were maintained. The transaction would be equivalent to the adoption of a plain unvarnished measure of Protection. The country would be giving its thousands of pounds in exchange for a measure of relief to a particular industry—the iron trade. No advocate of fair trade or reciprocity could possibly sanction such an obvious instance of State bounty—the bugbear of our merchants when practised elsewhere; much less would the dominant Free Trade party listen to the suggestion. Yet there is not the smallest doubt that to make the subsidy depend upon the tariff implies, first, that the subsidy is not a legitimate item of Imperial expenditure; and, secondly, that every man who in his heart connects the two, and is still ready to vote for the former, must be an arrant Protectionist of the Bounty type.

In the same way if the British Government were to guarantee a Manitoban loan, though of this there is really no likelihood, in exchange for remissions of duty upon British manufactures, we should witness a return to protection of industry in its most undesirable form.

The subsidy to the Trans-Pacific Company must be decided upon Imperial grounds alone; if Canada were to reap the sole benefit of it we should unhesitatingly urge its abandonment. But if, as we believe, the Empire as a whole, England equally with Canada, will be the gainer, then let us vote the money at once, and not stickle over a Tariff question which, trifling in itself, has nothing whatever to do with the issue at stake. We are far from denying that the day may come when some form of reciprocity or commercial union can be devised between Canada and this country. But the arrangement will have to stand upon a very different footing from an insidious proposal to bolster up a single trade or group of trades at the expense of the general public.

THE INDIA AND CHINA MAILS.

THE country seems awake at last to the folly of granting enormous sums for the carriage of mails, which might be conveyed at a far lower rate. The Chambers of Commerce throughout the country are up in arms against the ratification by Parliament of the India and China mail contract. Mr. Raikes has agreed to give a subsidy of £265,000 a year to the Peninsular and Oriental Company for a period of ten years, and from the opposition he has met with in the House of Commons it is evident that those who know most about the subject think he is making a very bad bargain.

Mr. Raikes has no right to speak in any other capacity than that of Postmaster-General. The contract he desires to make is for postal service alone, and the British taxpayer has not commissioned him to spend a single farthing for any other purpose. It is not for him to take into consideration "the advantages of the great services of this

company" except as carriers of mails. For the Post Office to be debited with any part of the cost of an auxiliary fleet indicates a rotten and unsound system of finance.

How signally we have failed to retain the monopoly of trade to the East, in spite of our subsidies, was shown by Mr. Provand, who pointed out that there are even now four services in existence. What we have done is not to limit foreign competition, but to render British competition impossible. Mr. Raikes takes great credit for saving £95,000 a year as compared with the last contract. But if the country is still spending far more than it ought, Mr. Raikes is not more economical than his predecessors, but only less extravagant. In ten years there may have been another revolution in steam-shipping such as the last decade has witnessed, and to tie the hands of Government for so long a period will probably prove as reckless a waste of money as was involved in that other miserable contract which is causing us at the present date to pay far more than the market value for our post-cards.

Why does not the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in whose financial genius we all have confidence, boldly strike at the root of this subsidy question, and declare that the country shall no longer be deluded into the belief that it is paying for the postage of letters when it is really adding to the naval estimates? It would seem that there is a suspicion abroad that the constituencies will not stand any increase in the naval estimates, and that a side-wind must be employed to sweep money into the Admiralty coffers. We are greatly mistaken if they will much longer stand being hoaxed and hoodwinked by the assertion that it costs 6d. to send a letter to Australia, and 5d. to India. We believe, further, that they would freely welcome any direct proposal to increase our naval strength by supplementing the fleet of merchant steamers convertible upon an emergency into cruisers of unrivalled speed and power to keep the sea.

Let the Admiralty extend the principle already admitted in dealing with the American service. Let them offer an annual payment for five years to every British-vessel built in accordance with their requirements, possessing a certain rate of speed—which should be something far higher than the eleven or twelve knots demanded under the mail contract—and placed at their disposal in case of war at a definite price, without regard to the service or route she may be engaged upon in time of peace. This is the right way to strengthen the fleet, and it is impossible for it to be too strong. But let us hear no more of enormous subsidies, ostensibly paid for the carriage of letters, but really awarded for services rendered, or to be rendered, in connection with Imperial defence.

DOWN WITH EVERYTHING!

WE have not hitherto had occasion to refer to the *Bulletin*, a weekly newspaper, half *Reynolds* and half *Petit Journal pour Rire*, published at Sydney. The politics of the *Bulletin*, as far as we can gather, resemble those of the familiar Irishman who said, "Whatever the Government is, I'm agin it," and whatever form Imperial Federation may assume, there can be no doubt that the *Bulletin* will be "agin it." We owe it our thanks, however, for showing what a deal of beating the Imperial idea needs in order to give it a satisfactory *coup de grâce*. On one page Downing Street figures in a full-length cartoon as Grandmamma Wolf ready to devour the unsuspecting Little Red Riding Hood Australia. On another page impassioned editorials warn the readers that "the Jubilee Chinaman of 1887 will blossom under the fostering influence of Imperial Union. Imperial Union will throw Australia open as a country to be exploited by every unwashed tribe in the British dominions; it will drag the white man down to the level of the Chinaman and the coolie"—and so forth, and so forth, through three closely printed columns. On a third page a very Junius among correspondents thunders against a proposal "to chain Australia to the fortunes of the British Empire by the iron bonds of a military federation." "This chain once forged" (so we are assured) "will serve as a bridle, along which, like an electric current, much that is brilliant and inspiring among the ambitions of our youth will be guided from their own land of Australia to the distant source of rank and fame,"

and so on for another column and a half in small type. As Heine sings—

Six close-packed sheets precisely!
I'm not afraid, not I—
They write far more concisely
Who mean to say "Good-bye."

ONE SIDE OF THE QUESTION.

WE have received a pamphlet entitled "An Essay on Practical Federation," by a writer who calls himself "Centurion." It is curious to observe the ease with which he assimilates and appropriates the idea of an Imperial Conference. Were it not for a casual reference to "the Conference now sitting," we might imagine the writer to have evolved the suggestion for the first time, and might hasten to congratulate him on the realisation of a project peculiarly his own. But the essay loses much of its point when we consider it as an *ex post facto* argument; the Conference was actually sitting when it was written. Prophesying after the event is an easy matter, nor is it hard to find excellent reasons in favour of a scheme which has already received the stamp of public approval.

It is only fair to state that "Centurion" proceeds from the recommendation of an "informal council" of Colonial and British statesmen—which was already a *fait accompli* before he began his essay—to expand the idea into that of a full-blown Federal Assembly consisting of "representatives of the Cabinets of the Empire." Somewhat maladroitly, as it seems to us, he suggests that the annual session of this body shall be synchronous with "the 'silly season,' when the big gooseberry and the latest murder divide the honours of the London Press." There is, says "Centurion," in the months of August and September a corresponding period of political dulness in every Colony, and the gap ought to be filled up. It never seems to have occurred to him that Cabinet Ministers may possibly need rest and refreshment, or that they would almost certainly object to any further curtailment of their hard-earned leisure.

We need not follow "Centurion" into the intricate questions of Revenue and Expenditure in connection with this Supreme Council of the Empire, further than to remark that his proposal whereby the right of levying indirect taxation should be conceded to it by the Local Parliaments is in the highest degree visionary. But there are one or two passages in the earlier part of the essay which call for brief notice. In the chapter headed "Hindrances to Union"—which the writer seems to attribute wholly and solely to the people of these islands—some most ridiculous one-sided assertions are made. Of course, we have the old story of an ignorant British Press forming "a frequent source of irritation." Surely it is wiser to laugh than to be angry at the mistakes in geography and nomenclature to which "Centurion" alludes, but in a balance of errors we venture to say that the Colonial Press would not fall short of our own. Take, for instance, the charming announcement we quoted from an Australian paper last month, that Mr. Downer was to be presented to the Queen *at a drawing-room at Montague House*! We have not yet noticed any serious signs of irritation in this country on account of it. When we are blamed for the irritating tone adopted by our leader-writers and platform orators in criticising Colonial affairs, we think instances ought in fairness to have been adduced in support of the charge. We believe the reason why the statement is devoid of a single shred of evidence may be found in the extreme difficulty of discovering any, since our public men and public writers rarely mention the Colonies save in terms of enthusiasm and affection. But at any rate the criticism and "advice of a candid friend," to which "Centurion" objects, is mutual. Has he, for example, forgotten the resolutions of the Dominion Parliament in favour of Home Rule for Ireland?

Another hindrance to union, we are told, consists in the fact that "England's navy, her merchant fleet, and her Colonies have a number of different flags." This, we are asked to believe, is "a foolish outrage on patriotism and loyalty." The Colonist and the Englishman, the man-of-war's men and the merchant seamen ought, the writer maintains, to have one national flag. Surely he has discovered a mare's nest here! There is one national flag,

the Union Jack ; it forms part of every ensign, and provides exactly what "Centurion" demands—one symbol to represent the national greatness and national traditions of all citizens of the Empire. But to advocate the abolition of distinctive ensigns for men-of-war and merchant vessels displays an ignorance of nautical requirements, only equalled by a "brave old salt," of whom "Centurion" tells us, who thought he might hoist the white ensign on a Canadian coasting-vessel. Our author admits that in telling the story he has "confused the details," and until we are supplied with the fullest particulars, we really must refuse to credit any "brave old salt" with such crass stupidity.

As a third hindrance to good feeling, "Centurion" points to the ignorance of English newspaper editors concerning "the social relations of those Colonies which contain black or coloured populations." This, of course, refers to South Africa, and the especial sin consists in heading articles with such words as "Colonial Outrages" or "Boer Atrocities." The Boers, by the way, he oddly speaks of as "our kin beyond the sea." The obvious answer to this accusation is that the articles and descriptions in question are derived almost invariably from Colonial sources. If there is inaccuracy or undue sensation, the South African press ought to be blamed; but if the outrages and atrocities are genuine, praise rather than blame is due to the journals, both English and Colonial, which expose and condemn them.

"Centurion" asserts that public opinion in the Colonies is as keenly alive to any abuse of native rights as it is in England. We are very glad indeed to hear it, and in that case we should readily admit the claim of Colonial opinion to be not only equally healthy and active, but far more so than in England. For we are well aware of the difficult position occupied by Europeans in South Africa, and of the dangers and trials arising from the preponderance of the native element. Sufficient allowance is seldom made for the constant temptation to abuse authority in circumstances where mercy is too often ridiculed by the recipients as weakness, and kindness repaid with ingratitude. At home we do not feel the temptation, and therefore deserve little credit for condemning the conduct of those who yield to it. But if "Centurion" rightly attributes to the men who are daily exposed to it an attitude of staunch and successful resistance, no praise can be too high for such high-minded integrity.

With these cautions before them, our readers will do well to acquaint themselves with the contents of "Centurion's" pamphlet. It ought to afford them an excellent opportunity for self-examination in the strength of their convictions. If they clearly and thoroughly understand the true principles of Federation, they will find themselves constantly challenging and supplementing "Centurion's" statements; but at the same time they may profit by some valuable suggestions, especially in the latter portion of the essay.

JUBILEE ADDRESS BY THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD, Prime Minister of Canada, moved in the Dominion House of Commons, on June 6th, that the House should associate itself in the congratulatory address to the Queen on the occasion of the Jubilee, already voted by the Senate. He reminded his hearers that from Atlantic to Pacific, every section of the country had enthusiastically and unanimously resolved to express its loyal sentiments in an appropriate fashion, and dilated upon the blessings enjoyed by the Empire ruled by so gracious a Sovereign.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Laurier, who announced his satisfaction, as one of Her Majesty's subjects of French extraction, at having the duty allotted to him, and referred in graceful language to the benefits experienced by the French population of Canada during the reign.

On the motion being put it was unanimously carried; it is stated that thereupon the Members rose, together with all the strangers who were present in the galleries, and sang "God Save the Queen" with great enthusiasm.

The following is the text of the address :—

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the Senate and Commons of Canada in Parliament assembled, beg to offer our sincere congratulations on the happy completion of the 50th

year of your auspicious reign. The Supreme Disposer of events has made your Majesty the ruler of the fifth part of the habitable globe. Hundreds of millions of almost every race and tongue are proud to own your sway, but among them all there is no community that cherishes a more heartfelt attachment to your Majesty's person and throne than the people of the Canadian Dominion, once a colony of France, won in a struggle not less honourable to the vanquished than the victors.

"It was not long till its fidelity to the Crown was severely tried. How it stood the test was known to your Majesty's illustrious father when he honoured with his friendship the hero of Chautaugua, the brave Desalaberry, and when the daughter of the Duke of Kent ascended the Throne the event was hailed as the dawn of an era which should bring to British and French Canada not only prosperity and progress, but the spirit of unity and goodwill.

"Under the influence of the great gift of constitutional self-government conferred upon Canada in the early years of your Majesty's reign the country has made rapid progress.

"It has shared in the general advancement of the last half-century in the wonderful discoveries and application of science—the railway, the steamship, the telegraph, and their conquests of time and space, the multiplication of manufactures, the expansion of commerce, the blessings of legal reform, the diffusion of education, and in the wearing away of prejudices through increased intercourse between man and man. If the Empire's progress compares favourably during the last fifty years with that of the world at large, so does the progress of Canada compare favourably with that of the Empire.

"From a few scattered provinces it has become a great federation, stretching from ocean to ocean, and linking by its iron path the European to the Asiatic portions of your Majesty's domain. It has been the good fortune of the people of Canada to enjoy from time to time the honour of the presence and countenance of several members of the Royal Family, and this relationship not only deepened their loyal devotion to the head of the British Empire, but enhanced their regard for the wife and mother and their veneration for the memory of the husband and father.

"Our earnest prayer is that He who is the Ruler of all nations and the King of all kings may uphold, direct, and preserve your Majesty for many long years to reign over a prosperous and contented people."

FEDERATION SENTIMENTS AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY BANQUET.

SIR F. LEIGHTON.

"WHEN we look beyond these shores we are aware of the most significant of all the facts that will mark this happy reign; for when the Englishman of our day lifts his thoughts beyond these little islands to the far and scattered regions in which, under every sky, the British flag is raised, he is filled with a new, with a proud consciousness of the unlimited scope of our wider national life; and as the spectacle of that vast seething life lays hold of and invades his mind, he may almost think he hears within him the throb of the great pulse of this world-wide brotherhood of English-speaking men."

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

"The Army and Navy have to take care of the welfare of the Empire in every part of the world, and if the Services are in a condition to do that our friends may well consider us with respect. We are now trying to consolidate the Empire by linking more closely together the Colonies and the Mother Country. This object could not be attained in a better way than by effecting the unity of the Imperial Services for the good of all."

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.

"We were anxious to seek the aid of the Colonies and to ask them to join us in some kind of naval partnership, and the Conference which is now being held seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for consolidating a plan which had long been maturing. The scheme has been assented to, subject to the approval of the Parliaments of the Colonies concerned, and it will place one-fourth of Her Majesty's Colonies and the Mother Country in a different position from that which they have hitherto occupied so far as naval defences are concerned. (Cheers.) As this desirable work has been consummated it is only right that credit should be given where credit is due. If this scheme is realised and bears fruit, it will have been brought to maturity mainly through the statesman-like attitude adopted by the representatives of the Colonies with whom the members of the Government have come in contact. (Hear, hear.) They have met us in no haggling or parochial spirit, for they have confidence in the idea of Imperial unity and solidarity; and if I venture to allude to this scheme to-night I do so because Her Majesty's Government, in common with all preceding Governments, attach the utmost importance to its realisation. We value it, not merely because it may and will make a substantial addition to the effective

strength of the fleet, not merely because it brings the Colonies into financial partnership with the Mother Country in supporting the cost of the Imperial Navy, but because it embodies the idea of identity of interests, the sense of common advantage, which is the only durable material which can weld together in permanent unity the Mother Country and the Colonies."

OUR NEW GUINEA PROTECTORATE.

AN interesting letter appeared in the *Times* of June 1st, from Mr. W. G. Lawes, summing up the present condition of affairs in the part of New Guinea under a British Protectorate. As the letter is dated February 17th, it appears that the postal arrangements of the island are of an inchoate and precarious nature.

Mr. Lawes speaks with the weight of twelve years' personal experience of New Guinea, and his suggestions therefore deserve careful consideration before any further steps are taken with regard to the future of our Protectorate. He recommends that the Special Commissioner should be independent both of Fiji and Australia, and that he be vested with power over those who are not British subjects. If Mr. Lawes had advised that the Commissioner be not dependent upon any one Colony in particular, we should have heartily agreed with him, remembering the disastrous results in South Africa of allowing the same man to act as Governor of a Colony and as Imperial High Commissioner. But if the Special Commissioner of New Guinea is the representative of all the Australian Colonies, we cannot help thinking that he would be saved by the number of his nominators from undue preference, and would win the confidence and carry out the wishes of Australia in dealing with the island, in a way that could not be achieved by an entirely independent administrator, only responsible to the Colonial Office.

As regards the question of undertaking fresh expenses for the Government of New Guinea, Mr. Lawes strongly dissuades us from such a course. The present expense of £15,000 a year ought, he says, to be sufficient until trade has been developed and there is an increased probability of revenue. No advance has been made since the protectorate was proclaimed. Timber-cutting has been tried, and abandoned because it did not pay. The climate is exceedingly unhealthy, and the natives have proved unreliable for any constant work. "No native now cares enough about a shirt to work for one." In some places they are not only independent but hostile, remembering the kidnapping by labour vessels from Queensland in 1883-1884. In Mr. Lawes' opinion Queensland is the only Colony which now concerns herself about New Guinea, and he evidently fears that it would go hard with the natives if they were to be subject to her authority. In this respect we are inclined to show more confidence than Mr. Lawes in our Colonial fellow-citizens. We believe that in spite of a few exceptional cases, which are certain to occur under similar circumstances wherever white men and black come into contact, the labour question would be honestly and humanely regulated by the Queensland Government, and that public opinion would be strong enough to support them in making a severe example of any delinquents. The fact, however, that so great an authority as Mr. Lawes has his doubts on the subject, cannot fail to have an important bearing upon our attitude towards the North Queensland separation movement. If any more is heard of that agitation, we shall have to think twice before we hand over New Guinea to be an adjunct of that portion of Queensland in which the temptation to abuse the rights of natives would be very strong, and the restraining influence of public opinion weakest.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—The articles are generally of the first order of merit, and the publication generally should serve a highly useful purpose in the country.—*Bury Guardian*.

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CANADA AND THE EAST.—The steamship *Abyssinia* (the first ship of the Canadian Pacific Railway Trans-Pacific Line) left Yokohama on May 30th, and arrived at Vancouver on June 14th. She had a full list of cabin passengers for Canada, England, and the States, and eighty-three Chinese for San Francisco; and a full cargo, consisting of 2,500,000 lbs. tea, sixty-three bales silk, and thirty-five tons general merchandise. She will be followed by the *Parthia*, June 19th, and *Batavia*, July 10th, due at Vancouver July 4th and 26th respectively, and the advance orders indicate full passenger lists and cargoes for these ships also.

LORD LANSDOWNE ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE Earl of Lansdowne, Governor-General of Canada, was entertained at dinner, on May 23rd, by the National Club of Toronto. As some misunderstanding appears to have arisen in connection with the speech he made on the occasion, we reproduce in full the passages in which he referred to the prospects of Imperial Federation. Our readers will observe with satisfaction that although Lord Lansdowne falls into the error of confounding political with Imperial Federation, and although he makes merry at the expense of the paper constitutions, which we agree with him in thinking far too numerous, he nevertheless heartily approves of all efforts "to strengthen the ties by which the constituents of the Empire may be united."

CANADA BACKED BY THE EMPIRE.

After referring at some length to the fisheries dispute, Lord Lansdowne said:—

It is, I think, satisfactory to know that throughout these intricate transactions we have kept in line with and been well sustained by the Imperial Government, and that upon no material point affecting any principle of importance have any substantial differences of opinion arisen between us and it. It is also satisfactory to note that both your Government and that of the Mother Country have from the first shown an earnest desire to mitigate the intensity of the differences which have arisen and to facilitate their settlement. (Applause.) . . .

I stated just now that throughout this controversy we have been able to command the steady support of the Imperial Government, and I am glad to bear my own testimony to the earnest desire which it has shown to do justice to our case and to take no action without previous consultation with us. I dwell upon that in this room because I know that there is no point upon which your club has insisted more strongly than the necessity of giving to Canada a voice in all diplomatic arrangements by which she is affected. You need not, I think, have any anxiety as to this. (Applause.) Nothing, indeed, could be more remarkable than the indications which we have recently seen of the desire of the Imperial Government to associate itself closely with us in regard to all such matters. This desire has found emphatic expression in the Conference which recently assembled in London. That Conference has afforded to the world one of the most striking spectacles which it is possible to conceive. Nor am I one of those who think that it is fair to regard it as a spectacle and nothing else. I know that some disappointment has been expressed at the comparatively limited scope imposed upon its deliberations. To my mind the most hopeful feature about it has been the moderation of the expectations of those who have been instrumental in bringing about this first meeting of the representatives of our Colonial Empire. I have seen the Conference denounced as an imposture, because the discussion of what is called Imperial Federation was excluded from the business submitted to it. I must say that my sympathies are with those who prepared the somewhat matter-of-fact and business-like bill of fare which was provided for the assembled delegates, and who resisted the temptation to introduce what must have been a somewhat academical discussion of the larger question.

VIEWS ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

I have often been asked what I thought about Imperial Federation, and I have always been tempted to say in reply that I will tell you what I think about Federation when you tell me what you mean by the word. I have read many ingenious essays on this subject, and I must say that while I have heard much excellent criticism and seen many valuable suggestions for the improvement of our present methods of conducting business, I have never seen any scheme formulated on paper and worthy to be called a scheme of Imperial Confederation which would have been likely to work in practice for six months; indeed, the most conspicuous writers upon the subject have shown a most commendable spirit of caution in approaching it, and have wisely limited themselves to pointing out the imperfections of the present system without committing themselves to the remedy which they proposed. We all know that the Irish postboy usually keeps a gallop for the avenue at the end of his journey. (Laughter.) The writers of most of such essays, however, start at full gallop, lapse into a trot after they have travelled over a part of the ground, and finally come to a standstill long before they get to the end of the course. We have yet to see a scheme, the execution of which would on the one hand leave unimpaired the strength and solidity of the central Government of the Empire, and on the other afford to the Colonies a real, and not a sham, opportunity of influencing its councils without depriving themselves to a great extent of the liberties which they now enjoy. (Hear, hear.)

IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

I am, however, very far from saying that there is nothing

to be done in the direction of an additional strengthening of the ties by which the constituents of the Empire may be united. I was glad, for instance, to observe that amongst the subjects to which most prominence was given in the deliberations of the Conference was that of Imperial defence. I do not for a moment think that it would be just or equitable to ask this country to undertake liabilities much exceeding those which it has already incurred in providing for its own defences. To ask a young country, which needs every shilling of its revenue for the development of its own resources, to sink millions in fortifications and armaments would, I think, be a most inequitable proposal. Your people have, and must for some time continue to devote, the whole of their energies to the settlement of their own country and the consolidation of its scattered and sparsely occupied provinces. (Applause.) Your have already, by a line of railway from ocean to ocean across your continent, completed an Imperial work for the execution of which you might, if you had thought proper, have taken the lifetime of a generation. You have provided a militia force large enough for the requirements of the country, a force which has shown itself capable of suppressing disorder in the remotest portions of the Dominion, in the face of very great difficulties and dangers, and without asking for the assistance of a single soldier from the Imperial forces. (Loud applause.) All this has constituted a reasonable if not a sufficient contribution to the defences of the Empire. I do not think that there is any disposition here or at home to ask you to incur extended liabilities or a largely increased expenditure. There is certainly no desire on the part of the Imperial Government to refuse to admit its own liabilities or to repudiate its existing engagements for the defence of any part of the Colonial Empire. (Hear, hear.) What I do think we may propose to you is that we should join each other in taking stock of our resources—that we should consider together what are the most vulnerable points in the defence of which we are concerned, and what are the most practical local measures which can be adopted by us in common for carrying out at short notice measures of self-defence. I do not hesitate to express my own preference for a reliance on feelings of this kind to any of those ingenious schemes for the creation of an Imperial Legislature, in which Canadian members would sit by the side of representatives from the antipodes to vote upon questions in which they have no common interest, or even of those more modest proposals, such as that for the admission of Canadian statesmen to the English House of Lords, a proposal which, when I think how pleasant it would be to me to look forward to such an accession to the Chamber in which I have a seat, is not without its attractions for me.

SIR CHARLES DILKE ON THE FUTURE OF THE EMPIRE.¹

THE author of "Greater Britain," in an article upon the present position of the United Kingdom with regard to European politics, makes some valuable comments upon the relations of England and her Colonies. He sees plainly that the future policy of this country must be influenced more and more by the requirements of the Colonies, that on the one hand their power to assist us in time of war will rapidly increase, and on the other their growing importance will compel us to adopt a firmer tone towards the encroachments of foreign nations than we might otherwise be disposed to assume.

While expressing his strong approval of the recent Conference, the writer gives his opinion that it was practically an Australian Conference, "and for the present it would seem that the chief strength that can be gained from our Colonial possessions for general Imperial defence must come from Australia." It seems doubtful, however, what he means by "general Imperial defence": is it the defence of their own coasts, or the measure of assistance they could furnish for the Imperial navy, or their ability to contribute to offensive operations against another Power? We incline rather to the opinion that the Australian Colonies have shown themselves eager to participate in a fresh defensive scheme, not because they are strong, but because in comparison with the interests at stake and the dangers to which they are exposed, they have hitherto been weaker and more assailable than either Canada or South Africa. The violent irritation displayed by the Australian delegates to the Conference, on the subject of the New Hebrides, points to a natural fear of the extension of French power in the Pacific; and the scene at the Conference when Lord Salisbury addressed the representatives on the subject is graphically described by the writer, evidently prompted by an eye-witness:—

"Lord Salisbury, who had armed himself with the support of one prominent New Zealander (immediately denounced as a traitor by the out-and-out representatives of Colonial feeling), seemed to think that the Colonists would accept platitudes in the same calm fashion in which they would be accepted by the House of Lords. He was rudely undeceived: the moment he sat down, the Australians told him that his speech was a wet blanket, or, as others put it, 'a douche of cold water'; that they were almost sorry that they had left Australia, that they were very glad that they were immediately returning to its healthier atmosphere, and that such speeches might be suited to an old country, but would be received with dismay by the Colonial Cabinets. One of the leading Colonists, who is likely soon to be the Prime Minister of one of the most powerful Colonies, declared plainly that he had heard Lord Salisbury's speech 'with confusion and dismay,' and that Lord Salisbury must understand that if France did not go out of the New Hebrides of her own accord she would have to go out of New Caledonia too. Lord Salisbury, in reply, admitted that the French were bound to leave, and were apparently staying in the New Hebrides in virtual breach of their own word, but added, 'You cannot negotiate great Powers out of islands'; to which the retort was, 'Then France seems to have negotiated us out of the New Hebrides.' Lord Salisbury, in a deprecatory fashion, explained that there had been so many Governments lately in France that 'chaos' had ensued 'in the French offices'; whereupon a Victorian (I believe it was) answered, 'A little chaos seems an excellent thing, and perhaps we should do better if we had some here,' which was not polite towards the host. A portion of the storm afterwards fell, I hear, in private upon Sir F. Dillon Bell, who had been 'interviewed' by a French correspondent, and had been imprudent enough to admit that 'personally he had been favourable to M. Waddington's proposal' (that the French should keep the New Hebrides but stop transportation), though he now agreed that 'the refusal of Australia had made everything impossible except the complete independence of the New Hebrides.' 'The refusal of Australia!' Shades of Colonial ex-Secretaries of State!"

The writer then expresses his firm conviction that in the long run the French will be made to leave the islands;—"they are dealing with young countries who are perhaps more vigorous than altogether respectful of strict rights.

No English Government would be strong enough to protect the French in the South Pacific against the Australian Colonies."

It is good for us in England to read language of this sort, startling though it be: our citizens do not realise that the day must come when Canada and Australia will have a population exceeding our own, burning with the fire of youthful nationalities, ambitious of Empire, and impatient of restraint, just as their fathers were in the early days of England's expansion. How essential it is, therefore, to the peace and prosperity of the Empire, that we should at once set up and maintain inviolate the simple test of right or wrong in cases where our interference is called for! By so doing we shall best ensure the continuance of a high standard of Imperial integrity in the time to come when our own voice in the Imperial councils will be as one among many, when we may have to choose between acquiescence in the policy of Canada or Australia, and a comparatively impotent isolation; and when the tables are turned, so that exclusion from the Empire would become as serious a question for England as ever it has been for her Colonies.

The author of "Greater Britain" is evidently in favour of Imperial Federation, but the question has not, in his opinion, "reached the stage at which it can have any bearing upon the present position of European politics." He admits, however,

"That even in the absence not only of strict Federation, but of general military agreement among the various portions of the Empire, England does nevertheless carry with her into European council much of the weight which comes from the possession of India and the Colonies. She cannot appear in Europe merely as Great Britain or merely as the United Kingdom, but takes with her wherever she goes, both the strength and the weakness that attach to her world-wide position."

In other words, we cannot evade the responsibilities of Empire; and since this is impossible, does it not behove us to prepare for meeting them by every means in our power? If the civilised world persists in regarding the British Empire as a unit, nothing remains for us but to invest it with the attributes of unity. At present it possesses, we believe, "unity of hearts," but diversity in every department of practical administration: the generally accepted argument in ordinary matters of business is that when

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1887.

principles are agreed upon, details can be easily arranged. But it would seem as though the reverse were the case with the affairs of the Empire. We find no difficulty in procuring universal consent to the principle of Unity, but any proposal to carry it out in detail is blocked and immured by the interposition of vested interests; as the writer well says in the last quotation we shall make from his admirable article:

"If one were in a scoffing humour, one might be disposed to ask whether it was indeed of much use for even mere voluntary societies, or for individuals, to discuss Colonial Federation, if we are so little disposed to take steps towards the union of the Empire as to allow our Treasury to impose upon the Post Office its present prohibitive price for letters to the outlying portions of the Dominions of the Crown. That an English letter to India should cost 5d., while a letter to British India from Calais costs 2½d., and a post-card to British India from Calais a penny, is an anomaly which it is strange that even an overworked Parliament should have permitted to continue for many years. There are some who will begin to believe in earnest in the possibility of a fair consideration of Imperial unity when Parliament makes the Treasury allow us to post our letters to India and the Colonies from London at the same price, instead of at double the price, that it costs to post them from Calais to the same addresses."

THE AWAKENING OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

ONE of the most gratifying results of the Imperial Conference has been the impetus it has given to the discussion of Federation in the Colonies. The meeting of English and Colonial statesmen has certainly aroused an amount of interest in the possible crystallization of what Lord Salisbury called the nebulous matter of Imperial Federation, that cannot fail to promote the rapid progress of our principles. As a recent article in the *South Australian Register*, one of the best Australian journals, says in commenting upon the Conference—

"It has been a good thing for the delegates to be brought into contact with British statesmen; it has been a salutary thing for British statesmen to have had the opportunity of making themselves practically acquainted with the metal of which leading public men in the Colonies are made. To this extent the meeting has fully answered expectations, and has justified the action of its promoters in calling it together."

Passing by a natural transition from consideration of the Conference to thoughts upon Imperial Federation, the same journal proceeds to devote a long article to Sir Robert Stout's paper in the *Nineteenth Century* upon which we commented last month. After re-stating the author's proposition that the only alternative to federation is separation from the Mother Country, the *Register* freely admits its truth. "Assuming," says our contemporary, "that he speaks of the future rather than of the immediate present, we are absolutely at one with him there." And, returning to the same point again, we find an important admission that the date when the choice must be made may not be far distant, because—

"Unfortunately, in spite of all her efforts, Great Britain, like every other European Power, may be drawn into a quarrel whether federated with us or not, and we may have to bear some of the consequences of that quarrel whether we are federated, or whether we continue to be merely Colonies. As to whether, in the event of complete separation, we should have to fear any wars on our own account, and should have to face them without British aid, it is a question which we are not yet called upon to decide, but it is a contingency that we may have to discuss sooner than many people are inclined to think. The subject of Imperial Federation is so beset with difficulties that it was purposely declared by Sir Henry Holland to be outside the range of practical topics embodied in the programme of the Imperial Conference. Events, however, may force the matter to a speedy issue, or throw upon the Colonies the responsibility of choosing between Federation and independence."

When South Australia has to face this responsibility, we have no doubt of her choosing rightly. With 900,000 square miles of territory, and less than half a million people to guard it, we need not anticipate that even the most reckless politician would advocate "cutting the painter," or desire to exchange the protection guaranteed to every rood of the British Empire for the dangers of isolation and helplessness. For helpless South Australia would be, despite the individual bravery of her children, against the land-grabbing schemes, of which more than one European Power already stands convicted.

THE SOURCE OF BRITAIN'S STRENGTH.

THE indirect fruits of the work in which Federationists are engaged are more apparent than even the tangible results. Great as the latter unquestionably are, much good work has been done when the intellect of our country has been stirred and men of culture begin to ponder over the great problems of race as they effect the welding together of the Empire. A few years ago language, such as I am about to quote, would have seemed out of place in the pages of the most important English literary journal; now it seems no more than natural that Englishmen and English journals of whatever class should be engaged in seeking to discover the causes which are contributing to make the future of their race so glorious and all-embracing. A recent number of the *Athenæum* contains a review of the newly-published "Selections" from Mr. Swinburne's poems, which bears evident marks of having been written by a distinguished critic, Mr. Theodore Watts, who is known to be an ardent Federationist. After regretting that in the book under notice there are no sea-poems "in which the sea is treated of from a patriotic point of view," the reviewer eloquently adds:—

Whatever may be said of England's decadence as a physical force among the other great physical forces of Europe, her unique destiny as the great moral force of the world is becoming more and more obvious every day. The peculiar racial characteristics of her people, her language, her literature, her traditions, are colouring the great tide of human life, as the mighty river beyond the peaks of Kâf coloured, according to the Mohammedan fancy, the waters of the ocean "as with the living blood of all gems."

And what is the cause of this? The feverish attention lately given to Colonial matters on the Continent and the talk of Imperial Federation in England show what is the general opinion as to the cause. A great racial struggle for life is imminent in Europe; outlets for the teeming populations of the Old World are urgently demanded, and practically there are no new countries left to develop. In the new world of the West and in the new world of the South the whole of the lands in the temperate zones have been appropriated, and by whom? Mainly by the English. That this is the cause of England's present dominance and of her stupendous future has now become an axiom on the Continent.

But what is the cause of the cause? How has it come about that in the unfilled lands of the temperate zone—in North America, in Africa, in Australia—almost every square mile of land is in the hands of Englishmen? Among Englishmen we, of course, include our brothers of the United States, with whom we of this island share with pride our blood and traditions, and between whom and us the bonds of affectionate sympathy are becoming closer and closer every year and every day. Is it true, as English chauvinists assume it to be, that in the great racial struggle for life the Englishman is specially organised for success? Does the English race really exhibit any superiority over the other European races? Are Englishmen and Americans more courageous than Germans, or more energetic? Are they more high-spirited than the French, or more deft, or more frugal? Are they more nobly endowed than the Italians with that dignified common sense which is said to be the very salt of life? To answer these questions in the affirmative would, no doubt, be pleasant, but would it be justified by the facts? Would any English employer of labour, skilled or unskilled, answer them in the affirmative? No: there is another cause—a cause wholly unrelated to race—for the prospects of the English race. That cause is the sea.

From no peculiar merit of its own, but from the favouritism of fate or circumstance or chance, is the English race destined to hold the world in its hand. The Englishman's birthplace having been the only large and fruitful island of the Old World, he has become the child of the sea. That the high road of the ocean should lead him all over the world was simply inevitable. Hence England's destiny as the august Mother of Empires should give rise to no vain glory in any Englishman's breast; but rather it should give rise to a feeling of modesty, almost of humiliation, before responsibilities so vast. It should cause us to ask ourselves, are we really and fully worthy of this favouritism of the sea? Thanks to the "silver streak," which is worth an entire European army, the English race, instead of exhausting its force, as the other less lucky races have been obliged to do, in defending frontiers, has been enabled to give all its energies to strengthening its limbs at home and finding fresh fields in which to strengthen them abroad.

If, then, the Anglo-Saxon race is "destined to hold the world in its hand," we should not with rash haste seek for paper constitutions for our great Commonwealth of the future, but should resolutely and with set purpose do "the things which make for Federation." Assured that by so

doing we shall best hasten the mighty consummation we have all in view, in a last word is it too much to hope that the poet of "A Word for the Navy" would throw the wealth of his lyrical genius into a song in praise of Federation?

H. T. MACKENZIE BELL.

GREATER BRITAIN IN THE GEORGIAN AND IN THE VICTORIAN ERA.

PROFESSOR SEELEY'S "REDE" LECTURE AT CAMBRIDGE.

ON June 15th the Senate House at Cambridge was filled with a distinguished audience to hear Professor Seeley deliver the "Rede" lecture. The following condensed report of the lecture has reached us:—"What is said of the Victorian age is surely somewhat vague. We call it glorious; a lover of paradoxes might in the same loose fashion of argument prove it an age of decline. Not that he would produce conviction, for the belief in progress has now taken deep root, and an age of unparalleled scientific discovery can hardly be represented as an age of brass. Still we see that evil grows by the side of good. So-called progress has its alarming side; the poet of the Victorian age bears witness to this by his second "Locksley Hall." But the Victorian age is not merely a part of the 19th century. It is proper to England. Not all progress, but only English progress, is to be credited to it, and perhaps this rule excludes scientific discovery, which belongs rather to universal civilisation. The Victorian age is properly a period in the life of that great organism, the English nation. Even defined so, the subject is large and vague enough, and the most obvious part of it, the reforming and transforming legislation of the period, will be best left alone at this moment of party strife.

But let us look at the Colonies. Here there has been increase without congestion, progress that excites no misgiving. Compare the Victorian age to the corresponding period (1737—1787) in the eighteenth century. That period saw the war of Jenkins's ear, Chatham's war, and the American war. These events belong together more than is commonly understood. They form a chapter in that expansion which in the Victorian age has attained its *maximum*. The expansion of England has taken place in four waves. In James I.'s reign were founded Virginia and new England; in Charles II.'s, New York, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania; in the Georgian era, Georgia, Florida, Canada, and British India; in the Victorian era we have seen the full settlement of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Canadian Dominion. These waves have, in all cases, been the after-swell of a great war. The Elizabethan war with Spain produced the first; our civil war, which was more maritime than is commonly understood, involved us with the Dutch, and so led to the second; the war of Anne, which arose mainly out of the Colonial question, led to the third; and the fourth began evidently in the Napoleonic war. The third has one great peculiarity; it proceeds by war and conquest rather than colonisation. In Chatham's time England astonished the world by appearing as a conquering State. The three wars of this period (1737—1787) ought to be considered as constituting one event. The Bourbon League had tried to fortify the New World against England. She breaks down its opposition, but in doing so destroys her own colonial system. From 1739 to 1763 there is almost continuous war, and Grenville's quarrel with the Colonies arose inevitably out of these wars. England could not afford the expensiveness of expansion by war. That was the first chapter in the history of Greater Britain. In 1787 the retrospect was most strange and chequered, the prospect most alarming. A universal league was being formed against us. Soon afterwards we passed under the cloud of war, where we remained nearly a quarter of a century. Such is the Georgian era. In the Victorian era, on the other hand, expansion has been unopposed: it has not involved war or debt, yet has been on a greater scale than ever.

Between 1688 and the battle of Waterloo there were about 60 years of European war; between 1815 and 1887 only two years. Now, if it was war which then caused us to win our Colonies, the absence of war now has enabled us to keep them. As the Colonies have grown the burden of them has not grown; the expansion in this age has been so easy that the weight of great continents has strained our system less than formerly that of much humbler settlements. In the eighteenth century debt seemed the incurable disease which must destroy us. Yet it came suddenly to an end. The reason is that we have outlived the hostile league against Greater Britain. Hence the kindly feeling which now reigns between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Read in Mr. Lecky's impartial and lucid narrative how irrational was the relation between them which brought on the American revolution. A rational relation has now been substituted. Assuredly during the Victorian era we can trace no gradual growth of mutual irritation towards war and disruption. This long reign without debt is now added to English history. Mere quantitative growth is nothing, but this smooth and prosperous expansion may be called happy.

How will the Victorian era seem regarded from the year

1987, when it will be judged by its consequences? Will some new enemy like the House of Bourbon or Napoleon assail Greater Britain? Will the next age see sea-fights in the Pacific? This is not the place to repeat all that alarmists say about the changed conditions of maritime war. In the future it is easy, if we look for them, to see dark shadows. But in the Victorian era a fund of goodwill must have been accumulated, as in the cynical age of Walpole a fund of illwill was formed, of which the Bourbon League could take advantage to break our former Empire to pieces. Lately we have seen conferences, congresses, hopeful signs of a permanent union which no future league will rashly provoke. But let us not treat the Georgian era merely as a foil to the Victorian. It had some of the virtues of an age of war. Under the elder Pitt it formed a school of valour and heroism which carried us through our trial. The Victorian era has had less occasion for this. Our morality dwells on the private and the cosmopolitan rather than the patriotic virtues. This may need to be altered if we should again have to hold our own against enemies. In that case examples will be sought not so much in the Victorian as in the latter part of the Georgian era."

HERE AND THERE.

By the opening for traffic of the line from Hornsby to the Hawksbury River, a further advance has been made in the work of connecting the Colonies of Queensland and New South Wales by railway.

THE quantity of wheat exported from South Australia during the first three months of this year was 1,077,353 bushels, being 687,752 bushels more than were exported during the whole of last year.

It is reported that negotiations are in progress between the Government of the Transvaal and the new Boer Republic in Zululand for the incorporation of the latter into the Transvaal.

THE first train reached the Vancouver ocean terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway on May 24th; hitherto the trains have stopped at New Westminster.

IN consequence of a Ministerial defeat upon Sir Julius Vogel's Budget proposals, the New Zealand Parliament will be dissolved.

IN the Medical Faculty of University College, London, Mr. G. E. Rennie, of Sydney, has gained the gold medal in the surgery class, the Tuke gold medal for pathological anatomy, the Bruce gold medal, the Aitchison Scholarship, and numerous other prizes.

IN consequence of a vote of want of confidence having been carried by a majority of 13 in the Legislative Assembly, the Ministry of South Australia have resigned, and a new administration constituted, in which Mr. Playford is Premier, Mr. Ramsay, Chief Secretary, and Mr. Catt, Commissioner of Public Works.

SIR G. W. DES VŒUX, Governor of Newfoundland, has been appointed Governor of Hong Kong; Sir Ambrose Shea, Governor of the Bahamas; and Mr. H. A. Blake, Governor of Newfoundland.

AT a meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, on June 10, an abstract was read from the prize essay recently chosen by Mr. J. A. Froude, Professor J. R. Seeley, and Sir Rawson Rawson, by the author, Mr. William Greswell, M.A. Oxon.

IT is stated in Montreal that a strong German syndicate has been formed to control the business from China and Japan *via* the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that the Norddeutscher Lloyd Steamship Company proposes establishing a line of steamers on the Pacific Ocean. The Company offers to place a line of six powerful steamers on both the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans.

THE honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon Sir Donald Smith by the University of Cambridge on June 20.

THE PROPOSED AUSTRALIAN FLEET.

IT is understood that the new war vessels, if agreed upon, will be manned and officered by Imperial crews. This may be desirable to a large extent. But surely provision should be made for the employment and training of a considerable percentage of Colonial boys and young men in the various departments and grades of the service. An Australian navy, supported by Colonial funds without Australians in it, would be an absurdity and a misnomer. It would not satisfy the people of this country; and it would certainly fail to render an important part of the service which we have the right to expect from the establishment of such an important and costly institution. We do not desire that the work of our defence shall always fall on others. We are willing to take a share in the task ourselves. We don't want to hire men to do our fighting for our hearths and homes if it should ever become necessary. We have a right to the teaching and training which will enable us to stand side by side with those who may be called on to fight, not only our own battles, but those of the Empire at large. Our own navy should certainly be free to Australian youth; nor should the Imperial service be closed to those who choose to enter.—*Sydney Town and Country Journal*.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

EMBRO, ONTARIO.—On Thursday evening, the 12th inst., a large audience assembled to hear a debate on Imperial Federation between Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, of Ingersoll, and Dr. Ross. Captain Gordon occupied the chair. The meeting was called to order about nine o'clock. Mr. Hopkins spoke over an hour in a manner which proves him to be master of his subject, and that he is thoroughly in earnest about the matter. Dr. Ross spoke at considerable length in reply.

GLASGOW.—Lecturing in Glasgow a short time since on "Our Present Trade Depression," Mr. A. G. Graham drew attention to the manner in which, when English manufactures seemed likely to be crippled by the American adoption of a policy of Protection, "the gap was quickly filled up owing to the new field which the enterprise of our forefathers had opened up in the Colonies." India alone, says Mr. Graham, takes one-third of the total production of Lancashire mills. This last year she has taken 26 per cent. more cloth than she has ever done before, and so saved Lancashire from a serious crisis at a time when all the other markets of the world were so depressed. Our exports to India and the Colonies total up to eighty-five millions, while those to all other countries only amount to 156 millions. "We should be false to our history, and false to our duties," says Mr. Graham, quoting an Edinburgh speech of Mr. Goschen, "if we neglected to remember, that it is not in the narrow interest of these islands that we must govern, but we must look to every part of the Empire." If we act in this spirit we shall have a claim upon our Colonies. They will see that we value their interests as our own, and a spirit will be engendered which will prevent the imposition of hostile tariffs against this country, whatever they may do to other nations. The effect of reciprocal dealings with the Colonies would be, Mr. Graham believes, to open up a field for the development of fresh enterprise throughout the Empire. Such a policy would "tend more than anything else to draw all parts of the Empire together and to give that cohesion to the State Federation movement which an alliance for purely mutual defence would not and could not possess without it."

LONDON.—At the weekly meeting of the Balloon Society of Great Britain, held on June 10th in the Lecture Room, Royal Aquarium, Westminster, Mr. F. P. Labilliere in the chair, Rear-Admiral Robert A. E. Scott, Hon. Commodore of New Zealand, who has been on the Australasian station for the past six years, read a paper on "The Australasian Colonies, their Commerce and Relations with the Empire and Foreign Countries." In introducing the lecturer, the chairman observed that during the past three years, since the first Conference on Imperial Federation was held in July, 1884, when the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., occupied the chair, much had been done towards securing the permanent unity of the Empire. The definite basis of a scheme for the Federation of the Mother Country, the Colonies, and dependencies had not yet been laid down, but there could be little doubt of the benefits that would accrue to the whole Empire, especially to commercial centres, if the principles of Federation were carried out.

The lecturer, after showing the various routes from Great Britain and Australasia now open and in course of completion, and also the different fortified posts—such as Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Singapore, Cape of Good Hope—vindicated the paramount need of a navy by reference to the fact that 7½ million tons of corn were annually imported, and that two-thirds of the population of this country were directly or indirectly dependent on our Colonies for their bread. The merchant steamers of the United Kingdom, numbering three-fourths of the steamers afloat, were not sufficiently protected by a naval force owing to the navy being divided between several stations. A trained volunteer force in connection with the mercantile marine would undoubtedly materially add to the naval strength of the Empire. New Zealand, from its numerous harbours and widely extended coast line, and owing to its geographical position, seemed to be specially marked out for a maritime Colony, and it was, therefore, highly desirable for the Mother Country to form the closest relationship with that Colony. There were, no doubt, many difficulties in effecting a zollverein between the different parts of the Empire, but signs and symptoms were appearing. The recent German and French annexations had been the means of impressing on the Colonies the absolute necessity of uniting with each other and the Mother Country by more than the ordinary tie of self-government. In conclusion, the author of the paper observed, that whatever tended to benefit the Colonies and increase their power and wealth must necessarily benefit the Mother Country, for their interests were

already so intimately connected that a slight decrease in the quantity of British goods supplied to Australasia was immediately felt in the United Kingdom.

Major Leslie, of the county of Monaghan, Ireland, in moving the following resolution: "That to safeguard the commerce of the Colonies as well as of the Mother Country the efficient organisation of our defences is indispensable, and it will be also essential to the satisfactory adjustment of the relations of the Empire that some system of Imperial Federation be adopted," stated that whatever differences might exist in his country it was particularly gratifying to find that Irishmen were proud of their connection with the Australasians. Many of the leading men in New Zealand and Australia were of Irish extraction, and he wished that emigration could be encouraged. Ireland had too many people and a very small area of land.

Mr. Sangster (a Scotchman), in seconding the resolution, claimed for his countrymen the honour of fostering the commerce of the Colonies. He, as one of the oldest merchants in the City of London, regretted that the recent German annexation had been allowed. It was detrimental to the trade of the Empire to allow Germans to come in and cut out the Britisher. His business with Australia was gradually getting less and less. The resolution was carried unanimously.

LONDON, ONTARIO.—At the meeting of the Young Men's Conservative Association, of London, on Thursday evening, May 19th, Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, by request, gave an address upon the above subject. At the close of the meeting, as it was the last of the season, the following resolution was carried, viz:—"That the discussion of the question be resumed at the first meeting in September, with a view of forming a branch of the Imperial Federation League in London."

MONTREAL, CANADA.—Is Imperial Federation desirable? was the subject for debate at the meeting of the St. George's Young Men's Conservative Association on May 27. Mr. Arch. McGoun, junior, spoke on the affirmative and was supported by Mr. Walkley, while Mr. C. L. Putnam and Mr. C. Hamilton upheld the negative side. Mr. McGoun pointed out the benefits to be derived through Imperial Federation, and showed that the expenses incurred by Federation with Great Britain would not be nearly so great as the expenses through annexation with the United States. The subject was well discussed by those present, and on a vote being taken it was decided in the affirmative, by 11 votes to 3.

TWO JUBILEE ODES.

BOTH Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Robert Buchanan have contributed fine poems to the already extensive Jubilee literature. From the *Nineteenth Century* for June we quote two of Mr. Swinburne's stanzas, which will find an echo in the heart of every member of the League:—

No State so proud, no pride so just,
The sun, through clouds at sunrise curled
Or clouds across the sunset whirled,
Hath sight of, nor has man such trust
As thine in all the world.
Each hour that sees the sunset's crest
Make bright thy shores ere day decline
Sees dawn the sun on shores of thine,
Sees west as east and east as west
On thee, their Sovereign, shine.

In the *Contemporary Review* for the same month appears Mr. Buchanan's "Annus Aureolus: an ode on the Jubilee of the Empress Victoria." This is his picturesque description of the great Colonies and Kingdoms of the Empire:—

AUSTRALIA follows in a chariot golden
Drawn by black heifers; on the chariot's side
An ocean eagle sits with white wings folden,
And o'er her head float wild-fowl purple-dyed.
Tattoo'd TASMANIA, with wild ringlets flowing,
Followed by savage herds and hinds, strides near.
CANADA comes mocassin'd, clearly blowing
Her forest horn, and brandishing her spear.
ALBION in martial mail, with trident gleaming,
Leads an old lion and a lamb snow-white;
Blonde CALEDONIA, with glad tartan streaming
Back from her shoulders, leaves her lonely height,
And with her mountain sister to the strumming
Of harp and pipe, joins the rejoicing throng.
The world is shadow'd with the swarms still coming
To hail their Queen with mirth and festal song!

For the winter of sorrow is over,
And gone are the griefs that have been,
'Mid acclaim of the people who love her
She comes to her glory, a Queen.
'Tis Jubilee here, and 'tis Jubilee yonder
As far as the sun round her Empire doth wander.
From the east to the west wakes the world in her honour;
The sunrise and sunset flash splendour upon her,
Uncclouded, at peace, and serene!

IMPORTANT MEETING OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE.

SPEECHES BY THE MASTER OF UNIVERSITY, SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, THE WARDEN OF MERTON, PROFESSOR BURROWS, ETC.

ON June 15th, a large and influential meeting of the Oxford Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held in the Hall of Exeter College, under the presidency of Dr. Bright, Master of University. The proceedings throughout were of an extremely interesting nature, and the success of the meeting reflects the highest credit upon the energy and enthusiasm of the members of the Branch. Among those present were Sir Henry Acland, the Warden of Merton, the Warden of All Souls', Sir William Fitzherbert, Sir Harry Verney, Bart., Professor Burrows, Professor Napier, Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, New College; the Rev. Francis Williams, of the Collegiate School of St. Peter, Adelaide; Mr. Alexander, Fellow of Lincoln (from Melbourne); Mr. McGregor, Scholar of Oriel (from South Africa); Mr. Courtney, of New College; Mr. F. S. Pulling, of Exeter, &c.

The CHAIRMAN said it was not without some misgivings that he found himself in that place; as he told the Secretary when he first asked him to assume the responsibility of standing there, he thought it might be desirable to have found some one of a more strong and pronounced feeling with regard to the subject. But upon inquiry he was told that anyone who felt a hearty good wish for the cause, even though he saw obstacles in the way, might, irrespective of all other political views, take his position there. (Cheers.) It was upon these grounds that he had ventured to appear there, and as far as wishing well for the cause went, it was difficult to think how anyone with any strong sense of patriotism could help feeling warmly in favour of something like this great Federation scheme. (Cheers.) The reason why he had some hope that it might come about was that the focus of politics was gradually extending itself. It was leaving its centre, and finding its position nearer the circumference of the world, and that was the reason why he strongly deprecated any idea of opposition to the colonising tendencies of other countries. He felt with regard to the great difficulty of feeling fellow interests with people a long way off, that they had a good many considerable instances to show such a feeling could exist. (Cheers.) These seemed to show that there were certain tendencies towards feeling that patriotic glow which was necessary if they were to have this Federation. (Cheers.)

The WARDEN OF MERTON rose with much pleasure, but with much diffidence, to propose the first resolution:—"That this meeting desires to express its high satisfaction at the meeting of the first Imperial Conference." When he was asked to take a part in the proceedings of that night, he owned that he felt the same difficulty as their Chairman—that he had never visited any of our Colonies except Canada—that he was not a member of the Imperial Federation League, and that he had never clearly seen his way to any practical scheme for carrying out its objects—in short, that he was still a learner, and had no right to come forward as a teacher. At the same time he held a very hearty sympathy with those objects, and when he was entrusted with this resolution, he felt that he could move it with a good conscience, for he was quite sure that, come what may, nothing but good could result from the meeting of the first Imperial Conference. (Cheers.) Not to speak of more delicate questions, there were questions of Colonial defence, questions of postal and telegraphic communication, questions of Colonial relations towards native races and foreign countries, questions of commercial and fiscal policy—all questions eminently worthy of discussion, and far better discussed by word of mouth than in formal despatches. Imperialism in the British Colonies nowadays meant neither Imperial tyranny nor Imperial jobbery. (Cheers.) It meant helping forward and guiding the great experiment of self-government in young communities; it meant keeping the peace between two European races in the same Colony, or between Europeans and natives; it meant reconciling French Catholics to Anglo-Saxon Orangemen in Canada; it meant encouraging Free Trade in Australia, and checking famine in India, and putting down slavery everywhere; it meant also, or might soon come to mean, supporting Australia and New Zealand in their resistance to foreign settlements in dangerous proximity to their shores. (Loud cheers.) And now, let him add a few words on the feelings which he thought all true Englishmen should entertain towards our Colonial Empire—for it was not the less an Empire because it was held together, not by conquering legions, like that of Imperial Rome, but rather by the freewill and loyal allegiance of the peoples who composed it. (Cheers.) If he visited any of our Colonies, he saw the Union Jack floating over peaceful and prosperous communities of his countrymen, with English faces, English manners, English ideas, English religion, and English laws, talking of England as their home, cherishing equally the English sentiments of loyalty and liberty, and speaking that familiar but noble language which was the glorious birthright of the English race. That language, he knew, had now become the master-language of the world, because it had been spread by commerce far more widely than any other. When an Englishman realised the grandeur of the Empire which he had thus inherited, he would not concern himself too much with the balance of power in Europe (cheers), for he would feel that his real interests and responsibilities lay outside the sphere of European diplomacy. And if this were not enough for his ambition—if he must needs indulge in dreams of a Greater Britain than even Great Britain and her Colonies, then let him dream, not of fresh European alliances, but of that great, peaceful millennium which might yet be reserved for us, in the fulness of time, when this England of ours should join hands with that other England across the Atlantic, and the whole Anglo-Saxon family should be united in one great Anglo-Saxon Zollverein—if not in some more complete form of political confederation. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. MCGREGOR, of Oriel, seconded the resolution, which was sup-

ported by SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, who said that he was at that meeting as a learner; he was a beginner, and had only within the last week or two given in his adhesion to the Imperial Federation League, and now he was made a member of the general committee. (Cheers.) Some few years back those in the Colonies read with the deepest interest, and with some mistrust, of the great efforts made at this question of Federation. At the same time he did not think there was any sign of any practical issue. He stood aside, because he feared there would be an attempt made to frame some lines of Federation that would not be suitable to the Colonies, and would only end, sooner or later, in disappointment, and when he came to England that was the attitude of his mind. He listened diligently to everything he could hear, to instruct him in respect of Colonial questions, and he found a complete change of opinion among their public men on both sides of politics, and he found the interpretation of that change was that the enlightened, instructed, cultivated, educated, and thinking people of this country were of one mind with regard to the Colonies. (Cheers.) One of the factors which led him to join the Federation League was the unfeigned loyalty of the people of all these self-governing countries—(cheers)—and the other factor was what he had seen with his own eyes in this country. With these two factors before them, he felt there was a possibility of laying a foundation for building up a super-structure, and that he ought no longer to withhold whatever little might be added by his name. (Cheers.)

PROFESSOR BURROWS said the resolution he had been asked to propose was this: "That this meeting is of opinion that in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of Federation is essential." (Cheers.) The words of this resolution were taken from the original one passed at the first meeting for the formation of a Federation League in London. It was open, no doubt, to the charge of vagueness; for all depended on what kind of Federation they proposed, but they had a sort of religious sentiment in favour of these words, since they were framed by the skill, and represented the mind, of the late Mr. Forster, who presided on that occasion. None who were present would forget the skill with which he piloted them. At the first public meeting of the Oxford branch the name of that patriotic man ought not to pass without comment. (Cheers.) In him they had almost a founder, a large-hearted, brave, truly Liberal, truly Conservative statesman. If they achieved any success it would be because he gave them a good start. (Cheers.) No nation was ever made in a day, and they were employed in making a nation, or what was much the same thing, combining into one whole the disjointed portions of a single but scattered people. But he thought an expression used by one of the eloquent Colonial Delegates, who was lately speaking in London, conveyed the truest idea of their present position. He said that all the while they were confessing their inability to state what their form of Federation would eventually turn out to be, they were actually constructing the fabric bit by bit. The Colonial Conference had done much. Their plans for mutual defence, their commerce, and their communications with each other, were of themselves making them one country, and so long as they were united it did not much matter what the scientific form of their union was. There were more of these invisible threads of warp and woof stretched and stretching across the ocean than they sometimes remembered. Who had not viewed with pleasure the exchange of great clergymen which had been lately effected with Australia—the mission of one of our very best men, Dr. Barry, as Metropolitan, the request from our Government that Australia should send back the Bishop of Melbourne, since we could find no one in England so fit to succeed the best of our modern bishops, the good Bishop Fraser? (Applause.) And he believed that their Universities were supplying, and would supply, more and more of these threads of connection. Above all, public opinion was forming so fast in favour of a closer union, that the least sanguine need not despair. (Cheers.) These were general remarks, which he hoped might commend the resolution to their acceptance, on the ground of what had been done, and was doing. Let him suggest that many improvements of the relations between the mother and her daughters might be effected before they were ripe to entertain the idea of any special form of Federation. He referred that night to one. Their Colonial Office required to be placed on a more substantial basis of consultation and joint action with the Colonies, of which it administers the affairs. There was always a danger of the Colonies being pushed out of the way by the pressure of apparently more urgent affairs. He once ventured to propose, in print, that the Colonial Representatives should be formed into a Council (like the Council for India) under the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in order to remedy this evil. He believed the idea might be carried further. Why should not a small number of Peers and a small number of members of the House of Commons be gathered round these representatives, who would form the nucleus of the Council? They would thus obtain a powerful body, which could obtain a hearing from the Government and from the nation on great Colonial questions; which would help to inform Parliament on points upon which ignorance prevailed; which would convince the Colonies that their wants had found expression in the best possible form and under the best auspices. (Cheers.) The problem to be solved was how to bring the Colonies up alongside of themselves without destroying in the process that which was naturally more precious to them than the Colonies. Time would help them, but the time was limited by several considerations. Doing nothing would not help them. Standing aloof from the feeble beginnings of their League would not help to secure the permanent unity of the Empire. Let Oxford apply itself to the problem. It had often busied itself with less weighty things; and let him beg their assent, as a first step, to the resolution he had proposed. (Cheers.)

The resolution was seconded by MR. LYTTETON GELL, and supported by SIR HARRY VERNEY, who said that by their proceedings that night they had been drawn out of the petty interests, and the narrow circle of their immediate neighbourhood, and their own country, to take an interest in, and make themselves acquainted with those vast countries which, by the will of God, had been committed to the charge of the British nation

Both resolutions were then submitted to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

MR. J. A. R. MARRIOTT proposed votes of thanks to the Rector and Fellows of Exeter for the use of the hall, and to the Chairman for presiding, and said that apologies for absence from the meeting had been received from Lord Rosebery, Mr. Froude, Lord Carnarvon, Professor Seeley, the President of Magdalen, and many others.

SIR H. ACLAND seconded the vote of thanks, remarking that if there was one thing which gilded his last hours, it was to see young Oxford leaving, at every turn, local disputations for great questions of various kinds, upon which the existence of this Empire, connected with the outlying portions of our great Colonies, in his judgment depended. He, therefore, heartily thanked the Master of University for bringing them together to meet the other speakers and gentlemen who had come from distant parts.

The proposition was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

MAY 19—JUNE 19, 1887.

THE NEW HEBRIDES.

June 7th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. J. Morley, MR. W. H. SMITH said that the negotiations with regard to the New Hebrides were still in progress, and he was unable to give any undertaking as to when the papers on the subject would be forthcoming.

KING GEORGE'S SOUND.

June 10th.—In the House of Commons, MR. BADEN-POWELL asked the Secretary of State for War whether it was true, as reported in the newspapers, that at the recent Colonial Conference the War Office raised objections to assisting in providing for the defence of King George's Sound; and, if so, whether he would state the reasons for these objections.

MR. E. STANHOPE: Yes, Sir; the matter is easily explained. The list of coaling stations now being defended was framed originally by the Royal Commission on the Defence of British Possessions Abroad. That Commission went very completely into the whole question, and selected a certain number of stations which it described as of first-rate importance, and the defences of which it recommended should be at once undertaken. King George's Sound was not included. That case was considered, but was decided to be of secondary importance. This list was approved by the Treasury, and laid before Parliament. A large sum still remains to be spent before the defences even of these first-class stations are complete; and the War Office accordingly, when represented at the Colonial Conference, did not feel justified in promising to furnish at once an expensive armament for King George's Sound—first, because to include any place not upon the list would necessarily have entailed large expenditure in other cases similarly situated; secondly, because it would have had neither Treasury nor Parliamentary sanction; and, thirdly, because it would have recognised a principle against which the Treasury has always contended—that the Imperial Government should bear any share in the expenditure necessary for the land defence of Australia.

PENSIONS FOR THE COLONIAL SERVICE.

June 14.—In the House of Lords LORD LAMINGTON called attention to the desirability of providing more liberally for the Colonial Service in the matter of pensions. After contrasting the favourable terms granted to the Diplomatic and Consular Services with the regulation that restricted the pensions of Colonial governors to a maximum of £1,000, only obtainable by recipients of 60 years of age, who had served 18 years, LORD LAMINGTON said that it was a gross injustice we were now doing to Colonial governors. If a governor adequately filled his high post he could not save on his salary. He could not tell how painful it had been for him to listen to the details of the life of penury to which gentlemen of high culture and of excellent merit, who had ably and generously represented the Sovereign in distant parts of our Colonial Empire, had been reduced on their return home. This was an appropriate time to do an act, he would not say of generosity, but of justice. A Colonial Conference had been attended with admirable results. The founding of an Imperial Institute would be the commencement of a new Colonial era. The metropolis was full at this moment of Colonists who had come here to pay homage to their Sovereign, and there was not one of those Colonists who, even at a small sacrifice, would not wish justice to be done to Her Majesty's representatives. Her Majesty had no more loyal subjects than the Colonists, and they were all interested in seeing the governors placed in a suitable position. He invited the Government to take a step which, while doing what was just to a distinguished class of Her Majesty's servants, would cement the union between the Mother Country and the Colonies. (Cheers.)

June 17.—In the House of Lords a debate took place upon the Canadian Tariff proposals: LORD LAMINGTON introduced the question, and was followed by EARL GRANVILLE, who greatly regretted the action of the Canadian Government in placing additional duties upon imports from Great Britain. The EARLS OF CARNARVON, DUNRAVEN, and ONSLOW also spoke, and the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY then addressed the House as follows:—The Canadian Government, in the action which they have taken, have not the slightest desire to injure the people and the manufacturing interests of this country. It is a part of that general increase of Protection which I am grieved to say we are witnessing in every country except our own. There is undoubtedly in all parts of the world a strong reaction against the economic views which some twenty or thirty years ago seemed likely to prevail. Canada thinks, whether rightly or wrongly it is not for me to judge, that past experiments in the direction of Protection have been satisfactory, and especially to her own industry and trade. That is probably a delusive view, but it is the one which they are pursuing, and in which they are evidently sincere. Of course, so far as any

exhortations on our side are likely to affect the policy of Canada, they will not be spared, and any facts with which the iron trade may arm us, and which will enable us in any degree to modify the opinions of the statesmen of Canada, shall be put forward with all the authority we possess. But I will not conceal my belief that we are dealing with a stronger stream of opinion than any exhortations of statesmen in Downing Street are likely to affect, and that we must turn for relief rather to that inevitable failure which the teachers of Free Trade have told us with great confidence has attended all the experiments of Protection in the past, and which, no doubt, would ultimately bring home to the Canadians the error which they are committing. If I could see that there was any want of sympathy with the iron trade in this matter, I would ask your lordships to remember that our sympathy could be little else but Platonic, and that we cannot use our constitutional powers for the purpose of protecting the trade from the danger which threatens it. As to the Pacific Railway, I was glad to hear the distinction drawn by the noble earl opposite between the action of Her Majesty's Government and the action of Parliament. I do not think it would be right for Her Majesty's Government to allow themselves to be influenced in regard to this great Imperial work by such matters as we have been discussing. At the same time, I think with the noble earl that the House of Commons is not likely, when asked to consider a subsidy for the Pacific Railway, to be indifferent to the policy which the Canadian Government has pursued with respect to one of the most important interests of this country. (Hear, hear.)

LITERATURE.

The Emigrant's Handbook to the British Colonies, by Waldemar Bannow. (1 vol., 1s.; Walter Scott.)

THIS work, by the author of "A Guide to Emigration and Colonisation," which was reviewed in our columns in April last, has been "undertaken as a labour of love, from a sincere interest in the welfare of our Colonies." It is planned much on the lines of the well-known "Statesman's Year Book," with the information as to postal rates, steamer passages, wages, and similar subjects amplified for the especial benefit of the class for whom the handbook may be presumed to be intended. To an intelligent working man who had made up his mind to emigrate, without having decided where to go, the book would probably be of considerable use. As far as we have seen, in spite of some odd slips, as, for example, that the branch lines of the Canadian Pacific are 11,000 miles in length, the book seems fairly accurate. One piece of statistics given will, we think, surprise our readers, that one-third, roughly speaking, of the inhabitants of the Colonies of South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales are resident in their respective capitals. But why should "the desire to publish this handbook" at a very low price preclude Natal from being treated of at any length? Or, at least, why should Natal be cut off with two pages in order that Tasmania may enjoy fourteen? The preface to the Handbook, it may be well to notice, contains a fairly good bibliography of such recent official publications of the different Colonial Governments as would be likely to concern immigrants.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

A TESTIMONIAL FROM NEW ZEALAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—I do all I am able in order to forward the objects of the League; up to the first starting of your paper it was almost impossible to obtain a fair hearing for the subject; it was pooh-poohed everywhere, not because people were opposed to it from principle, but because they had either never thought the matter over seriously, or else because they had adopted to the fullest extent the views of the ultra Manchester school. The politicians of those opinions have, I believe, done much good in expounding the doctrines of Free Trade, but when they found that other nations would not adopt Free Trade views, and also that the Colonists are infinitely better customers even if they use so-called Protective tariffs than are foreigners, I think that many of them have done right in reconsidering their verdict, as to the wisdom, from an English point of view, of breaking up the Empire.

From a Colonial standpoint I have no doubt of the advisability of joining the scattered Provinces into one united Imperial Parliament. There are expenses to be incurred for our fleet, and the proposal made some time ago in your paper to charge 5 per cent. on foreign shipping was, I thought, just the thing needed, and I hope sincerely that the point will not be forgotten, whenever Federal union is talked about.

The Colonists of to-day do not want to leave the Empire; we are almost unanimous at present, so far as I can judge, in holding that union is infinitely better for us than disunion, and many of us have fully thought the matter over. I believe your paper is doing good by causing people, who would not otherwise read it up, to see what is being done by the League to unite all our citizens under the old flag of our forefathers.—I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely in the principle,

Napier, New Zealand, April 12, 1887.

L. T. S.

WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Government have just accepted a tender by the South Australian Woollen Factory Company for 2,000 pairs of all-wool blue blankets for distribution among the aborigines. Previously English tenders have always been accepted, and the blankets supplied have been mixed with cotton. The contract with the company will involve an expenditure of about £700 in wool and wages.

Imperial Federation.

AUGUST, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

It was thought on the London Stock Exchange that the Grand Trunk Railway might possibly obtain traffic that would be diverted from United States railways through the operation of what is known as the "long and short haul clause" of the new Inter-State Commerce Act, but few, we fancy, would have thought that this Act was likely to bring grist to the Canadian Pacific mill. And yet it appears that this is, in fact, happening. Several large consignments of wool have, we understand, been sent by this route from San Francisco to Boston. Application has now been made to the United States Government by the Pacific Steamship Company to carry goods in bond by this route. If the required permission is granted (and it is believed that it will not be refused), traffic is likely to take this road in considerable quantities. We can, of course, only rejoice at anything which tends to promote the prosperity of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to accelerate the development of the natural advantages of our Pacific Coast ports. It is also well that our countrymen at home should in this manner be helped to realise how valuable is the line of communication that has been established by the energy of our Canadian fellow-countrymen.

THE *Australian Trading World* takes the borough of Hastings, New Zealand, very seriously to task for appearing in the London market to "worry the investing public" for the "insignificant sum" of £25,000. It has "no hesitation in saying that this loan is not warranted, and that the borough of Hastings has no real justification in borrowing such (*i.e.* so large) a sum of money." As for the question whether the municipality were wise to come to London, that surely is a matter which they are competent to decide for themselves. In London they would, no doubt, have borrowed at 5 per cent., why then should they pay 8 to 10 per cent. in New Zealand? So far from such small loans damaging the market for larger loans, the *Australian Trading World* will find, if it consults the Stock Exchange list, that loans not much larger, issued by townships not much more important, such as Oamaru and Timaru, are quoted at a high premium. We should ourselves have thought that the need to "provide an efficient system of drainage," which is set forward in the prospectus, was a very "real justification" for contracting a debt even more considerable than that which the borough is proposing to incur. As the loan has, however, been withdrawn for the present, the whole question has only an academic interest. Whether the security would have been good for the amount is a question we have, of course, no intention of discussing. That is the concern of the intending investor only. We only desire to maintain that London is the natural place in which to raise British loans, whether they are wanted in Hastings, Sussex, or Hastings, New Zealand. In any case, it is surely rather hard that a municipality should be reproved in the same breath for incurring so large a debt, and for appealing to capitalists for so insignificant a sum. Perhaps, however, the *Trading World* is of the same mind as MR. BESANT'S character, who only venerated a man who had failed for above a million, and would prefer a loan of the Turkish or Peruvian order. But finance of this kind has so far been as alien to the ideas of Englishmen in the Colonies as it fortunately is to their kinsfolk at home.

"THAT irrepressible female, the deceased wife's sister," as the *Melbourne Argus* accurately if irreverently terms her, must evidently not be permitted to delay the Federation of the British Empire. Even her bitterest foe would oppose this as tending to give her a quite exaggerated idea of her own importance. It is impossible to leave matters as they are at present and permit a child whose mother, as the *Argus* puts it, was "married by a Church of England bishop by virtue of an Act bearing the name of HER MAJESTY," to be stigmatised as illegitimate in any part of the QUEEN'S dominions, or even to be deprived of property that the father has intended to leave for its benefit. The grievance does not, of course, touch any very large number of persons at present, though the number is likely to increase as time goes on, and the connection between England and the Colonies grows closer and closer. Still to those whom it does touch, there can be no doubt that the grievance is a very serious one indeed. That the law throughout the Empire must be assimilated on this point is, we take it, clear enough. The only question is as to the method. Now it is evident that the Colonies are not likely to repeal their existing law, as that would be to stamp as improper marriages that have already been legally contracted. Reluctantly, therefore, we come to the conclusion that the opponents of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill should consent to withdraw their opposition. Had they been strong enough to induce the Government to persist in disallowing the Colonial Acts, it might have been a different matter. But having so far failed it would surely now be better to desist from further opposition. After all, it is not a very serious price to pay for an appreciable contribution towards the Federation of the Empire.

AUSTRALIA is not the only country which is troubled by the difference of the marriage laws of different countries. The Canadian Senate has just decided that a divorce obtained in the United States, presumably by domiciled Canadians (though the report does not say so), is of no effect in Canada. This decision is evidently intended to prevent Canadians crossing over the border into the neighbouring state of Illinois, in order to avail themselves of the convenient elasticity of its divorce laws. But a Canadian citizen is confessedly an alien in the United States, and has accordingly no right to expect that the laws of the two countries shall be similar. A variation between the statutes of England and Australia is altogether a different matter.

THE Old World has had some experience of the making of canals, and has already cut Africa adrift from Asia. The New World threatens to reverse the process and to join Newfoundland to the mainland of America. The Strait of Belle Isle, between Newfoundland and the mainland of Labrador, is only about nine miles wide, and it is said that if it were closed the mass of ice that at present presses south through it into the Gulf of St. Lawrence would be blocked out, and that consequently the climate would be considerably altered. According to the *Portland Transcript*, "engineers say the problem of closing the Strait is capable of solution." The Maine newspaper, however, protests against the proposal in the interest of the "summer resorts that now are so plentifully dotting our main coast, and the ice business on the Kennebec River." For our own part we trust that the good people of Newfoundland will not think it necessary to postpone their entry into the Dominion till it is possible for their legislators to pass over to Ottawa dry-shod.

IN the various schemes for State-directed Colonisation which are afoot, the possibility should not be overlooked of bringing about a marvellous change in the value of hitherto

useless land in Australia by means of scientific irrigation. At present the system is in its infancy. While the great work inaugurated by Messrs. Chaffey in Victoria is still experimental, those who are interested in Colonisation ought to consider carefully their opportunities for purchasing at a nominal rate large tracts of colonial land which only await the fertilising influence of irrigation to produce splendid results. "Irrigate, settle and cultivate" might be the motto of a magnificent enterprise—cheap, if undertaken betimes, but certain to assume a very different aspect when once the practicability of irrigation on a large scale has been proved beyond dispute.

WE believe the Imperial Conference will have contributed greatly to a settlement of the South African question. MR. HOFMEYER was a living witness of the fact that it is possible for a Dutchman to be thoroughly loyal to the British Empire. If the Dutch population at the Cape will tread in his footsteps, and prove by their acts and policy that they are in earnest in desiring to obliterate that animosity of race feeling which has imposed stagnation upon South Africa, they need not fear any reluctance on our side to welcome them as allies and fellow citizens. It is stated that MR. HOFMEYER has since his return to Cape Town publicly deprecated indulgence in race feeling; this proves that the existence of animosity has hitherto been no mere English bugbear, as some smooth tongues have declared; but it proves also that one of the most powerful men in South Africa, himself a Dutchman, has recognised the evil, and determined to restore harmony.

A LETTER written by MR. GOSCHEN to ADMIRAL TRYON, during his recent candidature for the Spalding division of Lincolnshire, seems to indicate the intention of the Government to advance along the lines of that policy of Imperial Federation to which they have already shown their decided adhesion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told ADMIRAL TRYON, who, as our readers know, has been on the Australian station for some years, that his assistance would be "peculiarly useful at a time when discussions on subjects connected with the Navy and the Colonies *will occupy an important place in the proceedings of Parliament.*" Next session, therefore, we hope to see legislation introduced which shall remove some, at least, of the numerous anomalies at present disgracing the statute-book of an ostensibly united Empire.

THE decision of the Russian Government to build a railway through Siberia to the Pacific coast is a fact of which it is impossible to overrate the importance. Hitherto Vladivostock has been an isolated fortress, practically cut off from communication with the heart of Russia by half the circumference of the globe. We knew, and the Canadians and Australians knew, exactly what troops were concentrated there, and knew that no addition to the force could be made except by sea; but when this railway is completed, Vladivostock will be brought within fifteen days' journey of St. Petersburg, and a hundred thousand men might be accumulated there without any Power being aware of it. The next step will be to obtain a port open all the year round, and then the British navy in the Pacific will need to be enormously strengthened, and Australian and Canadian ports to be fortified and defended as strongly as the English Channel.

IN a letter to the *Times* of June 25th MR. BADEN-POWELL has repeated the arguments of LORD HARROWBY and LORD CARNARVON in the House of Lords for subsidising the Trans-Pacific steamers. He is also afraid that either

"bounty-fed French or heavily subsidised German steamers will be given the contract for carrying mails upon the Pacific unless we bestir ourselves." But we do not think that either Government would subsidise a line of steamers which never came into French or German ports. In giving assistance to vessels trading from home, the Governments in question can argue that they are assisting the development of their national commerce, and promoting the export trade. But German and French steamers in the Pacific would be nothing more than "ocean tramps," and would in all probability sail under the Canadian flag, and register themselves at a Canadian port, to escape the harbour dues. That these would otherwise be remorselessly levied by the people whose shipping interests were suffering from competition there can be little doubt.

A BEAUTIFUL device, emblematic of Federation, was displayed at the offices of the Agent-General for New South Wales during the Jubilee festivities. The whole frontage of the building was decorated with a group of transparencies, which formed a striking blaze of illumination. Each colony had its name written in letters of fire, and the whole was arranged in a cluster embracing the word Australasia, while the Crown furnished a fitting emblem of the unity which is not more prized by any part of the Empire than by Australia.

CERTAIN Chinese Commissioners have recently been paying a visit to Sydney, and seem to have held out considerable hopes of affording a good market in China for Australian wool. The HON. S. A. JOSEPH, President of the Chamber of Commerce, took advantage of their visit to urge this question upon the Commissioners; he pointed out that the general trade between China and the Australian Colonies had enormously increased of late, and expressed his belief that if facilities were granted, China would become one of the best customers for wool. If the Commissioners are as good as their word, a vast commerce will spring up, and a fresh impulse will be given to the cause of Imperial Federation. Australia is already largely interested in trade with India, and when that interest is extended to China, she will soon find herself involved in the complications of foreign diplomacy and the intricacies of European politics. For both India and China are in touch with Europe owing to the neighbourhood of Russia.

UNLESS Australian oranges can be sold in London at something less than four for a shilling, we imagine that the much talked-of fruit trade with the Antipodes will probably languish. The price probably means that the fruit has been so badly gathered and badly packed that the proportion of oranges which reach this country in good condition is small.

BALLARAT ought to possess a branch of the League. One of its main thoroughfares will shortly be adorned with statues of the QUEEN, SHAKESPEARE, BURNS, TOM MOORE, a Welsh bard, and CAPTAIN COOK. The feeling which has induced the inhabitants of a thoroughly Australian town to pay such marked honour to representatives of all the great divisions of the British race must be akin to that sentiment of Unity which we are striving to cherish wherever it exists. Ballarat has paid its tribute to the individual sources of British greatness; there remains the celebration of our corporate Empire, and in no better way could it be done than by the formation of a strong branch of the Imperial Federation League.

TELEGRAMS from Natal state that SIR H. HOLLAND is generally believed to be desirous of seeing responsible

government accepted by the Colony. Whether such a step is justified in a Colony where the white population is little more than 35,000, of whom 31,000 are congregated in the two towns of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, is a question for serious consideration by the authorities. But we hope that if the change is carried into effect, ministers will not lose sight of the fact that there are still nearly three million acres of Crown land unalienated in Natal, for which adequate compensation should be required before this vast estate is handed over to the inhabitants of the Colony. There are other means of compensating the British taxpayer than by a direct cash payment. Commercial facilities, or opportunities for emigration, are not without value; but we hope that the Government will not hesitate to insist upon some *quid pro quo*, whatever shape it may assume, and will have the courage to reverse the irrational policy hitherto pursued with regard to Crown lands in self-governing Colonies.

AN unpleasant result of the French occupation of the New Hebrides is indicated by MR. F. W. CHESSON in a recent letter to the *Times*. Labourers are obtained from various islands to work in the New Hebrides for a specified period; but the French show no alacrity in fulfilling the contract to restore these natives to their homes at the conclusion of the term. In the case of three Solomon Islanders, who had declined to renew their engagement in the New Hebrides, MR. CHESSON says that a French vessel, the *Ernestine*, left them on a strange group of islands, to toil without pay or hope of release, for a Chilian adventurer. Almost simultaneous with this act of bad faith on the part of the French was the massacre of a party of British subjects by the natives of the very island to which the three unfortunate kidnapped men belonged. Can it be doubted that these things stand as cause and effect, and that the French are doing ghastly mischief all over the South Seas by their iniquitous perfidy?

CARDINAL MANNING, writing in the July number of *Murray's Magazine*, seeks to answer the question, "Why are our people unwilling to emigrate?" He shows that the population of the United Kingdom increases twice as fast as it is diminished by emigration, and attributes the reluctance to leave this country chiefly to popular ignorance of the Colonies and to a dread of venturing out into the unknown. Added to this is the difficulty of obtaining funds wherewith to accomplish the long and expensive journey. So long as people have any money left they are reluctant to break up their homes; when the stress of poverty compels them they can no longer find the means to go. Our own inquiries confirm the existence of this dilemma, which seems only to be escaped from by an intelligent system of grants in aid, combined with an appreciation by the Colonies of the facts that poor people are not always paupers, and that the acceptance of assisted passages does not necessarily imply unsuitability for Colonial life.

WE understand that a large increase is contemplated in the military forces of the Canadian Dominion. The permanent force will be enlarged and the militia nearly doubled. GENERAL MIDDLETON is to be entrusted with the work of reorganisation, which will be based upon the English model. We are reminded by this how beneficial to the Dominion is her connection with Great Britain, enabling her, as it does, to draw upon the resources of the Imperial Government not only for war material, but for the skill and experience of highly-trained officers, and an insight into the detailed working of a military system, which would certainly be denied to a foreign nation.

SPECIAL AND AUTHORISED REPORT
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AND SPEECHES,
AT THE
DINNER GIVEN IN WILLIS'S ROOMS
ON JULY 6TH, 1887.

BY MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE TO
THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE, M.P.,
Secretary of State for War, and
THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY HOLLAND, BART., M.P.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

AT WHICH THE CHAIR WAS TAKEN BY
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBURY.

THE Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., and the Right Hon. Sir Henry Holland, Bart., M.P., were entertained at dinner in Willis's Rooms, on July 6th, by the General Committee of the Imperial Federation League, for the purpose of congratulating them upon the extent to which the objects of the League have been forwarded during their administration.

It will be remembered that the organisation and the summoning of the recent Imperial Conference were the work of Mr. Stanhope, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Conference having been most ably presided over by his successor in that office, Sir Henry Holland.

The Earl of Rosebery, Chairman of the League, presided at the dinner, and was supported by the Earl of Winchelsea, Lord Castletown, Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P., the Right Hon. Sir Harry Verney, Right Hon. Sir George Bowen, G.C.M.G., the Right Hon. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Sir Charles Clifford, Bart., Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Sir William Fitzherbert (Speaker of the Legislative Council of New Zealand), Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., M.P., Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., Sir Henry Doulton, Sir John Simon, M.P., Sir Francis V. Smith, Sir William Farrer, Alderman Sir William McArthur, K.C.M.G., General Sir Gerald Graham, G.C.M.G., Sir John Coode, K.C.M.G., Hon. Harold Finch Hatton, Commander the Hon. A. G. Curzon Howe, General Lowry, C.B., J. M. Ludlow, C.B., Colonel Moncrieff, C.B., W. L. Jackson, M.P., Captain J. C. Colomb, M.P., A. McArthur, M.P., A. Cohen, M.P., James Rankin, M.P., A. Raymond Heath, M.P., Stanley Leighton, M.P., Elliott Lees, M.P., William Ewart, M.P., O. V. Morgan, M.P., Sydney Buxton, M.P., A. B. Forwood, M.P., Walter Morrison, M.P., Col. King-Harman, M.P., Baron Dimsdale, M.P., J. Henniker-Heaton, M.P., Wilson Noble, M.P., Col. T. Myles Sandys, M.P., Professor Stokes, Professor Humphry, Commander Graham Bower, R.N. (Secretary to the High Commissioner for South Africa), Major Welby, Captain Cecil Norton, Mr. Arnold White, Mr. P. Vanderbyl, Mr. A. Hickman, Mr. Pandeli Ralli, Mr. A. H. Loring, Mr. E. A. Arnold, and others to the number of about 100 were present.

Letters regretting unavoidable absence were received from the Duke of Manchester, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Dunraven, Viscount Hampden, Viscount Folkestone, Lord Herries, Lord Charles Beresford, Lord George Hamilton, Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P., Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., M.P., Sir Algernon Borthwick, Bart., Sir Richard Webster, M.P., Sir John Gorst, M.P., Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B., Sir James Anderson, C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., H. L. W. Lawson, M.P., Sydney Gedge, M.P., Henry Kimber, M.P., Canon Dalton, C.M.G., &c., &c.

The toast of "Her Majesty the Queen" having been briefly proposed by the Chairman, The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, and enthusiastically honoured,

The Chairman rose, amidst prolonged applause, to propose the toast of the evening. He said—

Gentlemen, I now rise to propose what is emphatically the toast of the evening. I esteem it a great honour to be in the chair on this occasion; but I always feel it to be a piece of great and real good fortune in the midst of the troubled days of our political life—and particularly to any man who values a high standard of that political

life—to be privileged, as I now am, to render full and ungrudging testimony to the merits of an act performed by political opponents (Applause.) Gentlemen, I assure you that this is a very happy moment in my life, because politicians are so apt to be accused of want of candour, and accused of prejudice, that they feel that they rise to a higher atmosphere, even though it only be for a moment, when they are able, in the obvious view and testimony of all, to take a part which is not a party part in a political matter. I know, gentlemen, you will forgive me for one little lingering human weakness if I allow myself for one moment to regret that the work which has been inaugurated and carried on by my distinguished friends was not the work of one of my political colleagues; but that simply means that I wish to pay a tribute to the excellence of the idea. If it was not to be carried out by my own party, and if it was to political opponents that I should have to pay the tribute of having conceived and carried out a wise policy, there are no two members of the Conservative party to whom Liberals in my position could more fairly render homage than my right hon. friend Mr. Edward Stanhope—(applause)—and my right hon. friend Sir H. T. Holland. (Renewed applause.) Gentlemen, it is not for me to discriminate as to the share they have respectively in the merit of this great work. Mr. Stanhope was so fortunate and so well advised as to make the suggestion to the Queen, to the Cabinet, and to the country, that a Conference should be called of Colonial representatives for certain Imperial objects. He was cut short in his Colonial prime—(laughter and applause)—and taken away. His work was to sow, and he saw another man enter into his harvest. (Applause.) But during the time which he did spend in the Colonial Office he had at least the credit of inaugurating a distinctly original and Imperial idea—(applause)—not, however, without an impetus from the Imperial Federation League. (Hear, hear.) That was a triumph which will leave his name and his administration, even if he never returns to the Colonial Office, permanently recorded. Of Sir Henry Holland I may say this—that, being called on to preside in the Colonial Conference, he has presided with a tact, a patience and an ability to which every human being who has had to do with that Conference has rendered a cordial and unanimous testimony. (Applause.) If Mr. Stanhope were only to sow the seed, he could certainly have selected no better man to reap the harvest. Now let me say one word in regard to the Colonial Conference. I know it is said that we do not know what the results of the Colonial Conference have been. We know them only in part, but they have been laid in considerable bulk, as I understand, on the tables of both Houses of Parliament during the present week. Well, I know it was said that the basis of the Conference was too narrow. I never had any doubts on the subject myself. I said, “Only give us a Conference, let Colonial representatives meet within the four corners of any room you like, under the auspices of the Imperial Government, to discuss Imperial questions, and he will be a bold, an able and a powerful man, who can restrict the scope and area of the Conference.” (Applause.) I may say, gentlemen, that my predictions were realised, and that, if rumour does not greatly falsify the facts, the free speaking of the Colonial representatives left nothing to be desired. But I do not wish to play the part of a political eaves-dropper, and as I am told by the Prime Minister that we shall never have the opportunity of reading the discussion to which I refer, I will merely give it a passing allusion. I give all honour and credit to our two distinguished guests—all honour and credit; but I must also give a little honour and a little credit to ourselves. (Hear, hear.) This is a friendly meeting of the Imperial Federation League, so we may usefully turn aside for one moment from the toast of our guests to a consideration which is strictly congenial and in harmony with that toast, the consideration of our own position. This League has now existed for two years and a half. In that two years and a half it has done work which to those who look back on what the state of things was before it originated, is, I think, simply stupefying. The League, in the first place, had to combat the natural enemy of all new movements, the ignorance of the people with whom it had to deal. (Hear,

hear.) When we first emerged on an astonished world we were treated as a set of fanatical dreamers who wished to do nothing less than to cast the British Constitution into Medea's caldron, and bring it out in a shape agreeable to our own doctrines and to our own notions, but incongruous with anything that had taken place before. We were further, in that process, to destroy the House of Commons, and to destroy every other local legislature, and every other local fiscal arrangement which had hitherto existed throughout this Empire. We were to carry out a sort of policy of George Grenville in the nineteenth century, with all the lights which we possess. It was in vain for us to say we had no such plan ready, that it was not our intention to suggest any such scheme. Our opponents, or our too enthusiastic friends in the press or elsewhere, said that we must have such a scheme, and that if we did not have such a scheme it was our duty to produce a scheme. Well, I observe a totally different tendency in the press at the present moment. They recognise that our work is not the work of visionaries or doctrinaires. It is a long work of education and of construction, and in that way we have placed ourselves on a basis which is a basis of common sense, and which appeals, I think, to every human being, with the exception of one or two fanatical politicians, within these islands. (Applause.) Now with regard to this contention with ignorance we have had to set up one important weapon of offence and defence, and that is the Journal of our league. The Journal of our League has a thousand subscribers, and I hope that number will be largely increased; but the Journal never pretended to the “largest sale in the world,” whether it is the *Daily Telegraph* or *Standard*, or whatever else it may be that does. But we do think it vitally important for our work to have a record every month—a journal which would tell forth our progress, which would take notice of the persistent errors which our one or two opponents—because I really only know of two opponents whose names are known to any human being—which would take notice of the errors of the one or two opponents who disagree with our general principle, and which would in that way correct mis-statements, and set on foot an authoritative record of what was being done. Well, gentlemen, I say that the journal alone has been worth all the labour of the League. (Hear, hear.) But I would call attention to two other points on which the League, I think, has been of very important service. The first is this—and I think my right honourable friends on either side of me will acknowledge—that our memorial to the Government had a very considerable influence in summoning that historic Colonial Conference, which I think will be the precursor of many more such gatherings. (Loud applause.) I do not wish to dwell on the point, but I do wish to emphasise the importance of the work of the League in that connection, and the enormous importance of the Convention of the summer. People who think that that was the sole and only Convention of the Colonies, and that that was the greatest Convention of the Colonies that is likely to be called, are, in my opinion, making a very great mistake. (Hear, hear.) If that Colonial Conference did not answer the expectation of its authors, which I fully believe it did—but if in any way it was a disappointment or a mistake, those who originated it, and *we* have much to do with its origin, have a great responsibility resting upon us; for you may be certain that no more important precedent in the history of this Empire has ever been set than this. (Loud applause.) You have told the Colonies—whom it was once the pedantic fashion to flout and neglect—that their interests are your interests; and that when vital matters of common concern arise, you ask for their counsel and their assistance. Having once acknowledged that principle you have set a stone rolling which not all the forces that can be arrayed against it can stop. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, I would also allude to one other point in which the League has been of valuable assistance to our cause. It has stimulated an interest in our Colonies. I will venture to ask any gentleman who has lived as long as I have, or even a shorter time than that, to contrast the attitude of the national mind with regard to our Colonies now with what it was twenty years ago. Why, twenty years ago there existed that thin-

blooded and nullifying party whose epitaph has been eloquently written, but which sought to discourage our Colonies, and which sought to drive them from us by coldness, by neglect, and even by eloquent exhortation. (Hear, hear.) Where is that party now? (Applause.) That party is in Kensal Green, and the Imperial Federation League is marking its tombstone. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I have said that it was not the work of our League to produce any distinct plan of constitution, and in my opinion our League would embark in a perilous undertaking, a disastrous course, if it undertook any such responsibility. But this work is none the less important for that. In my mind the task of the League is one of incessant vigilance over our whole Colonial system. In my opinion the task of the League is to do this—to watch for every symptom, for every little sign, for every little fact, for every little growth of feeling that may in any way aid or stimulate the Union of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Whether the fact be social, whether it be political—a great deal can be done socially, gentlemen—(hear, hear)—whenever you may think there is a chance of furthering our cause, whatever the little sign may be, the League is bound to take notice of it, and to foster its growth. If I might sum up in a sentence what I think it should do, I would say this, that its duty is to gather up and to quicken into life, if possible, all the forces that may assist us in uniting more closely this Empire. What are the directions in which this may be done? You will, I know, understand me when I say that I am not professing in an after-dinner speech on a hot evening in July, to treat of topics which would require many speeches of many hours, but I will say, without touching on them in any but the slightest degree, that there are four distinct heads in my opinion—I may have omitted one—four distinct heads under which we may most clearly group the objects which we have in view, and the means of attaining them. And the first is, I should say, *political*. We have to catch at and to observe every bond of political connection which can be drawn more tightly between this country and our Colonies. I would put under this head the great Conference to which allusion has already been made; I would put under this head the question which has been mooted, but which has never yet been settled, as to whether the Agents-General should live under the roof of the Colonial Office and form a permanent Colonial Council or not. That question has never been thrashed out yet; I offer no opinion upon it; I only give that as an instance. The second head is *defensive*—the naval or military aspect—as regards coaling-stations, and as it affects the mind of my right hon. friend to the right. That, too, is a question which I would not venture to enter into upon the present occasion; but it is one evidently which is of great importance to us, because not merely is it of importance that this Empire should be defended, but the question of defence is one that comes more home to the Colonists than any other, and therefore brings most to their mind the need of a closer union to the Mother Country. In that connection we may consider it a machine and an instrument. The third point I should say is that of *communication*—the question of closer communication, whether postal or by lines of steamers or otherwise. Now that question has been very prominently ventilated of late, but it is perfectly clear to me that that is one of the questions on which the League should exercise all its strength and all its vigilance and all its enthusiasm. (Applause.) I believe there is some question of starting a separate Association, entirely with the object of fostering that most important matter—of establishing a penny postal communication between all parts of the Empire. (Applause.) I do not doubt the wisdom of those who are starting it, for the simple reason that I do not doubt that there are many people who are in favour of such a scheme who are not in favour of Imperial Federation. But I am perfectly certain of this: that there is no one in favour of Imperial Federation who is not in favour of the other also; and so our League can very usefully take this matter up. (Applause.) The fourth head to which I will call your attention is *commercial*. That is a point of the most vital importance, and it is a point on which, in my opinion, it is absolutely impossible for the League at present to take up any definite platform. It is impossible for the League to do anything that may

seem at present either directly or indirectly to strike at the fiscal system of the United Kingdom without causing very considerable opposition, which it is not necessary at this period to evoke. But what is possible for the League is this: to examine very closely into that large and most complicated question. Now, I wish to pronounce no opinion on it whatever; but what is perfectly obvious is this: that if any master-mind, or collection of master-minds, could arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the commercial unity of the Empire, the Imperial unity of the Empire would be secured. (Applause.) I say, then, if we, as a body, can examine that question, and discuss it, and find out the variety of feeling that exists upon it in the various Colonies, we should be doing a most important, and most imperial, and most patriotic work. With regard to all these four points I have to make a passing suggestion. I have often thought that the work of this League is too narrow in its instruments, that the work of the League does not find sufficient scope for the young and the vigorous minds who find interest in its operations. What I should venture to suggest is this: whether the League should not appoint four sub-committees under each of these heads, and another under another head if it be found, with special reference to each of these particular questions; they would give their closest attention to it, and in that way I am sure the work would be better and more efficiently done than it can be done by the Council of the League at present. Now, gentlemen, that is all I have to trouble you with at this moment, but I have to say one word on the work of the League from another point of view. We have, in my opinion, achieved a great and a marked success in the gathering of this convention. We have got what Lord Beaconsfield said on a famous occasion when he first went into office—we have got “a status at last.” But we have come to this: that we have to decide now whether we are to throw up all our work or to continue it. We have at this moment but a very limited income, and it is proposed—in order to meet the expenses, which our income does not at present meet—it is proposed to raise a guarantee fund of not less than a thousand pounds a year for three years, which will enable us to meet the unavoidable expenses of the League. It is most economically conducted, but it cannot live on air, and a great many of our friends seem to think that it can live on air. What I want you to consider to-night is whether we can raise such a guarantee fund as will enable us to go on for three or five years longer. I am authorised to announce that three members of the League have guaranteed £250 a year for three years, and therefore there will be all the less for the rest of the League to guarantee. And I am also asked to say that we shall be glad to welcome any sum, however small, in aid of this object. But it has come to this: that we must either throw up our work altogether or that we must have this further sum to reckon upon. Now it is quite open to the League to decide whether it will wipe itself out to-night or not. It has achieved this great object of the Colonial Conference, and it may say that, having thus laid the corner-stone of future Conferences, it wishes to retire into private life. Of course I and the executive will bow to any such decision, but I must make one remark upon it. I think that if you lay down your work at this period you will throw it back by rather more than you have advanced it. (Applause.) In the first place, you have to remember that there are affiliated societies all over the world who look up with confidence and respect to the action of this central body, and who, where they see that the very heart and source of the circulation of the blood through the Empire of this principle has ceased to exist from a want of funds which I must venture to call paltry, will feel that the cause is one no longer worth their support. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, that is an obvious remark to make; and secondly, we may make the same observation ourselves, that if the cause of uniting and welding together the greatest and the wealthiest Empire that the world has ever known, is not worth a thousand a year to those who care for its interests—(applause)—then the whole thing is a sham, and such I am ashamed to think is the adverse criticism to which we shall be exposed. I only lay the two arguments before you. I myself do not for one moment doubt to which side the League will lean

in making its decision, but I think it right to put before this representative assembly what our position is, and to stimulate if possible the energies of all present. And now, gentlemen, I shall ask you to drink these two healths, which not only represent the health of two able and eminent ministers, but also to some extent the cause which we have at heart. (Applause.) I ask you to drink the health of Mr. Edward Stanhope and Sir Henry Holland. (Applause.)

The RIGHT HONOURABLE E. STANHOPE, M.P.: My Lord Rosebery, my Lords and Gentlemen,—No greater honour can be paid to any man than when those who have been acting in unison with him in the promotion of objects that they believe of national importance are good enough to think that he, even in some small way, has done something to promote those objects; and the honour is very much the greater when, under circumstances so skilfully referred to by the Chairman, the honour is paid him, not only by those who are in political sympathy with him, but also by those who have been ranked amongst his political opponents. Lord Rosebery, our cause has no jealousies—(hear, hear)—and I cannot but think that the happiest augury of the future of this country is to be found in the fact that, if ever in coming time the cold shade of indifference to Colonial interests should creep over this country, there are men to be found, on the one side of politics as well as on the other, who are prepared, before every other political consideration, to try and waken others to the responsibilities and the duties of their position. (Applause.) Lord Rosebery, you have referred to-day, in terms to which I desire to add nothing, to the service which Sir Henry Holland has rendered as the President of the Colonial Conference. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Sir Henry Holland has had to bear the burden and heat of the day, and to him ought justly to fall the honours. That guest who is now addressing you claims but a very small portion of it indeed, because in the first place he desires to acknowledge, in the amplest and in the most ungrudging terms, the manner in which the object which he has at heart was assisted by the co-operation—nay, more, by the initiation of the Imperial Federation League. I should be wanting in gratitude, I should be wanting in the best attributes of a member of the Imperial Federation League, if I did not make that acknowledgment in the fullest and most complete terms. But there is one other advantage that I possessed—the opportunity was ready to my hand, and it required to grasp it only the courage of conscientious conviction, and the co-operation of colleagues who were not afraid to try an experiment. (Hear, hear.) And yet, my lords and gentlemen, when we come to look at it with the cold criticism of afterthought, it was a bold experiment. There need never have been any doubt as to the feeling of this country. Deep down in the hearts of the English people there lies a love and a sympathy for their kindred beyond the seas, that requires only the instinct of a statesman to call out and utilise. Of the manner in which that invitation would be received by the Colonies there was a greater doubt. There were many men who felt very considerable doubt whether the representatives whom the Colonies might send to this country, or the particular projects that they might be instructed to propose at the Conference, might not give rise to difficulties and dangers which would threaten the success of the Conference. Happily, my lords and gentlemen, at the very first meeting of the Conference, every difficulty was dispelled, and every danger was forgotten. We saw there an assemblage of representatives from the Colonies, who might very fairly challenge any comparison, even with the statesmen of the United Kingdom—(applause)—not only in oratory but in practical ability, tinged as it is with the happy originality, somewhat rough perhaps on occasions, with the self-assertive originality which testifies to the vitality of the English race. (Applause.) We saw there a determination to understand one another better: we saw there a wish—nay, an intention—that there should be as the result of the Conference a common agreement. And those of us who saw those results without surprise, but at the same time with the most unmingled pleasure, were able to arrive at this most satisfactory conclusion, that the first stage of the work of the Imperial Federation League had been reached, and, as your Chairman has so happily

said, that although this was the first Conference of the Empire, it cannot be the last. (Applause.) The interval may be long (No, no), the occasion may arise under circumstances of which we can at present have no conception, but we are perfectly aware that at any rate the great system of personal inter-communication between the statesmen of the Mother Country and the governments of the Colonies has been proved to be a link in the Imperial unity, which no statesman can hereafter afford to disregard. What may happen in the interval we cannot possibly foretell. There is a great American writer who has said that nature carries many seeds in her pocket, and has a hole in it. The influence of English civilisation and of the English character is fertilising, at the present moment, the most remote corners of the world. Even those communities that have already assumed form under the Imperial sway are rapidly gaining fresh developments of life, and whether the aspirations and the ambitions of Colonial life will lead during the interval to greater maturity of political institutions, or whether they may lead to the actual proposal of projects of closer union, I cannot say. But of this at least I am sure, that the common interests and the common danger have been rendered so patent, that the value of that unity, and of further security for its continuance, have been conclusively proved. (Hear, hear.) Whether it may be my lot to be spared to witness the second stage of the work of this League I know not, but of this I am certain, that it will come—(applause)—because I have ever-increasing hopefulness in the future of the Empire. (Applause.) It is, my lords and gentlemen, that common spirit of sympathy which has brought us here together to-night, that has induced you to come to pay this honour to Sir Henry Holland and to myself. I shall ever cherish as amongst the happiest recollections of a political life, that never can be without trouble, a pleasant feeling of the kindness you have shown us to-day. (Prolonged applause.)

The RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR H. T. HOLLAND, Bart., M.P.: After the two very able and eloquent speeches which have been delivered, I cannot help recalling to mind—painfully recalling to mind—the lines of Shakespeare:—

“As in a theatre when all men’s eyes,
After some well-graced actor leaves the stage,
Are idly bent on him that cometh next,
Thinking his prattle to be tedious.”

I am, gentlemen and Lord Rosebery, in the position of “him that cometh next,” and the only way in which I can prevent my prattle being tedious is to make it brief. But, if it is brief, I can assure you it is not less spoken from the heart. (Applause.) For indeed, gentlemen, many words are not wanted to express my pride and gratification, and my sense of the honour which is paid to Mr. Stanhope and myself this evening. I confess that I feel some difficulty in laying any claim to that honour—(No, no)—but looking back I find that I was one of the earliest members of the Imperial Federation League—(applause)—asked to be so by my kindest and oldest friend, Mr. Forster. Mr. Forster was a man whose lead upon all Colonial questions it was safe to follow. No man had a more keen interest in the Colonies. No man had a more keen sympathy with their wishes and aspirations; and I will venture to say this, that his sound judgment, his varied and extensive knowledge and his kindly heart, though veiled under a somewhat rugged exterior, gave him a position on all Colonial matters, in and out of the House of Commons, which none of us can hope to attain. He was essentially the best man to be the President of the Imperial Federation League (hear, hear); and, if I may venture to say so, for I am speaking from my firm conviction, Lord Rosebery is the very best man to have succeeded him. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.) I think it may be egotistical, but I should like to say this, that I remember now with profound satisfaction, tempered with humility, that Mr. Forster, not very long before his death, said to me, “Well, if your party comes in again, Holland, I should like to see you Secretary of State for the Colonies. That post I have always myself coveted.” Lord Rosebery, no one is more painfully conscious than myself how far short I fall of that ideal of a Secretary of State which Mr. Forster and I conceived in our hearts. (No, no.) I can only claim an honest desire to follow in his steps; to do my duty to the best of my ability; and to endeavour in every way to more closely unite

the great links which bind this Empire together. (Applause.) For this reason, and for this reason mainly, I am glad to have borne any part in the important Conference which has just met, and concluded its labours in this country. I regret to say that I can take no credit for initiating that Conference. I have, as your Chairman has justly observed, reaped where other men have sown. It is the old story :—

“*Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes ;
Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves*” —

which, if very roughly interpreted, as applied to myself, means that I have purloined the honey which Mr. Stanhope has stored up, and that I am the cuckoo which has sat in the nest which he has built. (Laughter.) Kind words have been said, much too flattering words, about the part which I bore in that Conference. I believe the Conference to have been a great success, but the success was not due to the President, it was due to the untiring zeal, judgment, and ability, to the good work done by the eminent statesmen and delegates whom the Colonies sent over here. (Applause.) As I have said before, I felt at first like the steerer of a University boat of which I did not know the crew I was about to steer ; but I very soon found out what a splendid crew it was, and how well they pulled together, and how heartily desirous they all were of attaining the same object—namely, the success of the Conference. (Hear, hear.) The good works of the Conference are embodied—I hope not entombed—(laughter)—in two very large volumes which are to be presented to Parliament. I am afraid there will be some disappointment for Lord Rosebery when he reads those volumes, for I am bound to say that some of the most interesting parts are left out. There was great freedom of discussion, and I rejoice that there was ; but on certain foreign matters, in which other nations are concerned, and upon which negotiations are still going on, it was thought best, lest these negotiations might be injured, to exclude the references to them ; and therefore the most interesting parts of the Conference, I am sorry to say, will have to be omitted. I regret very much that Lord Rosebery will not have the amusement which he expected from them. Still, gentlemen, there is good reading in them. You will there see a proof of the advantages of bringing eminent statesmen from the Colonies face to face with eminent statesmen here ; and I can assure you that they most highly appreciated the lucid explanations of, and the way in which they were met by, Mr. Stanhope and Lord George Hamilton, representing the great Military and Naval Departments. I can also say that there was another great advantage which has not been touched upon, that not only were the Colonial statesmen brought face to face with our own, but they were brought face to face with other Colonial statesmen ; and it was certainly a great pleasure to me to mark with what interest papers read by Canadian statesmen were listened to by South African and Australian statesmen. I believe, as has been said by your noble President, that the results of this Conference are not to be tested by the present time only, but we may look forward to them being far-reaching in the future. I look forward to Conferences of a wider scope even than the one just called together—(Hear, hear)—because I look forward to a Conference in which every Crown Colony shall have its representative, and in which their views shall be as fully stated as the views of responsible Governments. (Hear, hear.) Such a Conference will, I think, be more justly entitled to the name of Imperial than Colonial. My Lord, it would not be right of me, after the excellent and able way in which you have stated the objects of the League, to dwell upon them. I should run the risk not only of “painting the lily,” but of destroying it altogether. I should weaken what you have said. But still I desire to say that I heartily appreciate the work which we have undertaken. I think it may be summed up in four words, “Consolidation of the Empire.” (Applause.) It is a work noble and great, but not easy of attainment. It is a work that must not be hurried. It is a work of construction, and not of destruction ; but still we may learn a lesson from those who are advancing to attack a strong fortified place. They have their preparations in rifle-pits, trenches, mines, and sapping. We have ours in extending the knowledge of the people of this country about the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) We have our preparations in showing our sym-

pathy with the Colonies, our desire as far as possible to meet their wishes and aspirations, and to mark the direction in which those wishes are tending. As has been said, we are often attacked, but only by those who do not understand the question, for not having any scheme ready cut and dried. I do not believe such a scheme possible at present. And I venture to think that before we can expect any scheme of that kind, we must look forward to a larger inter-Colonial Federation. I think we must look forward to the great Australian Colonies federating in the same way as the Dominion of Canada. We must look forward to the Federation of the West Indies ; of the great states of South Africa ; and also of the Eastern Colonies, such as the Straits Settlements and Hong-Kong. When that has been attained, then will be the time when we may look forward to some scheme being proposed for a representation of those great Federations, and for more directly interesting them in Imperial matters. Let us keep the torch alight, and when we have run our course, let us hand it, as the ancient Greeks did, to younger and more active runners in the same direction. (Hear, hear.) I thank you most heartily for the great honour that you have done me, an honour which, as Mr. Stanhope has said, will always be remembered by me and my family. (Loud applause.)

The RIGHT HONOURABLE G. O. MORGAN, M.P. : My Lords and Gentlemen,—Next to speaking with a halter round one's neck, I think you will agree that to speak with a watch in one's hands is the most trying position, especially when that watch reminds me that in a few minutes some of this company will have to disperse in order “to seek fresh fields and pastures new.” But I hope you will bear with me for a few moments, while I ask you to do justice to a toast which, in the absence of Lord Carnarvon, has been entrusted to me—“The Unity of the Empire.” Amongst the many eloquent passages of the speech of our Chairman, none struck me more than that in which he adverted to the extraordinarily rapid way in which this idea of the Unity of the Empire had grown. The conception itself is comparatively a modern one—I may say a very modern one. Only a very few years ago the very phrase, “Unity of the Empire,” would have sounded strange to the ears of an Englishman. No doubt much of this is due to the influence of physical and mechanical causes. In times when a journey to India occupied as many weeks as it now does days, in times when an emigrant to Australia—even if he did not go out at the expense of his country—(laughter)—looked forward to something like a lifelong exile—he was hardly likely to retain a very deep attachment for the country from which he seldom heard, and which he might never again see. All these things are changed, as our Chairman knows. A voyage to the Antipodes has become a pleasant vacation trip, and the events which occur in London are, if time be measured by the clock, known in Montreal almost before they occur. Yet I cannot think that even the marvellous discoveries of science, which have done so much to efface “the envious bars of time and place,” can altogether account for the change which has occurred in our relations to the Greater Britain beyond the seas. My Lords and gentlemen, we look at the map, and we see in one direction the enormous and compact mass of Muscovite dominion creeping slowly but steadily on and on ; we turn to the other side, and we see this little island, not much bigger than a single Russian province, holding under its sway “realms that Cæsar never knew,” immeasurable and scattered regions, the fairest and most favoured in the habitable globe. How are we to maintain that proud position ? How are we to prevent England from sinking into a second Holland—how are we to hand down intact to our children what is surely the noblest heritage which God ever entrusted to the keeping of a nation ? (Applause.) There is only one way of doing it ; it is to make our Empire one. Now, gentlemen, we know that a statesman cannot create a sentiment. “*Nascitur non fit*” is as true of national aspirations as of individual genius. But if a statesman cannot create an idea he can do very much to kill it ; and as on the one hand he can do much to stifle and thwart it, so, on the other hand, he can do much to foster and develop it. This, gentlemen, is the praise which belongs of right to our distinguished guests ; and I hope they will not regard it as less

sincere because it comes from a political opponent. They have, as our French neighbours say, taken the ball at the bound. Building—as every man who wants to build securely must build—on more or less prepared foundations, they have initiated and carried out—as you, my lord, called it—that historic Colonial Conference which, by bringing England and her Colonies face to face, bids fair to inaugurate a new era in the relation of the Mother Country with her children. Let us hope that an equally successful fate awaits that other great institution which we saw two days ago launched under such fair auspices. To us, the members of this Imperial Federation League, no such movement can fail to be of the deepest interest. We too are workers in the same cause. We are all fellow-labourers for the same end, that of welding into one harmonious whole our mighty Empire; and I re-echo with the greatest pleasure the sentiments of the chairman as to the essentially non-political character of this great work. Speaking for myself, I would say that nothing gives me greater pleasure than to steal away for a few hours from the heated political atmosphere of the Parliamentary arena, and to meet my political adversaries on the common ground of a common nationality. My lords and gentlemen, this evening will not have been spent in vain if it teaches us to feel that, though the surface of our national existence may be furrowed by the waves of party strife, “the deep, unchanging current works below”; for I would fain believe that there is no true and loyal son of Great or Greater Britain, whatever be his political ties or party predilections, who, at the bottom of his heart, does not feel proud of the “Unity of the Empire.” My lords and gentlemen, I now propose to you that toast, and I call upon a very true and devoted son of Greater Britain—my friend Sir William Fitzherbert—to honour us by responding. (Cheers.)

SIR W. FITZHERBERT, K.C.M.G., Speaker of the New Zealand Legislative Council, in responding, said: I intended to refer to a few points which would help you in carrying out the great object before you, but the speeches which I have heard have gone in an entirely different direction, and I think I should do better by saying a few simple words in reference to a few of the subjects which have been broached. I would tell the League why it is I am here. I have spent the greater part of my life and interest in the Colonies. In regard to the establishment of this League, notwithstanding the great admiration that I, from a distant Colony, felt for that great deceased statesman who, I believe, inaugurated, or did much to establish, this League—I refer to Mr. Forster—I nevertheless stood aloof as an individual, because I was afraid that some sort of settled constitution would be sought to be imposed upon the Colony, and I foresaw only danger likely to arise from it. I therefore did not come to this country on this occasion with any intention of becoming a member of this League, and I think it will be interesting for me frankly to explain why and how it is I am here as enthusiastic a member of the League as you who have borne the burden and heat of the day. (Hear, hear.) I have had a great example set to me in this country by the speeches which I have heard—a transcript, as it were, of which has been given to-night. I therefore am at liberty to refer individually to the impressions made on my mind by those speeches, and by the administration of that able man who presided over the Conference. In the first place, I am sure I shall be excused if I say I was going in an entirely different direction. I hope I may be pardoned for referring to the names, and for stating how and why I was influenced. It is no breach of that confidence which has been imposed upon all of us members of the Conference, and which I believe we have faithfully held to, if I say that the first observations which arrested my attention were those made by Mr. Stanhope. The manner in which he spoke out was the first thing that greatly impressed me, and I recollected in contrast with that speech the speeches and the treatment and the administration of some quarter of a century before. (Hear, hear.) The next speech that made a deep impression on my mind was that made by my Lord Rosebery, at an official dinner given in the Colonial Office, and there I heard for the first time—and I was perfectly astonished to hear—that there were leading public men in this country who declared that for the future a total change would take place in regard to the Colonies by the Mother Country. It was

a frank avowal, and it perfectly surprised and enchanted me. That added to the impression I first received. I found day by day the able, earnest, kindly, yet firm presidency of Sir Henry Holland, who, although the work was done with apparent ease, had a very difficult task nevertheless to perform, which he performed in a most successful manner. Now, it is not every public man who will allow any change of opinion, but I feel it to be the duty of every public man when he becomes convinced, frankly to say so. Considering, my Lord Rosebery, the brief time at my disposal for a speech I think I should be consulting best the convenience of honourable members, and the best interests of the cause in which we are met here, if I refrain from making any further remarks.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR HARRY VERNEY, Bart., then proposed the health of the Chairman, in the following terms: I am sure we should all of us regret to leave this room without expressing our thanks to our Chairman, and our appreciation of the way in which he has informed us, and pressed upon us the importance of the work in which we are engaged; and I am sure you will agree with me that we could not have had better instruction than the speech of Lord Rosebery to-night in confirming the League in the important and valuable duties in which it is engaged, and in showing us how useful we may be to our country by carrying on this work which has been so well inaugurated. Now I can mention one instance which is extremely interesting to me, and which confirms what has been said by your Chairman of the great importance of the change which has taken place in regard to our Colonies. I recollect, some fifty years ago, that a most distinguished Canadian was in England, and Lord Grey was the Colonial Secretary. He had been over here six months, and he said to me, “You and Lord Grey have been the only persons in England who have invited me to your houses.” Now I have been extremely anxious to invite a great many of the delegates to my house in the country, but I found that they were so universally engaged, everybody desired to have their company, that there was no longer any chance of persuading them to leave London. I confess that, disappointed as I was, I was also delighted that that was the case. Now I know I cannot be too brief, but we should not do our duty at this moment if we did not all of us recognise the great value of the chairmanship of that Conference. I firmly believe that the success of the Conference has been very much owing to the conduct of our friend, Sir Henry Holland. I knew many of the delegates before the Conference, and I could quite easily perceive by conversation with them that there was very great danger that it might do mischief instead of good. Now, I rejoice to think of the great benefits that this Conference has conferred on the whole Empire, and I do really believe that if those benefits are very great indeed, it will be owing to the courteous and wise and firm conduct of the minister who was appointed to be the Chairman. (Applause.) I think we ought to thank Lord Salisbury for having made the selection of the chairman to that Conference. I must again repeat that I am sure we should all be very sorry to leave without expressing our warm thanks to our present Chairman, Lord Rosebery. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN in responding said: I am extremely honoured at presiding at this dinner, and still more honoured to have had my health proposed by one whom I think I shall not be suspected of anything political in describing as a “grand old man.” (Laughter and loud applause.) A famous pope on a famous occasion said, “An old man’s blessing will do you no harm.” And this League, however high its aspirations, and however triumphant its success, may be none the worse for the blessing of a man who was, I believe, in the British army soon after Waterloo, and who has long filled a high position in the Parliament of this country. Though he has retired from that Parliament now, he is none the less zealous in all good causes. Gentlemen, I am well aware that, besides the lateness of the evening, there is a special cause which curtails our proceedings to-night, which is, that many of our members are about to “trip the light fantastic toe” under the auspices of our most Gracious Majesty the Queen. One of our boon-companions, magnificently

arrayed for the purpose, has recently left my immediate neighbourhood; and I do not know if Sir Harry Verney has received an invitation, but if he has he will, I am sure, be prepared to foot it with the rest. Gentlemen, it is a very fortunate circumstance which makes me the chairman of this meeting, but it is due to that Machiavellian policy which, together with every other higher attribute, has made the League the success it is. The League recently determined to have one Cabinet Minister of one party as Chairman, and another ex-Cabinet Minister of the other party as Vice-Chairman. What was the result? The result is obvious and patent. As long as that arrangement lives, while the Chairman on the dissolution of a Government leaves an exalted position for one more exalted,—

“And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky”—

the dying Minister in the gentler shades of sunset is received into the fostering arms of the Imperial Federation League. (Applause.) I do not know, and it would not be judicious to speculate, after that very capital and interesting division of last night—(laughter and applause)—as to how soon it may be my lot to quit the chair of this Imperial Federation. I am not likely to count the political chickens before they are hatched; nor do I see any immediate prospect of entering that cuckoo's nest which has been so eloquently alluded to. But while I am not very anxious to resume the position of Vice-Chairman, I am extremely proud to act as Chairman of the Imperial Federation League. Gentlemen, I flatter myself that this dinner will have some importance in its history. If I might find a fault with the Imperial Federation League I think it would be this, that we do not meet often enough. But to-night we are met to commemorate what will be an epoch, not merely in the history of the Colonies, but in the history of the Empire—the history of a great conference which permanently stereotypes the defeat of those who would limit the British Empire to two small islands. (Applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.

THE LEAGUE'S APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

WE present to our readers to-day a full and authorised report of the speeches delivered at the General Committee's Dinner to Mr. Stanhope and Sir H. Holland on July 6th. It will be observed that the tone adopted by all the speakers was one of unfeigned satisfaction at the triumphs already won by the League, and buoyant hopefulness as regards the future. The Conference naturally formed the principal theme for congratulation; whether viewed in the light of a fruitful precedent, or judged by the standard of practical results, it has secured the favourable verdict of a unanimous Empire—that Empire for the consolidation of whose interests it was convened. And not only has the success of the Conference been universally recognised, but its authorship is openly admitted to be the work of the Imperial Federation League. If exultant self-congratulation is ever permissible, surely little fault can be found with those of us who make no secret of our pride in the realisation of *our* Conference. But past achievements are not only worthy of remembrance for their own sake; they furnish the most trustworthy testimonials from which to predict the future. The public has not been slow to act upon this principle. Observing our well-directed energy in the last two years, our countrymen have discounted our action ahead; they have, as Lord Rosebery well said, granted us a regular “status” in the consideration of all questions touching the welfare of the Empire. To take a single example, in the movement for an Imperial Census, that is rapidly making headway, our lead was awaited by such important bodies as the Royal Colonial Institute and the Statistical Society, who have now thrown themselves heartily into the plan. This confidence on the part of the public has naturally bred a like confidence in ourselves; and hence the spirit of the speeches in Willis's Rooms was one of anticipation not less than of retrospect. We have done much, but we have much more to do. We have rung the death-knell of the party of disruption; our avowed opponents can be counted on the fingers; our adherents in Parliament, in the Press and in the country are daily increasing; the shadows that surrounded the League at its inception have vanished before a clearer

comprehension of its objects, as mists before the rising sun. One cloud alone has obstinately lowered on the brilliant horizon: the League has been feeling the want of fresh funds to enable it worthily to fill fresh spheres of usefulness.

Rigid economy has marked the administration of its finances; with every inducement to launch out into expenses almost certain to yield a profitable return, the temptation has been scrupulously avoided, and as a result the League remains perfectly free from debt. That much has been done with the few hundreds a year at its disposal will be patent to the most casual reader of our Annual Reports and of the good work that is constantly recorded in these columns. But only those who are acquainted with the central organisation can realise the frequent and bitter disappointment of forced abstention from admirable projects repeatedly brought before us. Sometimes an eloquent lecturer offers his services, for want of funds they have to be declined; sometimes a valuable pamphlet might be published, but we cannot afford to risk the money; and so on, through the numerous channels of usefulness in which a propagandist society may legitimately exert itself when the means are placed at its disposal.

At length the time has come when the leaders of this remarkable movement feel that events have justified an appeal for more funds, and it was mainly for the purpose of emphasising that appeal by the record of our achievements that the recent dinner was held. The men who are asking their colleagues to provide the sinews of war are no novices, no enthusiastic fanatics; they are men of high standing and renown, men who have great reputations, men who would never have joined the League were its motives unworthy or its management unsatisfactory. The very fact that they have come forward to undertake the disagreeable duty of appealing for funds, and have generously contributed themselves, proves their conviction that the League, having used one talent well deserves to be trusted with more. The *minimum* sum required to enable our work to be performed at all adequately under the enlarged conditions involves a guarantee of £1,000 a year, in addition to the ordinary subscriptions; and in order to secure stability, the guarantee is asked for a period of three years. The Earl of Rosebery has taken a keen personal interest in the matter; as he truly said at the dinner, “if the cause of uniting and welding together the greatest and the wealthiest Empire that the world has ever known is not worth £1,000 a year, then the whole thing is a sham.” That his lordship himself believed it to be a very potent reality, he showed by announcing his readiness to undertake the collection of the guarantees, and by heading the list with the munificent subscription of £100.

Within a few days after Lord Rosebery had spoken, material evidence accumulated that his opinion was shared by members of the League, and that they were determined to back up their Chairman in rapidly raising the money. Nearly the whole of the £1,000 was subscribed immediately; and it was resolved that this *minimum* figure ought to be forgotten and merged in an effort to raise fully double the amount. Will that ambition be realised? It depends, perhaps, upon the enthusiasm of some who may first hear of it through these columns, and be prompted to join the work in which so many willing hands are employed. Of one thing they may be certain, that for every shilling, not of £2,000 only but of £20,000, the League could get full value; there will be the same economy as before, but vastly enhanced efficiency. Already a scheme has been proposed by Lord Rosebery and discussed in the Executive Committee, for the formation of four special Sub-Committees, to deal respectively with the Political question, with Imperial Defence, Commercial affairs, and the Communications of the Empire. The League is fully alive to the importance of pressing forward the agitation in these and other aspects of Federation; and the results obtainable are only limited by our resources. On another page will be found the conditions of the guarantee, and a list of some of the earlier guarantors.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue returns show an increase for the quarter ending June 30 of £166,947. The revenue for the year ending on the same date was £7,567,000, being an increase of £416,670 as compared with last year. The principal sources of revenue show a well-sustained yield.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

AUGUST, 1887.

A LESSON FROM EXISTING FEDERATIONS.

HARDLY less remarkable than the progress which the world has made during the last half-century is the aptitude it displays for appreciating the changed situation. To have told an Englishman fifty years ago that he could not defy creation, or at all events that his success was due more to good luck than good management, would have been a hopeless task worthy of Sisyphus. But to-day a great change may be noted; in military resources, in civil administration, in education, and even in our peculiar characteristics of naval and commercial eminence, there is not only less cause for boasting but less disposition to be vainglorious at the expense of our neighbours, who have rapidly become our rivals. This sobering influence upon the nation works for good in two ways; it induces us to hunt out weak spots in our panoply, and it enables us to profit by the example of other countries. Fifty years ago the adoption of an eccentric policy seems to have found favour with many people, simply because of its eccentricity. The belief that an Englishman could always beat ten Frenchmen was expressed in other terms by the refusal to admit the possibility of merit in anything of foreign origin.

Fortunately for ourselves, we have at length learned a new lesson. The Englishman, we may still believe, has the elements of supremacy, the characteristics of a dominant race implanted in him by Nature. But the possession of these qualities will not win the day spontaneously; our favoured people must help themselves by strenuous and ceaseless effort, they must be trained in the light of experience, trained to reap where others have sowed, and no longer allow themselves to despise or underrate advantages which are not their own, or novelties which others have discovered. It is because these truths are beginning to be recognised that the study of history has been elevated to

its present dignity; it becomes worth while to insist upon the facts of our own past and the import of foreign events, as soon as our politicians admit that England is no exception to the rule of history repeating itself; and we may therefore, at this stage, usefully recall the modern instances of Federation, and draw inferences from them concerning the probable future of the United British Empire we desire to create.

The last fifty years have witnessed the rise or consolidation of several famous Federations. In Europe, Switzerland, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, have, within that period, been transformed from a conglomerate of semi-independent States into well-defined individual nationalities. In America, the United States, Canada, and the Argentine, have been consolidated by the Federal bond. Roughly speaking we may estimate the population of Federacies in Europe at 120,000,000, in America at 60,000,000.

To this vast multitude, under widely divergent circumstances, and influenced by independent motives in accordance with the varying conditions of their existence, it has seemed good to combine in Federations, and none have repented of the choice once made. In each case the constituents are more firmly cemented together now than at any former date. In Germany conflicting elements have been thoroughly harmonised; and Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia, are rivals only in loyalty to their common Empire. In the United States, North and South no longer distinguish venomous antagonists, but the whole mighty Republic is at unity within itself. In Canada, a secessionist agitation has secured only a single adherent among the thirty-eight members of the Nova Scotian legislative assembly; in Austria-Hungary the preservation of the Federal bond is felt to be the one hope of safety for the Empire. And with all these examples of construction before us, not a single case of a disintegrated Federation can be adduced. Not a single case in which the people have found a Federal yoke hard to bear, and have shaken it off.

Surely there is something for us to lay to heart in this remarkable page of European history! Is not a goal, which other nations, not less civilised or intelligent than ourselves, have fought to gain, worth working for peacefully? In the British Empire half the battle is won already; even in distance our scattered provinces are all nearer together than were the United States in 1855, when a senator from Washington Territory took seventy days to reach the Capitol; in sympathies, in habits of life and thought, how far more closely allied are we than some of the races who have successfully embarked upon Federation? If the goal is worth making for, we of all people in the world are best equipped for the task; that realisation will not mean disappointment is testified by 180,000,000 of those who have won and are satisfied with the prize.

We have seen that the adoption of federal principles has not commended itself to one group of nationalities only, nor been confined to a particular region or continent; the creed has, in fact, become the universal property of civilised communities, who have found no difficulty in shaping the details in accordance with their special requirements. All Federations bear certain points of family resemblance, but each has a well-marked individuality of its own. In some the Federal authority is supreme, and assigns limited powers to the provinces for purposes of local government. In others, the federating states remain plenipotentiary in all matters not specifically delegated to the central organisation. In constituting the central governments no uniformity is observable either in franchise or method of election, or in proportionate representation, or in tenure of office. Some of the anomalies are very striking, but none of them seem to interfere with the smooth working of the constitution. A similar variety can be traced in the financial system by which the Federal executive is supplied with funds. On the one hand we find in Germany large contributions of money assessed upon the component states for Imperial purposes; on the other hand we see the United States dealing with a revenue from taxation that provides a considerable surplus over the national expenditure. Within the limits of our space it is impossible to give in detail a tithe of the important distinctions observable between the several examples of Federation before us; but enough has been said to show that

there is no "royal road" to Federation, no hard and fast lines along which it is necessary to proceed in matters of constitutional detail.

At the same time there appear to be one or two broad administrative principles recognised in every scheme of Federal combination. The necessity for entrusting the central authority with the disposal of the armed forces of the Federation is universally admitted. Even in the loosest kind of Federation, such as exists in Austria-Hungary, the active army and reserves are controlled by the Imperial Minister of War, so evident is the importance of a single system for purposes of defence. The only exception, we believe, to the rule of a Customs Union is afforded by the same Empire, and when its special circumstances are considered, we may fairly assume that internal Free Trade is, notwithstanding the apparent exception, universally characteristic of Federations. It is a remarkable fact that the two free ports of Hamburg and Bremen, which had a right to remain outside the German Customs League "until they themselves demanded admittance," have within the last few months determined to join the Zollverein. The administration of the Postal service is also, in every case, except that of Austria-Hungary, entrusted to Federal authority, and the profits utilised for Federal purposes. On the other hand we cannot discover a single instance where responsibility for the public debts of States composing a Federation has been assumed by them collectively, although provision is invariably made for allowing the Federal Government to borrow money for its own purposes.

From this brief examination of the examples furnished by other nations, the Federation League of the British Empire may at all events be congratulated upon pursuing a policy which has proved feasible and practicable elsewhere. When we insist upon the absolute necessity of combination for Imperial defence, upon the practical advantages of postal unity and commercial cohesion, we are not breaking new ground, or advocating an unprecedented course; we have, on the contrary, the support of 180,000,000 of the most civilised people in the world, who have done what we propose to do, and have found the result economical, fruitful, and strengthening. And when we refuse to pledge ourselves to any definite scheme for an Imperial Constitution, and deny that logical perfection is essential to a practical and successful Federation, we are fortified by the spectacle of the most prosperous nations of our time, far asunder as the poles in constitutional details, but proudly admitting that their greatness is due to the maintenance of Federal Unity.

THE LATE MR. LIONEL COHEN, M.P.

By the lamented death of Mr. Lionel Cohen, M.P., the Imperial Federation League has sustained a heavy loss. He was a member of the General Committee, and exerted himself actively in promoting the progress of our principles. At the first annual meeting Mr. Cohen moved the adoption of the report, in a speech signalised by a breadth of sympathy and earnestness of purpose that deeply impressed his hearers. One sentence in that speech we cannot help quoting, for its force is as great now as on the day it was uttered. "Whatever be the position in life of a citizen of this country, there cannot have been a time in our history when it was more important for the citizen of England to look to the ties which bind the Colonies of England to the Mother Country as a means of relieving some of the trouble and anxiety by which we are now oppressed." By urging the importance of individual effort for the relief of our common necessities, Mr. Cohen was not using a mere form of words; he had taken the lesson to himself, and proved the sincerity of his convictions by his action in coming forward personally, in spite of the numerous other demands upon an unusually busy life, to help the League whenever it needed his assistance, and for this all our members must ever gratefully cherish his memory.

WHY THE MAIL SUBSIDY WAS RATIFIED.

THE India and China Mail Contract has been ratified by the House of Commons after a two nights' debate. On another page we reproduce a full abstract of the speeches, which the importance of the question demands. Not a word was said to shake in the smallest degree the position of those who maintain that mail subsidies are the fruit of an unsound system of finance. That the Peninsular and Oriental Company has the best claim to carry the mails, and that their claim rests not only upon their magnificent fleet, but upon the regularity with which for many years they have performed the service, no one can fairly deny. Nor is it possible to rate too highly the value of their 200,000 tons of steam-shipping as a contribution to the wealth and to the military transport requirements of the Empire. As mail-steamer, transports, and traders, the Company's vessels are indispensable; the mistake lies in refusing to recognise the triple nature of their services, and to appraise each at its proper value.

Nothing was more manifest in the course of the debate than that the subsidy was not really asked or given for postal services. Supporters and opponents of the contract combined to obscure the real point by a multitude of side issues. The question was argued whether the Company gave preferential rates for merchandise to foreign shippers: we ask, what has that to do with the cost of carrying letters? Mr. Maclean declared that frequent communication with India was imperative, considering the great civil and military interests at stake; and that if the Peninsular and Oriental Company's service did not exist, the Government would have to create such a service in the interests of the Empire. Granted; but would they have to do so in the interests of the Post Office? and if not, why should the Post Office be saddled with the expense? Mr. Sutherland, amid the cheers of the House, reminded his hearers of what the Company had done in the Crimea and the Mutiny. No one is likely to forget those splendid services, or the debt of gratitude we owe for them; possibly the time will come when they may again be requisitioned. But once more we ask, is the nation's correspondence a fair object of taxation for military purposes?

The same distortion of judgment influenced the reception of Mr. Holt's proposal to carry the mails in small fast despatch vessels. It was immediately ruled out of court, simply, as far as we can see, because the House wanted transports and traders, and Mr. Holt's vessels would be simply letter-carriers. But if the Post Office can get its letters conveyed more cheaply in despatch boats than in floating palaces, ought it not to choose the former, provided, of course, that equal regularity and speed are ensured?—a point of comparison upon which not a word was volunteered.

We maintain that the Admiralty, if it requires additional transports, ought to pay a retaining fee for the option of employing them; it is monstrous that for the benefit of merchants trading to the East, or passengers voyaging thither, the whole nation should be taxed. Yet who doubts for an instant that the possession of a subsidy has an influence upon fares and rates of freight? Who doubts that the cost of the mails would be far less, if it were not recognised that the subsidy has a secondary purpose to serve—namely, to promote the maintenance of a powerful auxiliary fleet?

The advocates of Imperial Penny Postage will never succeed in their object until they have compelled the Government to separate the requirements of the Admiralty from those of the Post Office, and apportion the lump sum between the proper departments. It is not long since Mr. Raikes made the astounding assertion that because the taxpayer must pay in either case, there was no advantage in distributing the heads of expenditure more accurately; but the same reasoning would apply to the abolition of our whole system of national accounts, and reduce departmental responsibility to a farce. When the distinction is once drawn, it will be seen how little of the £265,000 a year is paid for letters, and how much for maintaining our highway through the Mediterranean. The Australian Mail Contract has still to be discussed, and we hope the opportunity will be seized to protest against the retention of the present

excessive postal rates. The plea of equivalent cost is absurd. Let the Admiralty pay their share, and down will come the charge for the mails. The Companies need be none the worse off, but the burden would fall upon the right shoulders.

A PARTING MESSAGE.

By SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, K.C.M.G.

As I am about to leave England, and shall not have the opportunity of attending any future meeting of the Federation League, I ask you to give insertion in your Journal to some suggestions to which I respectfully invite the attention of the Association.

The marvellous consensus of sentiment in favour of the Unity of the Empire is a vast power at the disposal of statesmen, in the wise application of which a very grave responsibility will rest on them. But the honeymoon of sentiment is too often marred by a thoughtless inattention to practical details. I submit that it is the task before the Association to form and prepare this force, so as to be ready for practical use. It is a great task, requiring constant attention and perseverance. There is no other association in this country, so far as I am aware, which will carry out this work besides the Imperial Federation League.

First, I would say that there exists a widespread ignorance (not to say indifference) among the people of this kingdom as to the Colonies. This you will have to combat by information and instruction. In fact, you will have to appeal to the masses, and speak to them in language that can be understood by the people. Can we wonder at this lack of knowledge? I do not think (perhaps I may be wrong) that the geography even of the Colonies is taught in your schools. If it is, then I can only conclude that the very many intelligent persons with whom it has been my privilege to converse of late have never been to school. Is it not worth the attention of your powerful Federation League to endeavour to correct this defect? Your professed aim is to unite the Colonies more closely with the Mother Country; but the inhabitants of this country do not even know where the Colonies are, nor of what they consist. Surely this is an impossible, not to say absurd, position.

Then again, the ideas of colonisation, prevalent among the middle classes, are of the most primitive archaic type. They think that when they have shipped off to a Colony some troublesome youth they have made a patriotic sacrifice on behalf of the favoured Colony; whereas, they have only added one more to the list of "Remittance Men," who had much better have stopped at home and spent his money there. And when perhaps they have consented to permit some active, industrious, sober young son to emigrate, they complain that he does not return home when he has made some money out there (which such an one is sure to do), and spend it in what they are pleased to call his own country. Such ignorance would be a fair object of amusement, if it were not so miserably sad.

Could not the members of the Association try to set a better fashion? and much seems to go by fashion here. Is a tour in the Mediterranean the farthest horizon of fashionable vision in these latter days of the nineteenth century? Might it not be advantageously varied by a summer trip to Canada, or a winter trip to Australia? The scales would assuredly fall from the eyes of the traveller in these new countries.

It must not be forgotten that the young generation of Colonists are mostly growing up personally unacquainted with the Mother Country. It is most important, therefore, that they should be kept in touch, so far as possible, with this country, so that the ties of affection and friendship may be kept alive and fresh. Now, it is known that I am an advocate for an ocean penny post. I am so, not for commercial reasons, but for social ones. If your relatives and friends are at a distance, the best means to maintain friendly and affectionate intercourse is by means of cheap postal communication. I am sure that this is so important a consideration that the question of postal revenue ought not to be allowed to interfere with it; and it is quite an open question whether the revenue would be diminished.

The reasons apply equally, *mutatis mutandis*, to the cost of cable messages.

In this connection there is another consideration of very great importance. Nothing could be more conducive to intercourse than cheap and commodious cabin fares and berths. That indeed goes without saying; but the question is, how can such a result be attained? Now, if a change in ocean transit to the Colonies, somewhat analogous to that change which I see has been effected in railway transit in this country by the establishment of third-class accommodation, were established, I believe that a very surprising stimulus would be given to emigration, beneficial alike to all concerned. Third-class cabin accommodation would be an attraction to many who shrink from a steerage passage.

I will only further observe that temper is a practical element to be taken into consideration, in dealing with the question of Federation. Young Colonies, like young individuals, possess tempers of their own. Colonies are apt to be hasty and touchy, but they are straightforward and easily dealt with, if treated with frank confidence. A perseverance in that spirit of considerate treatment, which has been so noticeable of late, will afford the best guarantee of a closer union.

There remains, indeed, a subject of great importance, with which the Association will have to deal in the not distant future, but it would be inopportune for one to enter upon it now.

THE "WESTMINSTER REVIEW" ON THE FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

TWENTY years ago it looked as if the retention or separation ("emancipation," with its graceful innuendo of slavery, was the term not unfrequently employed) of our Colonies was likely to become a party question in the British Parliament. From that disaster we were saved through no merit of our own, but by the breaking out of the Franco-German war, which called off all our attention from distant lands to fix it on the exciting events that were happening nearer home. Looked at from this point of view, we may claim this tremendous conflict to have been one more, and that not the least striking, of the many instances of pure good fortune that have befallen us in the course of our national history.

In the rapid revival of interest in all things Colonial witnessed in the last year or two, nothing has been more gratifying than the manner in which the whole question has been kept absolutely free from the least contact with domestic politics. Those who, at the late dinner of the Committee of the League, saw Lord Rosebery, as Chairman, entertaining Mr. Stanhope and Sir Henry Holland, and heard Mr. Osborne Morgan propose the toast of the "Unity of the Empire," which, but for his unavoidable absence, would have been entrusted to Lord Carnarvon, can hardly need to have their attention called to the fact. But public men have not been more careful to keep this question away from and above party strife than have their organs in the political press. Elsewhere we have noticed the utterances of the *Times* and of other daily papers. We have now to direct the attention of our readers to an able article in the *Westminster Review*. After half a century of experience as an old-fashioned quarterly the *Westminster* has just determined to forsake its former *clientèle*, which may, no doubt, have been fit, but which was also few, and to appeal for more extended popular support as a monthly magazine. Its principles, however, remain what they always were. That the journal whose name is inseparably associated with the stern and unbending economic purism of the two Mills should, in one of the first numbers of its new issue, devote ten pages to the glorification of the doctrine of the Unity of the Empire—this, we say, is a gratifying proof how the doctrine that we profess is making conquests all along the line—

Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?

Or, in the language for whose appreciative tone we have to thank the writer, what Briton, whether at home or abroad, has escaped "the rapidly-increasing influence of the Imperial Federation League?" Origen, as Macaulay tells us, had hopes that the devil himself would "tak' thocht an' mend;" for our part we have strong hopes that Professor Goldwin Smith, our *advocatus diaboli*, will die an

Imperial Federationist. For, as we are reminded, he recently wrote, "There is no one in whose eyes the bond between the Colonies and the Mother Country is more precious than in mine." Would he have said as much twenty years ago? If so, he has been most strangely maligned. And need any member of the League be asked to go much further to-day? It is true, Mr. Goldwin Smith goes on to say, "Imperial Federation is a dream; the Canadian people will never part with their self-government." But we are convinced that (with the possible exception of Mr. Goldwin Smith himself) there is no human being who supposes the League to have designs on the self-government of Canada, any more than on that of Great Britain. If some day Parliament does chance to find time to pass a London Municipal Government Bill, will any Londoner, who is promoted from being merely a parishioner of White-chapel or Wandsworth to being in addition a citizen of the greatest city in the world, be heard to complain that he has been compelled to part with his local self-government?

The reviewer says, "If our commerce with the Colonies were suspended, the disaster to them would be far greater than to the Mother Country, because England has a large foreign market for her manufactures, but the Colonies have virtually no other market than the Mother Country for their produce." But we find, on the other hand, Mr. Eves, a prominent Jamaica Colonist, saying, "The Colonies, supposing they were annexed by the United States, would still be productive countries. The Colonies are even more important to the Mother Country than the latter is to them." It is not our business to reconcile the discrepancy between these two authorities, but for our own part we should say that Mr. Eves was the nearer right of the two. It is inconceivable that a catastrophe which suddenly put an end to England's trade with the Colonies would leave her commercial relations in other respects undisturbed. And, further, supposing such an event to happen, the Colonies would be left with a superabundance of wool and wheat and beef, but at least they would have enough to eat, even though they had to go on wearing old clothes, and to postpone renewals of machinery and construction of new railway lines. In England, on the other hand, we should stand a very good chance of starving to death in the midst of mountains of machinery and tens of thousands of miles of long-cloth and grey shirtings. On one point we must deprecate the excessive caution of the *Westminster Review*. It says, "*Festina lente* is a good motto for all advocating Federation. Rome was not built in a day." And, again, "The most important advocates of Federation deprecate earnestly the premature formation of definite and detailed proposals. The constructive policy will begin as soon as public feeling requires it." If by this the writer means only that the time has not yet come for the publication of a brand-new paper constitution for the United Empire, we need hardly say that we are in full agreement with him. What our task must be, we take it, is to single out those points which, though of Imperial importance, are at present left to the local legislatures, whether at Westminster or at Ottawa or Sydney, and to secure their being submitted for discussion to some body (constituted however it may be, and called by whatever name it may be) that shall really represent every portion of the Empire. But these points can only be singled out one by one, as they come prominently forward, and as public opinion throughout the Empire realises the necessity that they should be uniformly dealt with. Unless we are much mistaken, there are several such points fully ripe for discussion, perhaps even for decision, and public opinion has already singled them out. Defence first and foremost, postal and telegraphic communication next. Marriage laws, admission to the service of the Crown and to the liberal professions will doubtless follow ere long. Reform, tending towards harmony, where at present all is confusion and often contradiction, must be pressed forward on all these points. Here is surely constructive work enough and to spare ready to our hands at once. Each reform gained, will be one stone the more in the walls of our Imperial city; and when the last stone has been laid, there will be no more need of an Imperial Federation League. The work will have been done; Federation will have been achieved; the Unity of the Empire will, in fact, have been accomplished.

THE PROPOSED IMPERIAL CENSUS.

(COMMUNICATED BY A CORRESPONDENT.)

THE efforts of all Imperial Federationists have been so concentrated in giving effect to their united sentiments in the celebration of the Jubilee of their Sovereign, that the more prosaic considerations connected with the promotion of Imperial unity have been suspended in favour of the sentimental, which have been so heartily demonstrated during the recent celebrations.

One of the most remarkable facts connected with the reign of Her Majesty is that when it first commenced the population of the three dependencies of the British Crown was about 156,000,000 (in 1841 it was, as nearly as can be ascertained, 156,218,496), while in the Jubilee year it was not less than double that number (in 1881 it was 305,168,691). This, probably the most significant fact in connection with the Victorian Jubilee, induces us to recall our readers from sentiment to facts, and to the further consideration of the important question of an Imperial Census.

Without going into details, we think it may be assumed that there is an almost unanimous opinion entertained by statisticians holding comprehensive views on the nature and methods of statistical inquiries, that where any particular question becomes the subject of statistical inquiry in more than one locality, or among more than one community, the inquiry in each locality or community, as the case may be, should be so conducted that when complete the results will be strictly comparable with one another. It is unnecessary here to argue in favour of the truth of such a proposition as the foregoing, as it is in accordance with the experience of all practical students of social questions, whether local, national, Imperial, or international.

The Provinces of the British Empire are numerous and widespread, and their populations differ much in their composition, occupations, and modes of life, probably as much as the Provinces themselves differ in position and climate. These varying conditions may be considered as the principal elements of greatness and causes of prosperity of our great Empire; and, assuming this to be true, it follows that the proper conservation and distribution of these various elements in due proportions, and the prevention of their unnecessary collision, must be among the leading principles of Imperial, as distinguished from local or Provincial, administration.

In order that the foregoing principles may be carried out, it is necessary that the existing conditions of the population in each Province of the Empire should be periodically ascertained in such a manner that the facts relating to each may be easily and fairly comparable with similar facts in any other Province. This is readily illustrated by the question of how the people are occupied in any Province compared with any other in relation to the sources of employment and the situation of such Provinces. Take an agricultural Province, for instance. The amount of agricultural land is known; the number of persons employed or dependent upon agriculture is known; their ages and sexes are known; therefore, the effective population for securing the agricultural prosperity of the Province is known. If all these conditions are in due proportion in any particular Province, that Province will require little or no attention from the Imperial Government as to the promotion of its agricultural progress; similarly with regard to other forms of industry. Again, taking the simpler questions of age, sex, and marriage. The relative proportions of the sexes of marriageable age who are married, or who cannot get married owing to the unequal distribution of the sexes and the age compositions of the population, are not only the measures of the effectiveness of a population at the time of the taking of a Census, but also form the basis upon which estimates can be founded as to the probable prosperity or decadence of a community in the future. Unless statistics regarding such conditions are strictly comparable, it will be impossible for the Imperial power to strengthen its weakly, or provide outlets for its plethoric Provinces. This is especially true in respect to emigration questions. Similar considerations at once suggest themselves to the thoughtful student of the relation between the education and prosperity, or the religion and morality of a community. Marriage customs—which depend so much on the religion of some populations—necessarily affect the moral, physical,

and hygienic conditions of the people among whom they prevail. In order that all such and many other questions may be fairly brought within the view of the Legislative or Executive authorities, it is absolutely necessary that Census statistics should be compiled on an uniform plan.

Although it is universally admitted by all scientific statisticians that uniformity is desirable in all statistical inquiries, yet practically very little has been done to carry this view into practice by those who have charge of collecting and compiling Census returns throughout the world. There is no more pitiable sight than a scientific statistician attempting to construct tables of comparative statistics from the heterogeneous mass of material published in various countries or even by different authorities in the same country. Our statistical journals teem with instances where the authors of valuable papers confess their inability to make reliable comparisons between nation and nation, or between different communities of the same nation, on account of the want of uniformity in published statistics.

While the proposals for an Imperial Census, as put forward in *Imperial Federation*, have met with very general approval, the objections are really of a slight character. Setting aside the ignorant objection that an uniform Imperial Census, would be of little value, as an opinion at variance with the whole scientific statistical world, we shall consider the only objections which seem to us to rest upon a substantial basis.

Firstly—"That the expense would be great."—Is this likely to prove true? The greater portion of the expense is incurred at present in the collection and arrangement of the Census statistics. As systematic work is generally cheaper than desultory work, it may be fairly assumed that if a well-regulated uniform system is desired in time, and systematically carried out, the chances are strongly in favour of diminished instead of increased expenditure. The only real item of new expenditure which seems tangible is that of a central department to superintend the work and arrange for a final abstract of the results attained from all portions of the Empire. This central committee would no doubt cost money, but the expenditure would be small compared with the advantage of possessing a complete Census of a great Empire. The recently established Imperial Institute might well furnish the necessary materials with which to construct our Imperial Census department. There can be little doubt the Imperial Institute would place itself at the service of the Government for such a purpose. It is much to be feared that the trouble and responsibility likely to rest on some individuals has been as strong an argument against an Imperial Census as the cost to the Empire.

Secondly—The difficulty of carrying out the Census in one and the same day. This difficulty seems to exist with regard to India only, where the month of February (the date last time was the 17th of the month) has some claim as the most suitable on account of climatic conditions. The most suitable period for a home Census appears to be the beginning of April (last time the 3rd of the month). The difference between the dates in 1881 was therefore but seven weeks, not a very serious matter after all. Possibly by advancing the one date a little and anticipating the other a little, a date might be arrived at which would suit both India and Europe. Absolute identity of date is not, however, a matter of such vital importance as to materially weaken the case in favour of our Imperial Census.

Thirdly—In the case of the census of occupations, difficulties arise which are mainly as to classification. There can be no difficulty as to the *collection* of statistics of occupations. The difficulty of forming a classification which will at once include and exhaust the populations of India, the United Kingdom, and the Colonies is no doubt great; but the difficulty is not greater than forming a classification which is alike applicable to large towns and entirely rural districts such as the remote portions of Scotland and Ireland. As a matter of fact, at the Census of 1881 an attempt was made in India to classify the occupations of the people according to the system adopted in 1871 for England, and which had been discarded in 1881 as unsuitable for the United Kingdom. In fact, this is like most other questions, a difficulty which can be overcome by patience, perseverance, and foresight. So far as India is concerned, the latter quality seems to have been omitted in

1881, as for some reason or other the obsolete classification of English occupation was used by the Indian authorities instead of that proposed for the United Kingdom in 1881.

We think we have disposed of the only specific difficulties raised against the possibility and advisability of taking an Imperial Census in 1891, and believe that, if the same energy and foresight is brought to bear on the accomplishment of this object that is often expended on much less important work, that difficulties will disappear rapidly before the energy of the workers.

While the great statisticians of the world were assembled at Rome last Easter, discussing the best methods of taking one uniform Census of the civilised world, which it was assumed by them to be quite feasible and desirable, we were here discussing the *possibility* of carrying out such a work for one Empire. This is certainly not a creditable position for the Government of this country to occupy in the eyes of foreign statisticians and administrators. It is to be hoped that this great practical question will not be set aside by ignorance, laziness, or mistaken economy, and that the year 1891 will see a complete, comprehensive, and uniform Census taken of the British Empire.

THE MORAL OF THE REDE LECTURE.

LAST month we were only able to give a brief summary of Professor Seeley's Rede Lecture on "Georgian and Victorian Expansion." But the paper has now been reprinted in the *Fortnightly Review*, and with the full text before us we can appreciate more thoroughly the valuable comparisons which Professor Seeley draws between the Georgian era and our own. Ample justice is done to the remarkable development of the Colonies which has been the distinctive feature of our history during the last fifty years. "The brightest side of the Victorian age undoubtedly is to be seen in the growth of the Colonies and dependencies." "In history the Victorian age will be marked as the opening era of the Australian continent, and the era of the foundation of the Dominion of Canada." "We have sent out successive waves of colonisation. . . . The last and greatest wave belongs to the Victorian age."

But it is not only in extent that the colonisation of our own days has surpassed all precedent; the circumstances of our vast undertakings have been marvellously propitious, and whereas the acquisitions of the Georgian era were marked by much bloodshed and "a hundred millions added about every ten years to our national debt," the expansion of England in these latter days has been in the main unopposed, has never involved war on a great scale, and has proved compatible with an actual decrease in the burden of indebtedness.

The reflection of these favourable circumstances appears in the greater ease with which the Empire holds together. "As the Colonies have grown the burden of them has not grown. The expansion has been so easy that the weight of great continents has strained our Federation less than formerly that of slight Colonies." We have had leisure for deliberation and organisation, and have thus been enabled to avoid or extirpate those irritating abuses which combined with national dangers to alienate the American Colonies in the last century. The contrast with that period is gratifying indeed:—"What we trace is prosperous development, new communities devising for themselves institutions, now subdividing for convenience, now confederating for mutual help, without fostering religious discord, without unsatisfied political claims, without commercial grievances, without stain of slavery, and all under one benignant sceptre!" Professor Seeley justly congratulates us upon the spectacle. Whatever may be thought of the march of progress at home, there can be no two opinions as to the smooth and prosperous expansion of Greater Britain: "it is happy as far as happiness can be predicated of human affairs." In spite of the clouds which conceal the future from our gaze, we have a right to contemplate the period of sunshine we are leaving behind, and to remember that half a century of undisturbed security is now garnered up, and safely added to our history, above the influence of storms and tempests. It has been well said that some people never think of Providence except as bearing a grudge, and these unhappy persons will doubtless deprecate any expression of satisfaction,

lest a measure of "retributive justice" should ensue; but Professor Seeley does not enlarge upon the glories of the Victorian era in order to flatter our self-esteem, or justify a blind confidence in the permanence of our Imperial position. If we read the lesson aright, he means us to infer from the comparisons he has drawn that we have fared better than our forefathers without deserving it, and that our immunity from disintegration is less due to design than to accident. We have, in fact, been wonderfully lucky; we have had no family compact of the Bourbons to encounter, no European wars to drain the national purse and strain the loyalty of our Colonies. We have been careless and supine, we have even seen the adoption of a policy with dismemberment of the Empire as its objective; but a fortunate concatenation of events has averted the consequences, and given time for the perception of error, and the reversal of a policy that in stormier times must long ago have proved fatal.

And having warned us by the example of the Georgian era of the dangers attendant upon empire in days of stress, Professor Seeley concludes by bidding us remember that the Victorian calm cannot last for ever. A reckless faith in our luck will not save us when the tempest is raging; the height of splendour to which our Empire has been raised will only make our fall the greater, if, when the strain is renewed, we are no better prepared to meet it than before: "the same problem is set before us in this as in the Georgian era, the problem how to remain united." The last century was an age of war, and England graduated in "a school of valour and heroism, and a conception of public duty raised above party." But this, although it saved her from annihilation, was not enough to solve the problem of perpetuating the Empire, and the American Colonies were lost. Inasmuch as the virtues of the Victorian age are domestic or philanthropic, we have been in danger of losing that sense of devotion to the Fatherland and of duty to the State for which our ancestors were conspicuous; this we must regain, and then seek the solution of the problem they failed to unravel—how to remain united. Can it be doubted that the solution will be found in harmonising the interests of the whole Empire, in conciliating instead of irritating, in substituting collective for isolated action, in concentrating our disorganised forces into a solid, permanent union, by means of Imperial Federation?

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

On July 4th the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute was well and truly laid by Her Majesty the Queen. No fewer than eleven thousand tickets had been issued to a distinguished body of spectators eager to view the ceremony. On behalf of the organising committee an address was read by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, explaining the objects of the Institute, in the course of which the following interesting allusions were made to the part the Institute is expected to play in the consolidation of the Empire.

"It has been our desire, in pursuance of the ideas which gave birth to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, to combine in some harmonious form a broader and more enduring representation of your Majesty's Colonies and India, as well as of the United Kingdom; and our confident hope is that this Institute may hereafter not only exhibit the material resources of the Empire, but may be an emblem of that Imperial unity of purpose and action which we believe has gathered strength and reality with every year of your Majesty's reign.

"We would also express our hope that this institution may promote the commercial and industrial prosperity of all parts of your Majesty's dominions, and that the scientific and technical education which the requirements of modern industry render necessary may through its means receive fresh development.

"In this tribute of love and loyalty every class and race, every Colony and country that owns your Majesty's beneficent sway, will take part; and in it they will see a record of those fifty years of public progress and prosperity which will make your Majesty's reign famous in English history."

Her Majesty's gracious reply said:—

"I believe and hope that the Imperial Institute will play a useful part in combining those resources for the common advantage of all my subjects and in conducing towards the welding of the Colonies, India, and the Mother Country into one harmonious and united community."

Then followed the ode written for the occasion by Mr. Lewis Morris, and composed by Sir Arthur Sullivan. It was performed by the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society and a full orchestra, assisted by the pupils of the Royal College of Music, under the conductorship of the composer.

We quote one of the stanzas, which finely expresses the sentiments of all who are striving by whatever means towards the accomplishment of Imperial unity:—

"No more we seek our Realm's increase
By War's red rapine, but by white-winged Peace
To-day we seek to bind in one,
Till all our Britain's work be done—
Through wider knowledge closer grown,
As each fair sister by the rest is known,
And mutual Commerce, mighty to efface
The envious bars of Time and Place,
Deep-pulsing from a common heart
And through a common speech expressed—
From North to South, from East to West,
Our great World Empire's every part
A universal Britain, strong
To raise up Right and beat down Wrong—
Let this thing be! who shall our Realm divide?
Ever we stand together, Kinsmen, side by side!

We have never concealed our opinion that the Imperial Institute might wisely have been placed in a more central and accessible situation. But now that South Kensington has been definitely decided upon, we can only express our sincere hope that the career of the Institute may prove worthy of the auspicious circumstances of its inauguration; that it may indeed present to the world the spectacle of "proud embodied unity," which Mr. Morris anticipates. As he says:—

"We cannot tell, we can but pray
Heaven's blessing on our work to-day."

THE "TIMES" ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

"IMPERIAL FEDERATION IS UNIVERSALLY RECOGNISED AS A THING DESIRABLE IN ITSELF, AND NOT IMPOSSIBLE OF REALISATION AT SOME FUTURE DAY, WHILE A PRACTICAL BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR MUTUAL DEFENCE OF A KIND TOTALLY NEW IN COLONIAL HISTORY."

So writes the *Times* on the 21st of June, and if the great event of the day had done nothing else but call forth these striking words from the *Times*, for this cause alone it would deserve to be marked with the whitest of white stones. For after all, a newspaper, and especially a great journal like the *Times*, which has been described by a cynical critic as "incarnating the common sense of commonplace people," represents far more than the opinions of any one man. Every one who has studied the history of the period would admit the truth of the writer's statement. "During the early years of the reign it was thought impossible that the Colonies could be retained by the Empire, and a powerful school of politicians went so far as to make their separation an object to be distinctly aimed at." In 1850, as we record elsewhere, the *Times* itself declared that it would be the "merest prudery to attempt to blink the fact" that this object was certain to be successfully obtained. And now the same journal writes, representing, we believe, with equal accuracy the prevailing drift of educated public opinion, "Imperial Federation is universally recognised as a thing desirable in itself and not impossible of realisation at some future day." It can hardly be but that this day is nearer than some are apt to believe. If thirty-seven years have sufficed to span the gulf of sentiment that we have crossed between 1850 and 1887, surely but a short time should suffice to surmount the obstacles of practical detail that still lie before us.

THE VICTORIAN REVENUE RETURNS.—According to returns published on July 1st, the revenue of the Colony of Victoria for the past financial year amounted to £6,734,000, being an increase of £318,000 as compared with that of the preceding year, and £217,000 in excess of the Treasurer's estimate. The revenue for the last quarter shows an increase of £52,000.

THE GUARANTEE FUND.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, Chairman of the League, when addressing the general committee on July 6th, stated that without the guarantee of at least £1,000 per annum for the next three years, in addition to existing subscriptions, the executive would not be justified in continuing the operations of the League, and he invited members to communicate to him, at Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, London, W., the amounts which they are willing to guarantee.

The conditions of guarantee are as follows:—

1. The guarantee will not be called up unless at least one thousand pounds is obtained.
2. No payment under this guarantee will be asked for until the accounts for the year 1888 have been audited, when the excess of expenditure over receipts will be proportionately called up.

The increase of subscription, which is steadily taking place, will, it is believed, render it unnecessary at any time to call up more than a portion of the amount guaranteed, but it is imperative that this security should be obtained before undertaking further operations.

Forms of guarantee and all other particulars can be obtained from the Secretary of the Imperial Federation League, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.

The following guarantees were received by the Earl of Rosebery within a few days of his appeal.

It is hoped that all will join in bringing this guarantee to the largest possible amount, in order that the liability of each guarantor may be reduced to the smallest, and the work of the League carried on with the utmost efficiency obtainable.

	£	s.	d.
The Earl of Rosebery	100	0	0
S. V. Morgan	75	0	0
William Mackinnon	50	0	0
Sir William Crossman, K.C.M.G., M.P.	50	0	0
Walter Morrison, M.P.	50	0	0
H. L. W. Lawson, M.P.	10	0	0
Sir Henry Holland, Bart., M.P.	10	0	0
Sir William Fitzherbert, K.C.M.G.	10	0	0
Sir William Farrer	25	0	0
J. T. Agg-Gardner, M.P.	10	0	0
J. Henry Baylis, Q.C.	1	0	0
C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P.	10	0	0
Captain J. C. Colomb, M.P.	3	0	0
Commander Graham Bower, R.N.	5	0	0
William Westgarth	20	0	0
H. O. Arnold-Forster	5	0	0
Elliott Lees, M.P.	50	0	0
Kenric B. Murray	5	0	0
Sydney Buxton, M.P.	5	0	0
Pandeli Ralli	100	0	0
Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.	10	0	0
W. J. Courthope	2	2	0
Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson, K.C.B.	20	0	0
Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart.	50	0	0
General Sir Gerald Graham, G.C.M.G., V.C.	5	0	0
S. Barker Booth	5	5	0
Harold A. Perry	2	2	0
T. D. Galpin	10	0	0
Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., M.P.	1	1	0
Sir Charles Clifford, Bart.	10	0	0
James Rankin, M.P.	100	0	0
Colonel Myles Sandys, M.P.	10	0	0
Wilson Noble, M.P.	20	0	0
Frank Hardcastle, M.P.	5	0	0
J. M. Ludlow, C.B.	3	3	0
Colonel E. Coysgarne Sim, R.E.	5	0	0

Gisborne Molineux	3	3	0
Rev. G. F. Browne	5	0	0
Colonel John Watts (Bombay Staff Corps)	5	0	0
F. Faithfull Begg	2	2	0
Alderman Sir William McArthur, K.C.M.G.	50	0	0
Frederick Young	2	2	0
Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.	5	0	0
George D. Harris	5	0	0
Albert O. Rutson	5	0	0
James Stanley Little	1	1	0
Robert Gillespie	10	0	0
Alfred Baldwin	2	0	0
Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.	20	0	0
Hon. Henry Holbrook	1	1	0
C. Washington Eves	10	0	0
Donald Larnach	25	0	0
Sir William Foster, Bart.	5	0	0
Walter Severn	1	1	0
W. S. Sebright Green	10	0	0
Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P.	10	0	0
Sir Francis V. Smith	5	0	0
Paddington Branch (per Philip V. Smith)	5	0	0

THE INDIA AND CHINA MAIL CONTRACTS.

IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ON the motion approving the ratification of this contract, at a subsidy of £265,000 per annum for ten years, MR. ANDERSON moved the following amendment in the House of Commons on June 23rd:—"That this House disapproves any contract subsidising any line of steamers to carry mails to the East for a long period of years without steps having been taken to assist the Canadian Pacific Railway by a subsidy to run a fast line of steamers from Vancouver to Asia." He observed that the cost per mile according to the Canadian and Pacific tender was 3s. 6d., while the cost per mile in the contract under consideration was 6s. 7d. The *minimum* speed by the Canadian Pacific route was 14 knots, and the *minimum* speed under the contract before the House was 11 and 12 knots. Another consideration of importance was that if the Canadian proposals were accepted we should have at our command a fleet of fast vessels easily convertible into armed cruisers, in which war material would be carried at the cheapest rate. By the Canadian route, as compared with the Peninsular and Oriental route, the journey to Shanghai would be shortened by between eight and ten days, and the journey to Yokohama by 16 or more. The reasons given in the Treasury minute for the non-acceptance of the Canadian contract were insufficient. He did not bring this matter forward in a party spirit. It was an Imperial question, and in a military point of view the route might be of the utmost importance. Everybody knew that the Suez Canal route might be closed, and he was anxious that the views of the Government and the country should be ascertained.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER assured the House that if the contract were confirmed, it would not interfere with the negotiations for subsidising the Canadian route, which after all could only be an alternative and not a substitute for the ordinary service *via* India. The Government at present were inclined to examine most fully the proposals made by the Canadian Pacific Company and the Canadian Government. There were two proposals—viz., one of £100,000 subsidy for fast ships, and a contribution from the Canadian Government of £20,000 towards that £100,000; and another proposal for a service of three ships which would give a monthly service for £60,000, of which the Canadian Government were prepared to pay £15,000. There might be a postal advantage on account of the shortening of the time which the fast steamers would secure between England and Hong-Kong, and especially between England and Yokohama and other parts. They had to consider whether the advantages of the other postal line for military, commercial, and other reasons, whether the possession of three steamers, especially prepared, as it was proposed that they should be, under the supervision of the Admiralty authorities, so as to be available as armed cruisers in time of war, would be worth the large sum that was asked. The Government wished to have their hands entirely free. (Hear, hear.) He hoped, therefore, that the hon. member would see reason for withdrawing his amendment.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON, before the amendment was withdrawn, wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it was intended that the cost of the service by Vancouver should be charged to the Post Office.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that he should prefer not charging the Post Office for services which were postal in one sense, but which were undertaken partly for

political, commercial, and other objects. But it was an extremely grave matter, and he did not wish to commit the Government on the point.

Mr. Anderson's amendment having been withdrawn,

MR. PROVAND rose to move that the whole question of this contract and of the conveyance of the mails to India and China be referred to a Select Committee. He had three reasons for objecting to the contract. The first reason was that the service was inadequate; secondly, that ten years was too long a period for which to make a contract of this kind; and thirdly, the subsidy was much too high. As to the inadequacy, he pointed out that as far as the contract affected India, we had established a weekly service to India 20 years ago, and, notwithstanding the enormous development of trade, no more frequent facilities were now proposed. He objected to the length of the contract, because we should be unable to avail ourselves of improvements in the means of communication, which were certain to arise within that period. In ten years there would be a railway through Russia to India, and when the line was complete the time between London and Bombay would be seven days, as against seventeen days by the Peninsular and Oriental route. According to this contract, however, we should have to give £265,000 per annum to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, even though we discontinued sending any letters by that Company during the time. If the contract was made on the basis upon which the Atlantic contracts were paid, his objection would lose much of its force, because when the Peninsular and Oriental line became the slowest route to India it was certain that it would get no mails and no money. But this was not the case. No matter how slow or how inefficient the service might be, we must go on paying this sum up to the last day of the ten years. The competition in the North Pacific had just commenced, and it would compel steamers to travel a great deal faster than they did at present. The result of that would be that they would come to complete the journey to Shanghai in thirty days, or nine days less than the Peninsular and Oriental now took. (Hear, hear.) It was quite certain, too, from the documents which all hon. members could read in the library, that the Peninsular and Oriental Company had been dealt with very differently to every other company. The third objection he had to the contract was that the subsidy was too large, and in that respect he must draw attention to the way the Peninsular and Oriental Company were treated in comparison with the Atlantic companies. From 1854 to 1867 the Peninsular and Oriental Company received subsidies equal to 4s. 2d. per mile, but under this contract it would be, according to the way the mileage was reckoned, 6s. 2d. or 7s. 4½d. per mile, although the speed of the steamers had only increased 20 per cent. Twenty years ago the Atlantic companies had received a subsidy of 18s. per pound, whereas now they were receiving only 3s. per pound, and their speed was nearly twice that of the P. and O.

Many hon. members maintained the erroneous idea that we must grant subsidies in order to encourage British commerce. But the subsidy to the P. and O. had not prevented foreign competition; there was, for instance, a French line to China. On the other hand the prolonged subsidy to the P. and O. had effectually stopped the possibility of competition by British lines. Shipowners would not tender against the P. and O. because they knew their tenders would not be fairly treated. When the Government varied their contracts from the advertised conditions, Mr. Holt, who had tendered, got no opportunity of revising his tender. The Clan Line had had the fastest steamers on that route ever since the Canal was opened, and they were willing to undertake the service from Brindisi to Shanghai for one-half the sum now paid.

MR. S. SMITH seconded the amendment.

MR. RAIKES said that the weekly service to India was sufficient, because the foreign services did not do a brisk business in letters. A more frequent service would cost more money, and he did not think it was consistent first to blame the Government for an inadequate service, and then to say that the sum they were to pay was too great.

The reason why the contract had been made for 10 years was that it would cost the country £25,000 a year less than if it had been made for seven. As to the alternative Transcaspian route, any Ministry would be a short-lived one that allowed the mails to be carried by a railway in the hands of Russia. A proposition more impossible was never submitted to the House as an alternative arrangement. As to payment by weight, the system had only been established in connection with the Atlantic mails by means of keen competition, and it was owing to the absence of competition that they were obliged to pay at the present time a very much larger sum to the P. and O. for the conveyance of the East India and China mails. Out of £265,000 only a part was paid for the China mails; that part was really in no very great degree in excess of the £100,000 that was proposed to be paid to the Canadian Pacific line. The new service would take 16 days instead of 17 days, and would cost £95,000 a year less than the old. It was an extremely good stroke of business, and one on which the country might be congratulated. The hon. member had quoted figures with

regard to the rate for mileage. He said we paid 6s. 1d. per mile 20 years ago, and that we were now paying 6s. 2½d. if the mileage was taken one way, and 7s. 3d. if taken another way. It would be apparent to those who realised the fact that we were now paying £200,000 less than 20 years ago, that it was a strange circumstance if we should be paying a higher mileage rate than at that time. There was a common delusion in regard to this subject. Many people entertained the idea that it was sufficient to reckon the mileage in the present contract merely from Brindisi. They ought to consider that as far as the steamers were concerned their mileage was to be reckoned from the port in this country before a true statement could be arrived at of what the mileage really was. Besides that, they had the advantage of the great services which this Company could command; and if they took a fair estimate of the mileage altogether, instead of paying 6s. 1d. or 7s. 3d. we were paying under 4s. per mile. The hon. member had said something with regard to the Clan Line to China. If the Clan Line had such much faster vessels it seemed a very great pity they did not come forward with a tender.

MR. C. WILSON said that the mercantile community largely doubted whether this matter could be dealt with in a business-like manner by any Cabinet. He objected to the discussion of so important a question at two o'clock in the morning—(cheers)—by a limited number of members, who were, some of them, bound by party ties. The question which the House had to answer was this: Was it reasonable, considering the enormous progress which had been made in steam navigation in the last few years, and which would probably continue—was it reasonable to enter without necessity into a contract which would tie their hands for ten years? (Cheers.) It was said that there had been no competition; but this was due to the fact that the Company annually received many thousands a year from the Government for mail contracts, and was thus able to build ships and carry on its business in a manner that rendered the competition of any private company impossible. (Hear.) That accounted for there being no competition, and it was very doubtful whether it was wise to give one company such a monopoly, especially in so important a trade as that to the East, and so enable that company to prevent any competition by other companies. If no subsidy at all were given, the mails would be carried as well as at present, for the only effect of it was to enable the company which had the subsidy to carry goods and passengers at cheaper rates than they otherwise would. He thought the hon. member for Glasgow would be willing to withdraw his amendment if some shorter time than ten years were fixed. It was possible, owing to the improvement in the telegraph, that before ten years were over, people would hardly think of writing letters at all on important or urgent matters, which would be carried on by telegraph only; and though the question of carrying the mails would become of less importance than at present, it did not become the Government to say that because railway communication went through Russian territory and was connected with our Indian system, for that reason the mails could not be carried. His own opinion was that we ought to be only too glad to take advantage of that opportunity—(hear, hear)—because it was by measures of that sort that they would ultimately do away with those foolish scares that this country was so subject to, and which resulted in the throwing away of so many millions whenever the scares occurred. (Cheers.) On the whole, he thought that the most convenient course to adopt would be to limit the operation of the contract to five years. (Hear, hear.)

SIR J. COMMEREILL supported the amendment.

MR. ESSELMONT said he had been directed by his constituents and by the Chamber of Commerce of Aberdeen to oppose this subsidy, not because it was large, but because the speed at which the mails were to be carried was decidedly behind the time. (Hear, hear.) He protested against a ten years' contract being made in the face of the changes of the last two years. He moved the adjournment of the debate.

MR. W. H. SMITH appealed to the hon. member not to put the House to the trouble of a division.

MR. H. FOWLER said they wanted to be informed by public opinion on this question. (Oh!) That was a very intelligent "Oh!" seeing that it was proposed to spend £265,000 a year for ten years, after a couple of hours' debate after midnight. The London Chamber of Commerce had declared against the contract. He would be prepared to agree to the contract if it was limited to five years. (Hear, hear.)

After some further discussion the Government consented to the adjournment of the debate. It was resumed on July 4th, when

MR. ESSELMONT stated that the passage from China was done in two or three days less time by lines running to Germany and France, and it would be disgraceful to the British Empire if it entered into a contract which provided for an inadequate speed.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN was in favour of the contract, but admitted that if a select committee were appointed to examine the general principles on which subsidies were granted, it would be an interesting subject of inquiry, and it might be possible to lay down some broad principles. But with regard to the actual

contract in question, it was on a very different footing from the Atlantic service, which was purely commercial. The P. and O. Co. was our bridge from this country to India and Australia, and it was of the highest importance that our great civil and military interests at stake should be strongly maintained by frequent communication. We ought to have vessels constantly voyaging between this country and Malta, Egypt, Cyprus and Bombay. Civil and military servants were constantly travelling to and fro in the service of the country. We had large bodies of troops to be conveyed, sometimes at short notice, from one station to another. The very correspondence we carried on was, to a large extent, of a civil and military character. If the service of the P. and O. Co. did not exist, it would be necessary for the Government to create such a service in the interests of the Empire. The Government of India, who contributed £68,000 a year, were in favour of accepting the tender. The idea of ever sending the mails through Russian territory was an utter absurdity. There was no alternative to the present route. All the resources of the Empire must be used to maintain the highway through the Mediterranean.

MR. SUTHERLAND said that as chairman of the P. and O. Co. he would have preferred to be silent; but he felt compelled to speak. The press of India and China had warmly approved of the contract. The P. and O. with its tonnage of 200,000 was the largest shipping Company in the world, and had rendered great services to the Empire at great crises of our history. In the Crimean War they had carried 60,000 men and 15,000 horses; in the Indian Mutiny it was owing to their conveyance of 4,000 or 5,000 men that the Government were able to check the first risings of mutiny in the Presidency of Bombay. (Hear, hear.) He denied that the Company gave favourable rates to foreign merchandise. He quoted a letter from a representative of the Glen Line, stating that it could not give a weekly service, and had never offered to perform any mail service whatever. Mr. C. Wilson had declared that nothing would induce his line to take a mail contract; this was because he was much better off as a private ship-owner. It was not true that the P. and O. had tried to strangle competition by rate-cutting; the secretary of the Association of Steamship Owners admitted that the P. and O. had never abused their position as a subsidised line. Coming to the question of speed, the great reason why neither the P. and O. nor any other lines had ever been able to build ships which would equal in speed the Atlantic liners was that the passenger traffic to and from India was so small. It was passenger traffic that paid for speed, and whereas the number of passengers crossing the Atlantic each year might be numbered by hundreds of thousands, the number of passengers to and from India did not amount to more than 3,000 each way per annum, of which about 70 per cent. were carried by the P. and O. With regard to the China line, it was quite within the power of the Government to have secured a higher rate of speed. They accepted the tender for 11¼ knots and not that of 12 knots, the difference of cost being a matter of £20,000. It was quite immaterial to the P. and O. Co. which was selected. The Government accepted the cheaper service, no doubt realising that the mere force of competition would force the Company to keep the speed of the service up. As to the duration of the contract for ten years instead of seven, they had offered to accept a reduction of 25 per cent. for the longer period, because of the greater security for capital expended in the service. During the eight years from 1878 they had spent £2,268,000 in new vessels, and £467,000 in renewals. This involved considerable financial risk, even if the contract were for a prolonged term.

MR. JACKSON repeated the assurance that the ratification of this contract should not prejudice the full and impartial consideration of the route offered by Canada. He maintained that the requirements of trade were adequately met by the P. and O. service. As to the length of the contract, the extension was justified by the great economy of £25,000 a year thereby effected. In answer to the invitation to send in tenders the Government received practically only three: they received an offer from Mr. Holt, an offer from the P. and O. Co., and an offer from the Canadian Pacific Co. After going through those tenders and carefully considering them, they came to the conclusion that the tenders which would meet the requirements of the service were two tenders—one by Mr. Holt at a cost of £319,000, subject, if deduction were made for non-absolute penalties, to reduction to £297,000; and one by the P. and O. Co. for £300,000, reduced subsequently to £265,000. One of Mr. Holt's tenders contemplated the provision of boats, which he called despatch boats, and which were to carry no surgeon, no passengers, and no cargo. He had not been treated in any way differently from the rest, but the Treasury, the Indian Government, the Colonial Office and the Colonies concerned had unanimously advised the Government to accept the tender of the P. and O. for ten years. After paying a tribute to the excellence of that Company's service, he said that as reference had been made to the German and the French contracts, it might be desirable to remind the House that the German and the French contracts were for fifteen years at sums of £220,000 and £384,000 respectively. Therefore, so far as that tender compared with the French

or German tender, it was eminently satisfactory and economical. (Hear, hear.) He claimed the approval of the House on the ground that the contract would provide both an efficient and economical service; and he would remind the House that the contract, being for a fixed sum, would be for the period of years for which it was made, as the mails increased in quantity, a diminishing payment for the whole of that time.

MR. CHILDERS said that there was practically no opposition to the contract being taken by the P. and O. unless that of Mr. Holt was regarded. Mr. Holt had a most convenient plan of running mail steamers carrying no passengers and no cargo, vessels of very small dimensions, to run through the monsoon at different times of the year. To keep up a service of vessels of that kind the Government would have to pay the whole cost. His opinion was that it would not be possible for a great service of this kind to be carried out by vessels which would be simply Government vessels, mere servants of the Post Office. If that class of vessels was inadmissible, then there was only the P. and O. to choose. The idea seemed to have been put forward that there was some kind of analogy between the great Atlantic and the Eastern service. There was no such analogy. Five or six great companies ran between Great Britain and America and derived a great income from cargo and passengers, far more than any vessels going to an oriental country could hope to get. He would have preferred seven years to ten for the duration of the contract, but considered that the case was one for decision by the Executive Government, and should not oppose it. He thought, however, that it would be a good plan next Session to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the desirability of referring all such contracts to a general committee of the House.

CAPTAIN COLOMB wished to know whether it was provided in the contract that in the case of a war which would block the Suez Canal the P. and O. vessels would be obliged to carry the mails by the Cape route, and, if so, under what conditions. He thought it was of importance to remember that, having adopted the principle that it was necessary to have auxiliary merchant steamers available in time of war, there was not one single vessel in this great service that was capable of being used, according to the First Lord's memorandum on the subject, as an auxiliary war steamer. Our colonies were partners with us in this contract, and we could not very well refer a co-operative arrangement with them to a Select Committee on which they would not be represented.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON said that hon. members had misunderstood the grounds upon which opposition had been offered to this contract. The tender accepted was different from the tenders that were called for. The tenders were to be for a certain number of years, and the term had been extended privately. That formed a good reason why there should be inquiry. Then the tenders were to be for a route different from that for which the P. and O. tender had been accepted. Large steamers were being built by the P. and O. Co. to steam 16 and 17 knots, and the contract to India was for 12½ knots. Then there was a separate contract for the service to Australia, and although Colombo was half the distance, and that half the distance was paid for by the contract, the Australian contract involved the payment of double rates. No house of business would enter into such a second contract in total disregard of the money already paid in respect of the first.

MR. SINCLAIR expressed himself in favour of the amendment.

MR. GILES preferred a shorter contract, but was satisfied with MR. JACKSON'S statement.

MR. SCHWANN having said he should support the amendment of MR. PROVAND for the reference to a Select Committee,

The amendment was negatived and the original motion for ratifying the contract agreed to.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Charterhouse.—The debate which was announced as in contemplation for the month of June was unavoidably postponed; but the subject will be brought up again next term.

Uppingham.—Mr. H. F. Wilson's lecture will be given in October, instead of at the end of July, as previously intended.

Messrs. Wren & Gurney's.—A lecture was delivered to the candidates for the Indian Civil Service and other examinations by Mr. H. F. Wilson, on May 26th. The lecturer had given an address on Imperial Federation to the same classes in 1886, and this year he took as his subject "The Imperial Conference: what it was, and what it may become." A large amount of literature was distributed, and six of those present became members of the League. Many of the audience had already joined in 1886.

With a view to place this movement on a broader basis, a circular has been sent out to about 80 representative schools in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, containing inquiries on the subject of Imperial Federation. A summary of the answers received will be found in the next number of the Journal.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT MELBOURNE.

FOR the prize of twenty-five guineas recently offered by the Melbourne Branch of the League, twenty-three essays were sent in. So high was the average of merit displayed in the compositions, that unusual difficulty was experienced by the judges in selecting the prize-winner. The best essay will be printed very shortly, when we hope to present our readers with a summary of the contents.

The Melbourne Branch determined to take advantage of Lord Brassey's presence in Australia to hold the annual meeting during his visit to their city. We understand that an Imperial Federation banquet was contemplated on the same occasion, but no report of the proceedings has yet reached us. There can be no doubt that the opportunity of conversing with one of our honorary treasurers will be very welcome to supporters of the movement in Australia, and that Lord Brassey will do much to stimulate and encourage the Melbourne Branch, by explaining the remarkable progress that has been made in the United Kingdom, and indicating the points upon which it is advisable to concentrate our efforts in future.

We commend especially to our friends in Melbourne the subject of an Imperial Census, upon which an important article appears in another column. By passing resolutions and sending up petitions in favour of this and other reforms in which we are particularly interested, they can greatly strengthen the hands of the Executive Committee; every addition to the influence we can bring to bear upon the authorities is important, and none is more likely to be effective than that of the enterprising, wealthy, and intelligent community of the capital of Victoria.

HERE AND THERE.

THE Water Conservation Commission of New South Wales state in their report that an area of 570,000 acres might be irrigated by the Murray River, and 340,000 acres by the Murrumbidgee.

THE Natal imports and railway receipts in the half-year ending June 30, 1887, were nearly double those of the corresponding part of last year.

A PARLIAMENTARY Committee has been formed for the purpose of endeavouring to cheapen and extend the postal and telegraphic facilities of the Empire. Mr. Henniker Heaton is Chairman.

CAPTAIN NAGEL has established the validity of his treaty with the Pondos, whereby a portion of Pondoland was ceded to a German Colonising Company. Captain Nagel, as the Company's agent, recently offered to transfer its rights to the British Government, which has referred the matter to the Government of Cape Colony.

THE emigration returns for the six months ending June 30, 1887, show an increase of about 34,000 over the same period in 1886, in persons of British origin; the figures being 112,266 for 1886, and 146,840 for 1887. More than two-thirds of the total number emigrated to the United States.

SIR ROBERT WISDOM has informed us that he is not in opposition to the Parkes Ministry, as we erroneously supposed.

A DEPUTATION has been sent to Pietermaritzburg by the Amatonga Queen, appealing to Sir A. Havelock to establish a British Protectorate over the country.

IT has been decided to send out only two torpedo boats instead of four, as originally intended, to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

THE Canadian Dominion Parliament was prorogued on June 23rd, after a session very satisfactory to the Government, which has not been defeated on any Bill it brought forward.

IT is announced that Sir Charles Tupper will retain the office of Canadian Minister of Finance, and that Mr. J. G. Colmer will continue Acting High Commissioner in London.

THE Chambers of Commerce at Hong-Kong, Shanghai, Foochow, Amoy, and Yokohama have memorialised the Home Government in favour of the establishment of a mail service *via* Canada.

THE Queen's rule over Zululand was formally proclaimed at Etshowe on Jubilee Day, in the presence of 10,000 Zulus, who saluted the British flag with unbounded gladness and enthusiasm.

THE Government of New Zealand will, if Sir Robert Stout's advice be followed, borrow £2,000,000 by instalments spread over several years, for the completion of the main railways, and then cease raising further loans.

FISCAL REFORM AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

OUR contemporary the *Evening News* publishes a leading article under the above heading *à propos* of a motion, calling attention to the urgent necessity for reforms in our fiscal system, of which notice has been given by Mr. Louis J. Jennings, M.P. In the course of its article the *Evening News* writes as follows:—

"In intimate association with this matter is the even greater question of Imperial Federation. Many of our leading men fight shy of this subject for the present; but they will before long be bound to take it into their most serious consideration. It is certain to become a burning question in the near future, and if we were wise enough to see the direction in which our true interests lie, it would be the one momentous question of to-day. The welding together into one homogeneous whole of our vast Empire is, in itself, a theme worthy to inspire a poet's pen, and the realisation of the idea would be a priceless blessing to the world. But just at the present moment we are not so closely concerned with the wider aspects of Imperial Federation as with its relation to our system of commerce. The adoption of the principle of Free Trade throughout every part of the Empire, and of Protection against the rest of the world, would at one sweep do away with all the intolerable burdens of the present system, and would weld the Empire together by the closest bonds of common self-interest; and whatever inconvenience it gave rise to, would fall almost entirely upon our rivals. The climatic differences of our Empire are so great that we are able to produce every article necessary to the well-being of the Anglo-Saxon people, and almost every luxury they can desire. We are, therefore, to all intents and purposes independent of the rest of the world; and there is nothing to prevent us from giving a preference to articles produced inside the Empire over those produced outside. Other nations are fighting us on every side with hostile tariffs, bounties, bonuses and every possible device for injuring our trade, and we are simply standing still to be shot at, like a helpless giant, whilst one after another of our industries is done to death. The process cannot be carried much farther. We shall soon be compelled to do one of two things, either to submit to extinction or to take up arms against our sea of troubles. And we know which alternative the practical Anglo-Saxon will choose. He will fight—of that there is no doubt; but he can only fight under the best auspices by federating all parts of his Empire for purposes of common self-protection against all outsiders.

After being assured by Mr. Bright and Mr. Goldwin Smith that Imperial Federation is nothing but the dream of an insignificant handful of armchair politicians, it is comforting to be told by a newspaper that is not usually supposed to be an organ of the leisured classes that it is "certain to become a burning question in the near future," and that "the realisation of the idea would be a priceless blessing to the world." If we may judge by the fact that the article has given rise to considerable correspondence—correspondence, too, showing not merely interest in, but keen sympathy with, the idea—we should say that the editor had gauged the drift and volume of public feeling better than our two distinguished opponents. We subjoin two extracts from the correspondence. The first, from a letter signed "An Englishman," aptly illustrates the American point of view:—

He says, "In conversation with a leading New York merchant, I pointed out that the inevitable outcome of the almost prohibitive duties imposed on English manufactures would be retaliatory action on our part. His reply, summarised, was, 'We do not care for that; we are pleased to take your money, but presume you would not part with same but for value received. When you discontinue dealing with us, the United States of America are still self-supporting, for there is no known product of the globe that cannot be produced within the limits of those States.' 'But,' I answered, amazed at what I considered the sublime selfishness of this assertion, 'will not these remarks apply in every point to Great Britain and her Colonies?' 'I guess they may,' said he, 'but if you Britishers cannot see your own interests, you must suffer for your own short-sightedness.'"

The other, from "a settler in Australia for more than twenty-five years, and one longing to get home again to the land of his adoption," is, we believe, quite as typical of the average Australian sentiment as even the remarks of that important personage, Mr. John Norton.

"I trust," says the writer, "a very large following will be found in England to support, and finally carry out, the two great events now claiming attention, viz.: (1) the Federation of the Empire, the key of which is a tariff as between England and all her dependencies, and one (between the Empire and all

foreign nations) of a nearly prohibitive nature; (2) the making good use of the lands we own throughout the world, and placing our own flesh and blood upon such lands, remembering that Britain is for the British, and should be always kept in mind as the keystone of our grand Empire."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

JUNE 20—JULY 19, 1887.

FRENCH ENCROACHMENT ON THE GAMBIA.

June 20th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Howorth, SIR H. HOLLAND said: Her Majesty's Government have received information from Sir Samuel Rowe that, as a result of conflicts between the French and their native allies and Saide Mattei, a chief of Badiboo, the French flag has been hoisted in that country. Badiboo is not under British protection, but is within the sphere of British influence on the River Gambia, and its chiefs have for many years past been under treaty engagements to Her Majesty's Government. The matter is engaging the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government, who are fully alive to the necessity of protecting British rights and interests on the River Gambia, and are in communication with the French Government on the subject.

INDIA AND CHINA MAIL CONTRACT.

June 23rd.—In the House of Commons there was a prolonged debate upon this subject, which was resumed and concluded upon July 4th. A report will be found in another column.

BRITISH GUIANA.

June 28th.—In the House of Commons, MR. WATT asked the Secretary for the Colonies whether continued inaction with regard to questions which residents in British Guiana considered of vital importance had created a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the Colony; whether the attention of the Government had been drawn to a meeting held this month at Georgetown, and to the speeches made thereat; and if he was now prepared to state whether the Government contemplated taking decisive action at an early date to vindicate the claims of British subjects.

SIR H. HOLLAND: As regards the two first questions, I understand that considerable dissatisfaction is felt in the Colony on account of the boundary question with Venezuela remaining unsettled, and my attention has been called to newspaper reports of meetings of certain gold companies in Georgetown, to which I presume the question refers, on which occasion speeches were made expressing such dissatisfaction. As regards the third question, I would add that the Government are alive to the desirability of obtaining a settlement of the territorial question at issue between this country and Venezuela.

THE NEW HEBRIDES.

MR. F. STEVENSON asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when papers would be presented relating to the New Hebrides.

SIR J. FERGUSON: Papers will be presented as soon as the negotiations are concluded, which I hope they will be before long. The proceedings of the Colonial Conference on this question were of a confidential character, and will not be presented.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

SIR H. HOLLAND, replying to Mr. Childers, said he had taken a great deal of pains in order to expedite the publication of the minutes. They filled two volumes, and much revision had been necessary, as well as constant consultation with the heads of departments. He thought he could say that the two volumes were now in a fair state of preparation.

INDIA AND CHINA MAILS.

June 30th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Hanbury, MR. RAIKES said that the Peninsular and Oriental Company's tender was clearly within the definition laid down by the Post Office, and that the rejected tenders were not more in accordance with the conditions.

THE NEW HEBRIDES.

In reply to Mr. Bryce, SIR J. FERGUSON said: Our representations to the French Government have not at present resulted in the acceleration of the negotiations, but I still hope that the discussions with that Government will very shortly be concluded, and that the withdrawal of the detachments in the New Hebrides will be arranged. In answer to a further question, the Under-Secretary said: No delay or ground of delay is due to Her Majesty's Government, but when the reply of another Government is awaited, it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to fix a date for its receipt.

CANADIAN TRANS-PACIFIC ROUTE.

In reply to inquiries by Captain Colomb and Mr. Baden Powell as to the advocacy of this service by Chambers of Commerce, the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said: The chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of Hongkong has telegraphed to me as follows:—"On supposition that the speed of mails will be greatly accelerated and on political grounds this Chamber now approves fortnightly service *via* Canada, providing there is no increase in this Colony's contribution to the Postal Union." (Laughter.) I have also received indirectly a telegram from the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce warmly advocating this alternative route, and also a telegram to the same effect from the Chamber of Commerce at Foochow. Similar telegrams have been received from several Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom.

COLONIAL JUDGMENTS.

July 1st.—In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. G. O. Morgan, SIR H. HOLLAND said: Two draft Bills—one dealing with Colonial judgments, the other with bankruptcy—have been prepared, and I have communicated them to the Lord Chancellor, who is consulting some of the judges upon their provisions. Subject to the approval of the Lord Chancellor, I hope it may be possible to introduce and pass the Bills during the present Session.

CANADIAN TARIFFS.

July 4th.—In the House of Lords, LORD LAMINGTON asked that the correspondence with the Canadian Government respecting the proposed changes in the tariff might be laid upon the table. After EARL GRANVILLE had made some remarks, the EARL OF DUNRAVEN pointed out that the tariff changes were directed against the United States rather than against England, and quoted statistics in support of his view. As a matter of fact, Canada in her tariff had practically discriminated in favour of us, for articles imported from this country paid a much lower duty than the same articles imported from the United States. It did not become us to cast that in the teeth of Canada, seeing that the Mother Country had not made any approach to such a policy in favour of her Colonies. He would not enter upon that subject now, but he thought it would be a great advantage to the Empire if we had done so. He was glad this question had been brought before the House, because he saw in it the beginning of a factor which one day or other must have great influence indeed. There was no question which was more likely in the distant future to cause disagreement, if it did not lead to the dismemberment of the Empire. Some of the Colonies were suffering under grave inconvenience owing to the fact that the commercial system which this country believed in did not entirely suit itself to their requirements, and a more important question than this could not be brought before their lordships' House. He did not intend to express any opinion as to whether there should be any alteration in our fiscal policy in this direction, but he had no hesitation in saying that, in his opinion, the commercial policy which gave perfect freedom of action to every quarter of the Empire in its own internal arrangement, and which at the same time offered a united front against the commercial invasion of foreign countries, was a policy which, at any rate, would have to be very carefully considered some day by statesmen in this country. The Colonies had agreed to act together with the Mother Country against foreign invasion by war; but commercial invasion, commercial hostilities in some respects were even more to be dreaded than the open hostilities of war. A great country could not be destroyed by war, but it could be destroyed by having its commercial wealth and prosperity undermined, and it would be a grave misfortune if in the future the Colonies found themselves so hampered by our commercial policy that they would consider it more advantageous to them to enter into a commercial alliance with foreign countries. He thought it should be made known that the action which Canada had taken was not aimed against this country, and that our trade with the Colonies had not only not decreased, but had enormously increased, since the adoption by Canada of a national policy. (Hear, hear.)

The EARL OF ONSLOW acceded to the request that the papers should be laid upon the table.

CAPE REGISTRATION BILL.

July 7th.—In the House of Commons, MR. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government had been directed to the provisions of the Registration Bill published in the Cape of Good Hope Government *Gazette* of Tuesday, March 15th, and if he would inquire whether the adoption of a measure which seemed calculated to disfranchise large numbers of Her Majesty's coloured subjects who had hitherto enjoyed electoral rights, would constitute a violation of the conditions on which responsible government was granted to the Colony.

SIR H. HOLLAND: I have referred to the Bill mentioned in the hon. member's question, and especially to the 17th clause. There is nothing in the proposed legislation inconsistent with or contrary to the conditions under which the present constitution of the Colony was established. I am informed that no native who by reason of the constitution ordinance has a claim to be registered will be deprived of that right under the new Bill, but the name of any man (white or black) now on the register, the owner of which has not the qualification laid down in the constitution ordinance, will be removed from the register. The result of the section has been, I believe, practically approved by the Aborigines Protection Society, who recently, when discussing an electoral Bill relating to the Transkei territories, observed that "no one proposes that the natives who are still under the tribal system should be entitled to vote."

BRITISH GUIANA.

July 14th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Sir T. Esmonde, SIR H. HOLLAND said that all persons taking out gold-mining licences in the portion of territory of British Guiana now claimed by Venezuela, had been warned that all licences, concessions, or grants applying to any portion of the disputed territory will be issued and must be accepted subject to the possibility that, in the event of a settlement of the disputed boundary line, the land to which they apply may become part of Venezuela, in which case no claim for compensation from the Colony or from Her Majesty's Government can be recognised; but Her Majesty's Government would, in that case, do whatever might be right and practicable to secure from the Government of Venezuela the recognition of the licences.

SIR J. POPE HENNESSY.

SIR H. HOLLAND stated that, after careful and anxious study of the report of Sir Hercules Robinson, and after hearing Sir J. Pope Hennessy's defence in regard to the charges brought against him, it had been decided, though not without hesitation, to reinstate him as Governor of Mauritius.

THE CANADIAN ROUTE TO THE EAST.

MR. MACLURE asked the Postmaster-General whether the Government intended to afford any assistance and facilities for the conveyance of mails to Australia and the East by the Canadian route.

MR. RAIKES: All that I can at present say in reply to my hon. friend is that I am in communication with my colleagues on the subject, and that the matter is engaging the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government. I need hardly add how much gratified I shall be if any arrangement for an improved mail service to Japan and China should be found practicable.

Imperial Federation.

SEPTEMBER, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE Executive Committee of the League have forwarded to the PRIME MINISTER and the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER a resolution, urging upon the Government the necessity of a prompt decision upon the Canadian proposals for the trans-Pacific mail service. The resolution calls attention to the fact that the advantages of connecting Vancouver and Hong Kong by a British line of steamers have already been recognised by successive administrations, and declares the belief of the Committee "that prolonged delay may prove seriously prejudicial to the best interests of the Empire at large."

THE *Melbourne Age* quotes with approval a letter which an Australian Colonist who was studying medicine at Edinburgh, MR. H. R. JENKINS, addressed some months since to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. In it MR. JENKINS complains that our social wreckage is shipped in bulk to Australia "to have its moral fœtor rendered aseptic in the fragrant shade of the eucalyptus." As one of the instances on which MR. JENKINS relies to prove his case is that of SIR ROBERT HAMILTON (by common consent one of the very ablest and most conscientious men in the whole of the civil service of the Crown), we may perhaps venture to assume that his rhetorical fervour is somewhat misplaced, and that the grievance is not nowadays a very serious one. But as there has been a good deal of talk of late, not only in Australia, but also in America, of the prohibition of the immigration of this, that, and the other class of emigrants, perhaps a few words on the general question may not be out of place. To begin with, we in England at least can claim that we do as we would be done by. As to certain classes (convicts, for example, or workhouse paupers), these burdens we have no wish to shift on to other people's backs. But when it comes to those who may be expected to get on and support themselves honestly, once they get a fair opening (boys discharged from reformatories or women from homes), then the matter stands altogether on a different footing. They would do well, we believe, in England if they got a chance; but that is just what they cannot get. Those who have once fallen in a crowd have small chance of rising again. If all the roads to success and honest independence are as crowded in Australia as they are in this small island, then all we can say is that our Australian cousins themselves have much overrated the capacity of their country for development.

"In the multitude of counsellors there is safety," has always seemed to us a proverb eminently in need of further elucidation. Safety for whom? Is it for the other side? Or is the safety for the counselled, and secured by sitting still in utter inability to decide between the different courses of action recommended? We are led to these reflections by a correspondence that has lately been published in the *Times* (Aug. 3rd, 9th, 17th). SIR HENRY GORDON, supporting himself mainly on a hitherto unpublished memorandum of his brother, GENERAL GORDON, urges that England should at once abandon Malta and Cyprus, and confine itself, as far as the Mediterranean is concerned, to the defence of Gibraltar. Hereupon SIR SAMUEL BAKER and CAPTAIN P. H. COLOMB come forward and demonstrate that with Malta must go Suez, with Suez Aden, with Aden Mauritius and Colombo, till the Cape route, on which we

are assumed, because of its safety, to have fallen back, is left without protection, exposed to the raids of the enemies' cruisers. To make confusion worse confounded, SIR GEORGE GREY steps in and reiterates his old opinion that Gibraltar itself is worthless; its defences are obsolete, and commanded by the neighbouring land; its civil population is so large that it could not be fed; Ceuta is the point that we should take and convert into a second Portland.

IF laymen may intervene in such a quarrel, we would say two things:—The first, that England and its possible opponent or opponents are not alone in the world. If we abandon Malta, farewell to the hope of support from Italy or from Turkey, or whatever the power may be that will hold the Dardanelles; the other, that to draw in all the tentacles that stretch from here all over the world is impossible. We cannot, if we would, make ourselves invulnerable that way. Shut up in these two petty islands, like a snail in its shell, we should starve in a fortnight. It may have been foolhardiness for their inhabitants to overrun the habitable globe, but they have done it and must take the consequence. Retreat for us, as for DANTON and his friends, must be ruin. *De l'audace, de l'audace et toujours de l'audace* must still be our formula.

THE peroration of LORD SALISBURY's recent speech at Norwich contained an eloquent appeal to the country to remember that these islands are but part of a world-wide Empire, from whose fortunes our own individual prosperity is inseparable.

"If," said the Prime Minister, "we have been able to maintain at one time an almost fabulous prosperity, if in this narrow island with a not too fertile soil, with an ungracious climate and limited space, we have been enabled to maintain a fast and gradually increasing population; it is because it has been the centre of a splendid Empire and a converging trade. If you once allow our Imperial strength to fall, if you once allow our Imperial fabric to be shattered . . . then, depend upon it, your Imperial power will vanish like a dream; in every part of the world your weakness will be known, your great dependencies, on which your strength rests, will learn the lesson that is taught them, and you will be left to meditate in fear, in affliction, in destitution, and under the loss of all the commercial and economical advantages by which this country has been distinguished, on the folly of neglecting the truth that commercial greatness depends on Imperial strength."

THE HON. H. HOLBROOK, a member of the General Committee of the League, has written an important letter to the *Cheshire Observer* on the subject of Federation. He expresses himself strongly in favour of a reciprocity treaty with Canada. "My advice," he says, after twenty years' experience of residence in the Dominion, "to the working men is to assist with their votes for having a tariff on the Canadian lines, and if they cannot get it, then come to us, where their labour will be protected. We are honest and law-abiding; we fear God and honour our Queen; we are loyal, brave, and industrious, and have room for all, who may safely bring their labour and capital to us."

ON the other hand, a writer in the *Industrial Review*, whom we believe to be also a member of the League, deprecates any attempt to sanction an arrangement that would compel the purchase of Colonial produce at a higher price than the same can now be obtained for from Russia, Germany, or France. His proposal is that British manufacturers should establish mills in the Colonies, and take out artisans from England on a three or five years' contract. From these two examples, out of many, it will be seen how diverse are the opinions concerning the future commercial policy of the Empire. But we are consoled by the fact that all are agreed as to the necessity for combination in some form or other.

In another column we publish a full report of the proceedings at the banquet recently given to LORD BRASSEY by

the Melbourne Branch of the League. The demonstration affords the most important evidence of the progress of our principles in Australia that has yet been produced, and we especially commend to our readers the strong speech made by MR. GILLIES, Premier of Victoria. A leading article which we reproduce from the *Melbourne Argus* upon the event is also well worth perusal. LORD BRASSEY deserves the warmest thanks of all advocates of Federation for the indefatigable exertions he is making in our behalf; and our friends at Melbourne are also to be congratulated upon having prepared the ground so well that the occasion of his visit was eagerly seized as an opportunity for a conspicuous outburst of enthusiasm in the Colony.

BLUE-BOOKS containing the official reports of the Colonial Conference have at length been issued. There are two volumes, priced respectively 6s. and 3s. 10d., and costing for postage, by inland parcel post, 10½d. The first is occupied with the report of the proceedings day by day, and the second contains the papers laid before the Conference. We intend to return to the consideration of the more important contents, but we regret that the pressure upon our space this month compels us to postpone further comment for the present.

A WRITER in the *Mark Lane Express* points to the United States as affording an example of absolute Free Trade on the largest scale the world has yet seen. A moment's thought will show that the assertion is not quite the paradox that it appears at first sight. We are accustomed to look upon the States as the home of Protectionism in its rankest form. But after all the States comprise a population of well-nigh sixty millions, spread over three million and a half square miles, under a Constitution which insists upon absolute and unfettered internal Free Trade. Nowhere else in the world can so large a population exchange commodities with one another, undisturbed by a single Customs barrier. In France, as all the world knows, a century ago there were enormous duties on goods carried, say, from Normandy to Brittany. Even now an *octroi* bars the entrance into every town. So in India, under our own rule, there are duties, those on salt and opium, for instance, which vary between one Presidency or Province and another. At home one cannot bring in half-a-dozen silver teaspoons from Jersey without paying toll at the Southampton Custom house, while in London itself the Coal Duty is a familiar grievance. Free Trade in internal commerce has been, says our author, wherever it has been tried, a triumphant success. "We have endeavoured to extend the principles of Free Trade to international commerce, but without any success whatever." He would accordingly abandon the attempt, and fix his gaze on "the brightening prospect of commercial federation and customs union with our Colonies." The *Mark Lane Express* is not alone in its opinion. See what MR. JEHU MATTHEWS has to say on p. 188 of our this month's number.

WHAT is to be done with a region where "the atmosphere is dank, steamy, and heavy with moisture during the wet season, and dry, parching, and malarial during the dry season?" Such is the description given of the coast of the Northern Territory in South Australia, by MR. J. L. PARSONS, the Government Resident. It is the possession of this enormous territory of 340,000,000 acres, half explored and hardly inhabited at all, that is at present hung like a mill-stone round the neck of South Australian progress. And yet it is impossible to doubt that some day a Trans-Continental railway will vivify it, and that Palmerston will become a second Singapore. Apparently there is some talk

of asking the Imperial Government to resume possession, on payment of the debts and liabilities incurred in connection with the territory. We do not think the offer likely to require much pressure to secure its acceptance; neither do we think it at all likely to be made, so long as South Australians retain their character for enterprise and sagacity!

THE growing tendency of the Colonies to compete with the Mother Country at shows, exhibitions, and athletic contests, has its uses in making us more familiar with each other, and promoting that similarity of tastes and habits which constitutes a united nation. The Colonial Exhibition last year was an example of this tendency displayed on a grand scale. But we ought not to despise the influence of such exhibitions as those at Liverpool, Manchester, and Adelaide this year, at all of which English and Colonial products have stood side by side. Another phase is indicated by the appearance of Colonial riflemen at Wimbledon, Colonial oarsmen on our rivers, Colonial teams in our cricket fields; again, we see Colonial students competing for scholarships at our Universities, and sending in essays for the prize offered by the London Chamber of Commerce. And we are even to have New Zealand cheddar cheese in competition with our own at Frome in September! Surely no barriers of local ignorance or prejudice can long withstand the influence of such frequent contact in matters both great and small.

OUR readers will be interested in a paper contributed by MR. FREDERIC YOUNG to the *Colonies and India* upon Imperial Federation. MR. YOUNG makes the novel suggestion that a roving Royal Commission should be appointed to make the round of the principal Colonies, and confer with the various governments upon their present attitude towards Federation, and make inquiries as to the best means for carrying into effect some practical changes ending towards our goal.

MR. J. CASTELL HOPKINS has sent to the *Times* (Aug. 24) an able expression of what we believe to be the prevalent feeling in Canada with regard to Commercial Union with the United States. The gist of the matter is, that if once the Custom-house barrier were abolished, Canadian manufactures would be swamped by the surplus products of the States. It is a well-known fact that the accumulated wealth of years would be lavishly squandered by American commercial magnates in the task of underselling at any cost and any sacrifice, the obnoxious Canadian products, for the purpose of eventually establishing their own supremacy, and obtaining a monopoly of the Canadian market.

GREAT blame attaches to REUTER'S agency for transmitting such an obvious canard as the statement that SIR JOHN MACDONALD had suggested the employment of British troops in Manitoba. The ready credence given to the mischievous nonsense in some quarters is a lamentable indication of the gross ignorance of Canadian affairs still prevalent in this country. Most of the critics, too, speak as if there were no line from Winnipeg to the United States; there are, in fact, two. The question is not of granting a monopoly to the Canadian Pacific, but of keeping a solemn promise made by the Dominion Government, and agreed to by Parliament. It was only on condition of receiving a guarantee that no competing line should be allowed for twenty years, that the Canadian Pacific Railway was built. Any attempt to evade the engagement is a piece of dishonesty which will surely recoil upon the perpetrators. The entire commercial interests of Manitoba are little more than 3 per cent. of the Canadian trade, and we have good reasons for believing the whole agitation to be purely a land-speculator's job.

OUR CRUSADE AMONG THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

IN the Journal for November, 1886, the present writer formulated some rough suggestions (which he had previously thrown out at the Conference of the League) for the extension of our work to the Public Schools of the country. From that time until now, in conjunction with a few good friends of the cause, he has been doing his best to develop this movement; and it now seems a fitting time, before the commencement of another school year, to sum up what has been already done, and to point out the various directions in which further progress is desirable. He has already received the assurance of prominent members of the League that the importance of the work is recognised, and he therefore feels under no obligation to adduce fresh arguments in its favour; but he would most earnestly draw the attention of all who are interested in Imperial Federation, and more especially those who are still residing at, or have lately left, the Universities, to the unlimited opportunities which it offers for useful activity.

Operations were commenced last autumn by sending a request to three or four representative head masters that they would give facilities for a lecture on the subject of Imperial Federation at their respective schools. The replies received were very encouraging. Dr. Warre, of Eton, at once signified his willingness to receive a lecturer, and early in 1887 Mr. J. K. Stephen gave an address to the Literary Society. Mr. Welldon, of Harrow, also gave his consent, and arrangements are pending for a similar lecture at that school. At Clifton Mr. Wilson was in favour of the scheme, and the writer had the pleasure of addressing the upper forms of the College last March. At Marlborough, in response to an invitation from Mr. Bell, the Rev. Canon Dalton gave an interesting lecture two months later; and a debate, suggested by Dr. Haig Brown, of Charterhouse, only fell through owing to the pressure of other occupations in the summer term. Mr. Thring wrote from Uppingham, "I shall be happy to give you an evening. . . . It is a *law of nature* that railways, steam, and telegraphs shall produce vast Federations as the governments of the future;" and a lecture will probably be given there in October or November. The head masters of Rugby and Haileybury alone felt themselves unable to accept the proposal; but in the former case no objection was made to it, except want of time. Besides this, the writer has delivered two lectures in 1886 and 1887 to large classes of Indian Civil Service candidates and others at Messrs. Wren and Gurney's, in London, several of whom (as well as some of the lecturers) have become members of the League.

If we leave the "record of the past" (to use a phrase associated with the work of the League) and look forward to the "promise of the future," the prospect is equally satisfactory. With the view of discovering the position of affairs as regards Federation at other public schools, and so widening the field of operations, a circular (which will be found on another page) has been sent to some eighty representative places of education in Great Britain and Ireland, to inquire whether anything, and if so, what, has been done to bring the subject before the notice of the boys. The results of the inquiry are stated elsewhere in a tabular form, but it has been thought advisable to go more into detail here, so as to give a clearer idea of the way in which the schools are gradually waking up to the importance of the questions involved.

(a) Debates have been held at the following schools: City of London, Clifton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors', Portsmouth, Rugby, and Wellington. At the first-named, where there is a school parliament, we are informed that "a Federation Bill was brought in by the Radical Premier, which included Home Rule as one of its clauses; the Conservatives, however, opposed it, and it was thrown out. Imperial Federation was a strong feature in the policy of the succeeding Conservative Cabinet." A debate at Harrow resulted in ten votes for Federation and four against it. Merchant Taylors' decided against "the severing of the Colonies from the Mother Country" by sixteen votes to two. The martial ardour of Portsmouth declared itself by a majority of forty-eight in a house of fifty-four in favour of the

consolidation of the Empire. Rugby held the same views by eight votes to two: and Wellington (where the debating society seems to be a large one) by seventy-six to thirty-one. At Clifton only were the anti-federationists successful by twenty to twelve. Besides those above alluded to, we hear from Mill Hill School that "the principal reason why the subject has not been brought forward, has been the fear lest the feeling should be too much in favour of the motion," but a motion is at present pending "that the Colonies must be united to England by firmer bonds with every year." As before stated, a debate will also probably be held at Charterhouse next term: and the same intelligence is received from Bristol.

(b) The subject (in various forms) has been proposed for prize essays, poems, etc., at the undermentioned schools:—Bedford, Blackheath, Canterbury, Fettes College (Edinburgh), Haileybury, Harrow, Malvern, Merchant Taylors', and Wellington. In the first three cases it was set for an English essay. In the fourth it was proposed for a Latin essay in the following terms:—*Possintne Coloniae Britannica ita federe coniungi ut pari jure in unum imperium coalescant*, a very clear and comprehensive statement of the problem to be solved. "Greater Britain" (*Toto diversos orbe Britannos*) was the theme which kindled the annual muse of Haileybury this summer. At Harrow and Malvern "Imperial Federation" was the subject of Latin and English essays respectively in 1886. It also inspired an English essayist at Wellington; while "The Future of the English Colonies" was similarly discussed this year at Merchant Taylors'. The head master at Ipswich "would feel inclined to propose" it for English essay next year.

(c) The lectures at Eton, Marlborough, and Clifton have already been mentioned, as well as that to be given at Uppingham next autumn. From Stratford-on-Avon the head master writes, "If the Imperial Federation League are prepared to give a lecture on the subject, or to offer a prize for competition here, I shall be most happy to offer every facility for doing so." At the City of London School the captain gave a declamation on "Imperial Federation" before the sixth form last Easter. At Glenalmond the question "has been brought before the notice of some of the boys in the course of the regular instruction in contemporary history;" while the head master of Kensington says, "For the last half-year I have been teaching in the spirit of a member of the Federation League." At Bedford the head master has from time to time drawn attention to the subject; Mr. Froude's "Oceana" has been set for a holiday task, and copies of "Fifty Years' Progress" distributed.

Perhaps the most striking event that has come before our notice in this connection during the past year was the performance at Uppingham, in June and again in July, of a cantata in honour of Her Majesty's Jubilee, entitled "The Ocean Throne." This beautiful work, written by the Rev. J. H. Skrine, admirably set to music by Mr. P. David (both masters at the school), and as admirably rendered by the school choir and an excellent orchestra, breathed throughout the very essence of the aims and aspirations of the Imperial Federation League, and might be taken as the battle-song of our crusade. We wish that it could be published (it is at present only privately obtainable) and sung by all the schoolboys in the British Isles.

From the foregoing analysis of the replies sent in to the circular it will be seen that in many places and in unexpected ways the idea of Federation is beginning to germinate; but on the other hand it should be remembered that out of eighty schools addressed, forty-two made no response at all, while twenty confessed to being unfamiliar with the problem and its conditions. Considering the immense and growing importance of the question to us as a nation, such a state of things, if extremely characteristic, is highly culpable: and it behoves us, as members of the League, to lose no time in putting an end to it. There is much to do, and all can bear a part in the work. Lectures must be arranged, debates organised, prizes offered, information circulated. We have no longer the excuse of want of knowledge as to the needs of the schools in the matter, and we have the inestimable encouragement that is to be derived from the consciousness of past success and the hope of ultimate triumph. H. F. WILSON.

SOME VARIETIES OF OPINION CONCERNING THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

THE publication of the Colonial Conference blue book has called forth leading articles from most of the London papers. The *Echo* says that "perhaps the most significant fact in connection with the Conference is that no mention whatever was made of the question of Imperial Federation." As the subject was deliberately (and in our opinion most wisely) ruled to be outside the business of the Conference, perhaps the omission is not so very remarkable after all. The *Weekly Dispatch* considers that "the Conference did nothing practical beyond inducing the Government to take steps for fortifying certain strategic positions at the Cape and in Australia, and for otherwise providing facilities for enabling the colonists to defend themselves, and thus to become independent of the Mother Country at the first provocation." Be it so, but will the ability to secede naturally generate the wish to do so? Do we find, in fact, that the father who keeps his grown-up son in a state of dependence is on better terms with him than the man who is ready to give him the portion of goods that falleth to him? Even if such a son goes into a far country, are all family ties necessarily at an end with him? "The report of the proceedings of the Colonial Conference is (we are told) a curious satire upon the grandiloquent manifestoes of the Imperial Federation people." We can only trust that a second book of the satires may be published very shortly.

The *Daily News* writes in a different strain and believes that the report "will strengthen the tie of interest and the tie of sympathy, the last perhaps mainly through the instrumentality of the first. . . . The discussions relate to subjects of the greatest importance, and testify to the immense strides made during the past few years in the federation of sympathies between the Colonies and the Mother Country. . . . If the Mother Country and the Colonies and the dependencies thereof continue to feel towards each other as their representatives have felt during these discussions, we need have no fear for the future of the Empire or for the future of the race." We trust that our readers will study the report for themselves. They will then be able to decide whether the *Daily News* or the *Echo* gives the more accurate representation of the tone of its contents. The latter paper declares "the delegates are excellent men of business, with whom sentiment has very little influence." And again: "It is useless to shirk the fact that there is not the slightest evidence in any one of the discussions of a willingness on the part of the Colonial delegates to make any sacrifice either material or sentimental to the cause of closer union." This is entirely untrue.

At the same time with the London newspapers commenting on the Conference blue book, we have received from the other side of the world various comments on the Conference itself. Among these, as to one who, though an honoured and a welcome guest, is yet a stranger in the house, we assign the first place to the *San Francisco News Letter*. In a leading article headed "A Great Conference," that journal says:—"The Conference between Home ministers and Colonial delegates, which has been in session in London for some weeks past, is in many respects the most important assemblage the world ever saw. . . . From the north and the south, the east and the west, men have gathered who are engaged in building up great States. . . . They represent a population of over 300,000,000, or nearly one-third of the inhabitants of the entire globe, and that by no means the most insignificant third, either in point of education, civilisation, or wealth-creating capacity. These representatives have met in conference to devise ways and means by which more completely to consolidate the whole Empire. They are agreed upon their purpose, though there may be differences of opinion as to the best means of providing it; and a more hard-headed, practical, and yet enthusiastic congregation of experienced men it would be difficult to imagine." "The way (continues the *News Letter*) generally to build up the moral and material, as well as the sentimental ties, that should bind the whole together, has been discussed in a manner worthy of such a Conference of Imperial statesmen." The article then quotes figures of which we can only mention these: Of the merchant steamers capable of making fourteen knots an hour and upwards 95 per cent. are owned, and the whole

have been built within the Empire. Of the 107,000 miles of submarine cable in the world, 100,000 are under British control. It concludes: "Such a showing is a curious commentary upon the *New York Herald*, and other telegrams which daily endeavour to educate the people of this country with the vain belief that the decadence of the British Empire has set in, and that it is only a question of time when 'the whole rotten shebang' will cease to interest the living world except as the ghost of a dead past."

Crossing the Pacific from San Francisco to Sydney—a route that we are ungenerous enough to hope our British mails will not take much longer—our ideal meets with a welcome of a very different kind at the hands of a correspondent of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*. The writer congratulates the editor that he has been foremost in the fight against the baneful influence of the Federation idea. When, however, we realise what Mr. Hogan understands by Imperial Federation, we are not surprised at the warmth of his opposition. This poor little island of ours, with the aid of a huge standing army of no less than 35,000 men, maintained by a grinding taxation of 10s. per head, under the command of governors who will be "fitting agents to enforce throughout the Colonies the wishes of the Imperial Government," is on the eve of subjecting the Continent of Australia to a relentless despotism! "For Australia it will simply amount to our ruin, extreme as Poland, more degrading than Ireland a thousand-fold." Poor Mr. Hogan! no wonder so terrible a nightmare has troubled his dreams. But we venture to trust that this fearful apparition—the bogey of Downing Street magnified ten times by reflection from the storm-clouds of Mr. Hogan's imagination—has not interfered with the peaceful slumbers of many other citizens of the good city of Sydney.

The *Melbourne Weekly Times*, which describes the Colonies as "rich and powerful communities peopled by millions of men and women more English than Englishmen themselves," strikes a different key when it declares that "a Conference, the grandest the world has ever seen, is being held in the world's capital, London, to discover how best to cement the friendship between Britons and their countrymen beyond the seas." "A magnificent Empire!" it exclaims. "A powerful combination of prosperous states. Disintegrate them and they become a congregation of atoms; weld them and they form an all-prevailing Empire, whether the duty be war or peace." The writer continues, "defence and customs are well within the sphere of practical politics," "the Colonies must be prepared to make sacrifices to the Imperial weal, if the union is to hold together;" and he quotes with approval the words of the Victorian Chief Secretary, "Imperial interests must override those that are merely local." After this we are naturally somewhat surprised to read the advice to "discard practical Imperial Federation as a glittering ideal impossible of realisation at present except as far as mutual defence is concerned." But if common defence and customs duties, framed in a spirit of local self-sacrifice for Imperial ends, are not Imperial Federation of the most practical of all kinds, we at least have no idea what these words may mean. Surely like the immortal M. Jourdan, the writer has all this time been talking practical Imperial Federation without knowing it.

The *Hobart Mercury* places us somewhat in a dilemma. It reproaches Englishmen for their "amusing display of ignorance" of all Colonial matters. It warns us "that one minister or half-a-dozen ministers are not the Colony by any means, and often do not represent the Colony on whose behalf they speak at all. . . . Nor must the ministers who attend a Conference be always taken as average samples. . . . they are practically self-appointed." Under these circumstances, though our ignorance of the real drift of Colonial opinion may be amusing, we submit that it is at least excusable. In our perplexity we are constrained to adopt the *Mercury's* advice, and "go where information is to be got, say to the newspaper offices." Here accordingly is the information we have obtained from its unadulterated fount. "We are disposed to say positively that the Colonists are prepared to do whatever is required to bring about a complete Federation of the Empire, always provided it is on equal terms. . . . If the statesmen and people of the Mother Country refuse to recognise the

fact that the Colonies are the equal of the Mother Country, and certainly will be some day her superior, it is idle to talk about Federation." Unless the *Mercury* is prepared to claim representation in the new Federal Parliament either for Australasia's sheep or for its acreage, we feel persuaded that Great Britain will be quite content with its fair numerical proportion of members. "Historic memories," though they may not be effective substitutes for armour-plates, do certainly have a good share in the choice of a capital, but if the majority of members wish to sit elsewhere than under the shadow of the Abbey, it will not be Englishmen who will say them nay. After all "there are difficulties about tariffs now, local jealousies, but these are but foam upon the sea shore; the mighty ocean of feeling, of kindred, of a great ambition lies behind, whose resistless sweep can level all distinctions, and smooth down all difficulties."

THE DEFENSIVE STRENGTH OF THE CANADIAN DOMINION.

WE are apt here in England to look upon the position of Canada, with her thousands of miles of frontier exposed at every point to the attack of her immeasurably more powerful neighbour, as a distinctly weak one. Such is not the view taken by Canadians themselves, if we may judge by a recent article of Mr. Gordon Brown's in the *Week*. Canada, in his opinion, occupies on the whole a stronger position than Australia. "Although," writes Mr. Brown, "we have one near neighbour much more powerful than us, we do not fear her. We have faith in her respect for the independence of other nations, her sense of right, her Christianity." Not that as a matter of fact the Canadians are inclined to rely wholly on forbearance, even on the part of their kinsfolk and neighbours. At the present moment, as we point out elsewhere, they have determined on the construction of a canal which will permit of the passage of their vessels from Lake Superior to the lower lakes, without entering American territory. And this step is avowedly undertaken quite as much for military as for commercial reasons.

"Against maritime attack on the Atlantic coast Canada is protected by the proximity of Britain, and the consequent promptitude with which cruisers could be sent to her aid on the outbreak of war. St. John, Halifax, and Charlottetown must, however, be protected by forts. Something has been done already, and more may be necessary." We confess to a feeling that too much reliance ought not to be placed on Britain having any very large supply of spare cruisers on hand immediately after the outbreak of hostilities. It is of course true, however, that the North Atlantic lies within a comparatively small compass, and that between English ports, and Bermuda and Halifax, it ought to be possible to maintain an efficient system of patrol, so that no hostile cruiser could escape to prey on our commerce, or to attack Canadian towns. At the same time, we should be glad to hear not only that forts were necessary, but that they had been already constructed. "Something has been done already" is too much like the formulæ to which we have been accustomed in the past. Something, no doubt, was done when the fortifications were built at Aden, and the guns to man them were dropped into the mud of Bombay Harbour, but the "something" was hardly sufficient to carry out an effective scheme of defensive policy.

On the Pacific coast the protection at present is, Mr. Gordon Brown admits, of a somewhat negative character. "We have no towns likely to excite the cupidity of an enemy. The port of Esquimaux must be guarded, but it is the summer station and repairing place of the Imperial North Pacific fleet, and protection for it is as much a British as a Canadian question." Still it is something if the Canadians realise that fortifications are needed, and that even half the responsibility of providing them rests on their shoulders. The energy of the Colonial nature will, we trust, cause our own War Office to carry out the other half of the task in a less leisurely manner than it would be likely to do if the matter were left to its undivided control. As against an European foe there is no doubt that Canada has one protection that is not available to the Australian Colonies. No European power could effect a landing on the American Continent, or attempt a permanent occupation, without exposing itself to the unconcealed ill-will if not to the

actual opposition of the United States. But it does not become the British Empire to trust for protection to outside assistance, even though it be that of our American cousins. We hope, moreover, that those Canadians who agree with Mr. Brown in looking for salvation to Great Britain in time of danger, will perceive the importance of consolidating the whole Empire for defensive purposes before it is too late.

A DISTINGUISHED CONVERT.

Now that Mr. Goldwin Smith has abandoned the conflict, Mr. Gordon Brown, late editor of the *Toronto Globe*, comes forward in the columns of the *Week* to assume the character of Balaam, and unexpectedly and reluctantly to bless the doctrine of Imperial Federation. It is true that he says "the demand for close ties between Britain and her outlying dependencies has found but a feeble echo in the Colonies," but a few lines further on he writes, "the ties between the Mother Country and the Colonies are said to be slender, but a very little examination shows that they are so strong that it is impossible to suggest a method of making them more binding." It is true that he protests his loudest against a proposal (which must therefore, we suppose, have been made by some one), that the present House of Commons, reinforced by a few individuals delegated by the Colonies, should levy the taxation of the entire British Empire. But he notes, and notes with approval, that "in no war in which Britain has been engaged has she failed to receive the moral support of Colonists." In future she might doubtless expect material aid, varying in amount according to circumstances, and "from time to time, as circumstances demanded, arrangements would be made on these points, until precedents would be established having almost the force of law." "Ties of blood and lineage, of religion, of patriotism and of habit," writes Mr. Brown, "are very strong." "If Great Britain and her Colonists can stand together in war and peace, in prosperity and adversity, what power on earth can attack them?" "No one can predict what a day nor an hour may bring forth, but the union of British people all the world over would be vastly beneficial to them and to the world at large, and is worthy of the patriotic efforts of every citizen of Canada. It might not endure for ever, but it would probably last long, and leave a glorious example to the world of wise statesmanship." After this, will any one, will even Mr. Gordon Brown himself, question our right to enrol him as an Imperial Federationist?

We must in fairness confess that there is one point on which Mr. Gordon Brown differs widely—not from ourselves only, but from every one else, as far as we know, who has devoted attention to the subject. He can, he says, "only express his belief that the British Empire may be preserved as it exists at present to the end of time." Yet, even here, the difference is more in words than in anything else, for Mr. Brown, urging that a constitution must broaden down from precedent to precedent, writes as follows:—"A conference now and then on questions as they arise, discussions in British and Colonial Parliaments, and the embodiment of the results in contracts or Acts of Parliament, will in the course of years produce a code, under which all points at present unsettled will be adequately defined." And then Imperial Federation, as we understand it, will in fact have arrived. We shall have agreed to act as an Empire on all matters that are Imperial, and to leave to England or to Canada the management of such affairs as concern those localities only. Mr. Gordon Brown, in fact, admits as fully as we do that we cannot stand still, we must move; and to do so we must set our faces in one direction or the other. Either we must look towards closer union—call it by what name we will—and march in that direction, or we must look in the direction of separation, and turn our steps thither. Thirty years back most people looked towards separation, to-day we have turned our backs on that path, and are walking resolutely in the opposite direction. There is no need for "raw haste, half sister to delay;" the goal is as yet far out of sight, even the path that leads to it is visible but a short distance ahead; enough for us if we are sure that we are moving in the right direction. It is something to know that the course along which Mr. Gordon Brown would fain travel does not diverge so much from ours after all!

THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY A VOLUME OF ESSAYS.¹

ESSAYS recommended for publication by such distinguished authors and critics as Mr. Froude and Professor Seeley would have an undeniable claim to perusal whatever might be the theme discussed; but the volume before us possesses the additional attraction of dealing with a subject peculiarly our own. We refer to the Essays upon Imperial Federation which have been selected from those submitted to the London Chamber of Commerce in the recent prize competition, and published in a cheap and convenient form by Messrs. Sonnenschein.

Our readers will remember the keen interest which was awakened by the competition, partly, no doubt, owing to the value of the prize, but chiefly because of the universal desire to see how far our principles had really permeated the Empire. The failure of the competition to attract a goodly number of entries would have considerably damped our hopes. But when we heard that over one hundred essays had been sent in, we felt that here, at all events, was proof positive of the firm root our cause had taken in the minds of thoughtful people. Until, however, the award was published, we could not help feeling somewhat anxious as to the merit of the essays: it would have damaged us severely if none of the work had been of a sufficiently high standard to be entitled to the prize. What is the use, our enemies would have asked, of spreading knowledge and information about Federation, if, after all your trouble, no one understands the subject well enough to satisfy the judges? But the result dispelled all misgivings, the prize was awarded, and its recipient was a member of the League; but so conspicuous was the merit of other competitors, that the judges went so far as to recommend no fewer than five for publication in addition to the prize essay. It is sometimes asserted that no one in the Colonies thinks about Federation, yet here we find men from Canada, New Zealand, and Victoria, who have studied the subject to such good purpose, that, in the opinion of Sir Rawson Rawson, Professor Seeley, and Mr. Froude, their views deserve the careful attention of the British public. We hope that they will achieve a full measure of publicity, and we can only regret that Canon Dalton, whose essay was included in the list, has not availed himself of the opportunity to contribute his quota to the volume.

The competition was limited to the discussion of "a practical working plan for the Federation of the Colonies and the Mother Country." By this means theoretical arguments for and against the principle of Federation were excluded, and the London Chamber of Commerce very wisely adopted the idea that, as Federation is inevitable, the question of ways and means is alone worth considering. It is, however, a little unfortunate that the competitors, whose essays are before us, have regarded this instruction to produce a "working plan" as equivalent to a demand for a full-blown constitution. For, although it is apparent that a stage must eventually be reached when some form of Imperial Parliament or Supreme Council will become a necessity, it is equally certain that our immediate object should be to harmonise administration throughout the Empire, before we attempt any reforms in the legislative machinery. While, therefore, no "working plan" of Federation would be complete without providing for the election and proper distribution of representatives of the Federal authority, we regret the tendency to assign undue importance to constitutional changes, at the expense of curtailing the consideration of plans for administrative unity.

These essays take too much for granted; they make no effort to show the varieties of system upon which the public departments of the United Kingdom and the Colonies are conducted; or to face the difficulties in the way of harmonising them. They talk of handing over to "Imperial Authorities" such vast spheres of Governmental influence as "Army and Navy," "Finance," "Posts and Telegraphs,"

"Coinage," "Trade," "Census," &c. &c., as if it were only necessary to appoint a few new functionaries with "Imperial" titles, in order to secure in each case the harmonious action of a dozen differently organised and independent departments. But if, to take a single instance, the military forces throughout the Empire were all organised on one system, the work of federating them would be an accomplished fact; it is in their divergence that our present weakness lies. What we want in a practical working plan is a method of adjusting recognised points of difference which have hitherto defied assimilation, and we fear that the creation of a new Minister of State would not help us much, unless we could at the same time present him with a magician's wand.

A single sentence from Mr. Bradshaw's essay reveals the motive which has influenced each of the contributors to the volume. "The pressing need of union," he says, "lies in the fact that the great Colonies have no means of enforcing their wishes in those truly Imperial concerns which lie outside their own immediate borders." In other words, Mr. Bradshaw and his fellow-essayists are striving for the establishment of an Imperial Parliament or Council in which the Colonies shall be represented; and their efforts are concentrated upon plans for its constitution. We freely assent to the proposition that the Colonies ought to be represented in the councils of the Empire; but this, though true, is not the whole truth. The shadow of representation is useless without substantial identity of interests among the people represented. Take the most obvious case of a question of peace or war. Would it be any consolation to Victoria or Canada, when their territories were invaded, to have been represented at the Council which decided upon war, if their own representatives had dissented, and the vote been carried against them by a majority? Upon such questions, something more than a majority, something more nearly approaching a unanimous decision is requisite. But this unanimity can only be obtained when a whole nation, or every part of a scattered Empire, has the same interests at stake, and appoints their representatives in the same spirit.

This is the reason why we aim first at identification of interests, and secondarily at constitutional readjustment. Before we can shape the metal, we must find a flux for the ore; before we can hammer out a constitution, we must bring the materials into unison. It is by conducting business on similar principles, administering public departments on similar lines, and organising common action wherever practicable, that identity of interests can be gradually promoted, and in process of time, established. A blow struck at the trade or the credit or the public services of the Empire, by enemies from without or within, will then reverberate with undiminished volume as an insult or an injury through every portion of it; and then we may safely consider the appointment of representatives to a Supreme Council, without risk of finding its usefulness impaired by diversity of opinions concerning a common policy for the common weal.

THE "MELBOURNE ARGUS" ON THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE.

We are often asked for proof of our contention that the Colonies are strongly opposed to the disintegration of the Empire, and ready to join in any scheme for promoting its unity. The powerful speeches at the banquet given by the Melbourne branch to Lord Brassey are in themselves sufficient evidence, but probably no words of an individual, even though a Minister of State, represent a larger section of the community than that prominent organ the *Melbourne Argus*. We therefore reproduce a weighty article, which may be taken as expressing the real public opinion of Victoria upon the subject of Federation. We venture to say that even our most enthusiastic adherents in this country will derive fresh encouragement and support from the hopeful and friendly tone adopted by our contemporaries.

"The visit of Lord Brassey, the hon. treasurer of the Imperial Federation League, afforded the Melbourne branch of the organisation a legitimate opportunity for a public demonstration. The dinner was well attended by men of mark in the community, and it must be pleasant to the promoters of the

¹ "England and Her Colonies." Essays selected for publication by the Judges in the Prize Competition of the London Chamber of Commerce. (One vol., 1s. Sonnenschein.)

movement to find young Australia prominently represented at such a gathering, inasmuch as the issue must ultimately be settled not so much by Colonists from Great Britain, as by men who know Australia only. The League, we may hope, will gather strength from Saturday's exposition of its principles. And perhaps the success of the event will remind its leaders of the experience of similar bodies in Great Britain, that there is no more effectual agency for keeping a movement alive and for binding an association together than the annual dinner—particularly if one or two good speeches are arranged for, and the orators speaking to the minor toasts are not allowed to unexpectedly absorb the time of the evening.

"Lord Brassey's address was well calculated to disarm criticism. What the English advocates of Federation desire, he says, is that the subject shall be thoroughly thought out. What they deprecate above all things is that 'raw haste' which is 'half brother to delay.' This was the tone of all the speakers, including the chairman of the Melbourne branch, Mr. G. D. Carter, and of the Premier, Mr. Gillies, who was present at the dinner not as a member of the League, but as a visitor. Mr. Gillies, indeed, secured warm applause by a sentence in which he stated the real strength of the propaganda. The Federation of the Empire may be difficult, he says, and may be far off, but the movement is a protest 'against the dismemberment of the Empire.' Here we have a reason why the League should receive a large and hearty support, even though, when we come to details of actual Federal schemes, we perceive at once how premature the idea of any formal legislative alliance at present is. It is much to check disintegration, even if we have to admit, with Lord Brassey, that no practicable plan of union as yet presents itself. The idea of the Colonies sending a few members to the House of Commons, who would be without weight or influence, was ridiculed on Saturday. Nor did the suggestion of Sir James MacBain, that the Colonial representatives might enter the House of Lords, meet with general acceptance. The fact is that there can be no effective legislative union until the Colonies are much stronger and much more important than they are to-day, so that they can enter into such a union as equals. When the Federation is complete, there will be of a necessity a Federal Council or a Federal Legislature which will exercise some of the privileges and prerogatives now possessed by the House of Commons. For instance, it will be the body charged with the issues of peace and war. In a paper he has published, Sir Robert Stout contends that the effect of such a Federation will be to withdraw England from her present position as a European power, inasmuch as Canada and Australia are sure to adopt the Washington principle of non-intervention in European politics, and the London journals which have noticed the essay have frankly admitted that such would be the logical result of the system. They find solid comfort, however, in the statement of the New Zealand Premier, that a well-populated Australia joined to England by Federal bonds would make an invasion of India impossible, inasmuch as men and stores could be landed from here in a few days. But to-day England is not ready to subordinate her historic House of Parliament to a new Federal organisation, and the Colonies on their part are not ready to send representatives to a Parliament where they would be out of touch with the general business, and where, numerically, they would be nonentities.

"But the period when an equal union will be possible is approaching rapidly. When the Queen ascended the Throne, the Colonists were as 1 to 13 of the population of the United Kingdom, and to-day they are as 1 to 4, and their growth is becoming more and more rapid. Under such circumstances there is no standing still, no maintaining the relationship of parent and children for ever. When the great territories of Canada and Australia have each, say, their 20,000,000 people, they must be either taken into partnership or they must go, and the patriotic work of Federation Leagues is to block the latter and to prepare the way for the adoption of the former policy. Their work is none the less valuable because much of it is indirect. By keeping the sentiment alive they render it possible for Ministers to-day to attend conferences in London on matters of common interest, and to bring into existence an Australian division of the Imperial fleet. No more practical step towards Imperial Federation has ever been taken than this, and we venture to say that neither the London Conference nor the Australian fleet would have been possible but for the labours of Mr. W. E. Forster and Mr. Stanhope, and such men as they, in putting the idea of Imperial Federation prominently before the community. Their exertions have advanced the cause distinctly. Sir Henry Barkly has declared publicly that when he was starting for Victoria Imperial Ministers made no secret of their expectation that they would not have to appoint another Governor for the Colony. The tale is corroborated by Lord Malmesbury's memoirs, where even Disraeli is represented as grumbling at the Colonies giving so much trouble the one day, when it was sure that they would be away the next. The Liberals had preached the doctrine that the Colonies would necessarily separate and proclaim themselves Republics so persistently that the Conservatives at last accepted that melancholy future as inevitable. We can say that all that is altered now in Great

Britain. Instead of imagining that the Colonial Office will die out, English statesmen are now asking how the Colonial Office can be strengthened by adding to it a Colonial Council. That will probably be the next step in the journey.

"The branch League here has educational work to do also. In particular, it has to break down the hostility occasioned by the idea that Imperial Federation is in antagonism to the Federation of the Colonies. There is no warrant for any such supposition. On the contrary, we would contend that Australia can only enter into the union as a Dominion, as Canada will do. The Dominion Legislatures will be to their respective countries what the present Houses of Parliament are to England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, and the Imperial Council of the Federated Empire will be over all, wielding a material and a moral power which will render the English race supreme in the world. 'By all means,' says a great English writer, 'build your castles in the air, and then put your foundations under them.' The castle has been put before the English people, and every Federation League is at work constructing foundations for the goodly edifice."

THE DEFENCES OF SYDNEY.

ENGLISH seaports, we know, are adequately protected by a sufficient stock of "historic memories," but as our great Australian ports are necessarily somewhat deficient in this protection, it is important to know how far they are furnished with defences of a more material order. Sydney and Melbourne have usually been assumed to be impregnable. A month or two back we quoted the opinion of the *Melbourne Age* as to the position of Melbourne. To-day we produce the testimony of the *Sydney Herald*, the leading New South Wales journal, as to the efficiency of the force for coast defence upon which Sydney relies. Says the *Herald*, speaking of the late Easter encampment:—

The sentry work was a striking example of inefficiency. The cleared ground above the beach at Obelisk Bay, for example, was literally swarming with sentries, conspicuously posted in the open under a bright moon, while the dense cover on their left flank was under no observation whatever. The guard tent at this place had a light in it, and it was therefore not surprising to see a sentry striking matches. The telegraph cable to South Head came over the beach here, but it was not under observation, and might have been cut without the knowledge of the picket posted only a few yards away. The sentry posts did not connect properly with those of the next guard, forming a line across the neck, and it was an easy matter to stalk the sentry and get out of the lines. . . . The condition of things was such as to invite attack, and though the moon was very bright, the Naval Artillery Volunteers could scarcely have failed, had they made a quiet and sudden raid on the camp.

The *Herald* considers it absurd that the coastal services should be expected to undertake duties widely differing "from their essential work." Its suggestion is:—"That a few companies of infantry should in future be encamped here, expressly to take all outside guard and picket duty, and allow the coastal services to devote all their energies to their own special business, instead of being pitchforked from one duty to another, getting a smattering of each and mastering none."

As for the Naval Artillery Volunteers themselves, though they may not have much experience of skirmishing and outpost duty on land—and one hardly sees why this should be expected of them—they at least seem to furnish first-class raw material out of which to make finished man-of-war's men. "They are all," says the *Herald*, "boating men; they know every part of the harbour, and are personally acquainted with most of the indentations on our coast-line between Newcastle and Jervis Bay. The men drill well together, and go through their evolutions with great precision. Many of them are splendid shots, and a fair percentage of the corps have seen some service in the Soudan." The *Herald* notices that "the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteer corps in Great Britain are encouraged by the powers that be" (why, by the way, should not the artillery volunteers of our premier Australian Colony be Royal too?), and suggests that, "if the Government were to hand the *Wolverene* over to the corps (as a permanent training ship), and encourage the young men of the Colony to enrol themselves as volunteers, New South Wales would in a short time possess an efficient and well-trained naval force." Our readers will, we fancy, agree with us in thinking that these demands are neither exacting nor superfluous.

A RETROSPECT.

THE following is the full text of the passage in which the *Times* referred to Imperial Federation, in the "Jubilee Retrospect," that took the place of its usual leading articles on June 21st. Some of our Australian contemporaries who were recently induced to comment upon Federation, by a misleading telegram stating that the *Times* had pronounced it to be a "glittering ideal impossible of realisation," will perhaps be more careful in future in endeavouring to make capital out of necessarily incomplete and imperfect telegraphic summaries, which are often contradicted when the full reports come to hand.

In external, or what we may call Imperial, as distinguished from national affairs, expansion is again the dominant and formative agency. Our Colonies have increased in territorial extent, but much more markedly in population and resources. The white population of the North American Colonies has quadrupled since the beginning of Her Majesty's reign; that of Australasia has been multiplied by twenty-five. In South Africa the area of British territory has been more than doubled. The total value of the export and import trade of the Colonies was about fifty-five millions; it now amounts to considerably over four hundred millions. Self-government, more or less complete, has been introduced almost everywhere. During the early years of the reign it was thought impossible that the Colonies could be retained in the Empire, and a powerful school of politicians went so far as to make their separation an object to be distinctly aimed at. But in more recent times, owing to causes among which must be reckoned the increased interest of the mass of the population in political affairs, the current of thought and feeling has been completely reversed: Imperial Federation is universally recognised as a thing desirable in itself and not impossible of realisation at some future day, while a practical beginning has been made by the establishment of arrangements for mutual defence of a kind totally new in Colonial history. Our Indian Empire has been enlarged since the accession of the Queen by the addition of the Punjab and Burmah, besides other practical extensions of authority by administrative changes. Its gross revenue has risen from about twenty-two millions sterling to nearly seventy-one millions, and its external trade from twenty-one to something approaching one hundred and sixty millions. The revolt of the Sepoys in 1857 led to the transfer of the Government from the East Indian Company to the Crown, and in 1876 the Queen, by the advice of Mr. Disraeli, assumed the title of Empress of India. Roads, railways, canals, irrigation works, and lucrative industries, have enormously increased the resources of the country, and, in conjunction with the order and security of British rule, have led to an increase of population that must tax the statesmanship of the future.

"GREATER BRITAIN:"

A Song for the United Empire.

THROUGH the ages she hath risen,
Ever mounting in her might,
While the gracious steps of freedom
Mark her progress toward the height.

Small the bound of her dominion,
When she leapt from out the wave,
But the daring of her children
Swelled the dower that Nature gave.

She hath burst her island-limit,
She hath wandered wide and free,
And her billowed streets lead onward
To fair cities o'er the sea.

Towards the stately wharves of Sydney
Swiftly glides the crowded deck;
Busy beats the pulse of London
Through the marts of far Quebec.

O'er the plains of rich Guiana
Britain's banner floats serene,
And the sunny Cape re-echoes
With the chant, "God save the Queen."

May the golden bonds of fealty
Knit our land from sea to sea,
And our England, widely scattered,
Still United England be.

May the mystic threads of union
Tight through all her realms be spun,
Though the ocean waves divide her,
Heaven keep our England one!

OSCAR BOULTON.

A PAN-BRITANNIC CUSTOMS UNION.

IN the June number of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* I find the remark that "The question of a commercial union of the Empire is one that cannot much longer be kept in the background." Believing this view to be correct, I would crave space for a few words on the subject. There are many influences at work tending to bring this question quickly to the front; but what seems to me the most powerful of all is scarcely even noticed; and that is the fact that a continuance of English commerce in the same course as it has pursued since 1872 must, within a few years, render Free Trade impracticable in England.

THE PROSPECT IN 1872.

Having given utterance to opinions which Englishmen usually regard as something like political blasphemy, I suppose that I must hasten with my defence if I would secure a perusal of it. My position is very simple. It is the fact that certain changes in trade, which fifteen years ago I pointed out as possible, have to-day become highly probable. When advocating Imperial Federation in the pages of "*A Colonist on the Colonial Question*," I wrote as follows:—

"England now exports manufactured goods cheaper than other nations; but is she sure of being able to continue to do so? and if her ability to do so should fail, could she continue to practise a Free Trade policy? We think not. . . . England now imports breadstuffs and raw material for manufacturing purposes, and pays for them by exporting manufactured goods. . . . But supposing that foreign markets should become the cheapest for manufactured goods as well as for breadstuffs, how would the case then stand? Supposing that Belgium could supply hardware, France cotton goods, and Germany woollen goods cheaper than they could be manufactured in England, would it suit her then to abandon the manufacture of these goods and follow the policy of 'buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest' by importing manufactured goods as well as breadstuffs? Whatever reply some enthusiastic Free Trader may make, it is certain that this could not be done. The agricultural community might, indeed, prefer to buy cheap foreign, rather than dear English, goods, and be willing to export their produce in payment, but they certainly could not be allowed to do so. All the grain which they raise, and a great deal more, is consumed in England; consequently, if any of it were to be exported in the absence of foreign receipts, a large part of the consumers would be involved in starvation, and the manufacturing population thrown out of employment from the loss of both foreign and home markets. Therefore, in the event of foreign markets becoming cheaper than those of England for manufactured goods, England would be forced to abandon Free Trade and close her ports against foreign manufactures, or else see her people not only without the means of purchasing food, but also without food to purchase. But even a less improvement in the arts of manufacturing on the part of foreigners than that requisite to enable them to undersell English goods at home would suffice to destroy Free Trade in England. Let them improve only so much as to be able to dispense with English imports and Free Trade is ruined. For although they might be willing to export to England the goods which she now imports from them, and she willing to receive their exports, she would be unable to do so, because to buy anything we must be able to pay for it, and if foreigners could buy cheaper at home those goods which they now import from England they would not buy from her, and England, having lost the means of paying for the goods which she now obtains from foreigners, would be unable to obtain them. In either of these cases the only manner in which England could procure a supply of those goods which are essential to her existence—breadstuffs and raw material for manufacturing purposes—would be by entering into treaties with other countries, granting them an advantage in her markets on condition of receiving a like advantage in their own. This she might do with the Colonies, and with them only, since it is only young countries which can import their manufactured goods and yet find employment for all their people, and because their extent and the variety of their produce would enable them to supply the diversified goods which she would require. This possibility of England being obliged to abandon Free Trade and return to her old commercial policy constitutes, we believe, a valid and practical argument in favour of the retention of the Colonies."

If the possibility constituted a valid argument against disruption in 1872, the probability constitutes a still more valid argument in favour of Customs union in 1887. And this for the following reasons:—

THE DECREASE IN ENGLAND'S FOREIGN TRADE.

1. England's trade with the countries which are her competitors in manufacturing industry has been decreasing "by leaps and bounds" since 1872. In that year the value of exports of British and Irish products to Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and the United States was £120,360,000 sterling, and in 1886 it had fallen to £78,460,000, being an aggregate decrease of £41,900,000, or about 35 per cent. This is sufficiently alarming. But if we examine the figures as

compared with the population of the countries, they will seem still more so. Thus, the United States imported at the rate of about £1 per head of their population in 1872, and took probably less than 10s. per head in 1886. Should anybody here hint that the decrease has been in values only I would, in proof of the immense decrease in the consumption of British goods in foreign countries of late years, point to the fact that in 1860 each American consumed about seven yards of English cotton piece goods, but less than one yard in 1886; and that had the States imported these goods as freely in the latter as in the former year, they would then have taken about 385 million yards of them instead of only forty-five million yards, as they actually did.

SEVERE COMPETITION WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

2. But not only do foreigners seem to be displacing English goods in their own markets with the aid of Protectionist duties; they seem also capable of defeating them when competing on equal terms in neutral markets. Exports of British and Irish products to all other foreign countries than the above amounted to £75,341,000 in 1872, but to only £58,490,000 in 1886. Here we have an aggregate decrease of £16,851,000, or 23 per cent. And proof that it is being supplied by increased imports from at least one competing country is to be found in the pages of one of the ablest Free Trade organs in England. The London *Economist*, in its trade supplement for May, shows that sixteen leading importing countries took, in 1875, British goods to the amount of £139,285,000, and German goods to the amount of £78,069,000; while in 1885 their imports of British goods had decreased to £137,243,000, while their imports from Germany had increased to £101,626,000.

INCREASE IN TRADE WITH THE COLONIES.

3. Thus it appears that the total value of exports of British products to all foreign countries has decreased from £195,701,000 in 1872 to £136,950,000 in 1886, an aggregate decrease of £58,751,000, or about 30 per cent. Exports to British possessions in 1872 amounted to £60,556,000; and had they decreased in the same proportion as those to foreign countries, they would have amounted in 1886 to only £42,391,000; and the total value of British exports in the latter year would have been only £179,341,000. But instead of decreasing 30 per cent., Colonial imports of British goods increased about 25 per cent., and reached £75,513,000 in 1886, making the total exports of British goods £212,463,000, or £33,122,000 above what they would have been had Colonial followed in the same path as foreign trade. Can there be any doubt that in default of this increase Fair Trade would have assumed a much more formidable shape than it actually has done?

THE OUTCOME OF CONTINUANCE IN THE SYMPTOMS.

4. But this is not all; while English exports of manufactured goods have been decreasing, English imports of them have been increasing. Mr. Stephen Bourne, in his able work "Trade, Population, and Food," p. 152, estimates the value of imports of foreign manufactured goods in 1867 at about £29,000,000, and in 1872 at about £35,000,000; and according to the trade returns for 1886 as published by the *Economist*, they were in the latter year £53,866,000. Here we have an increase of about 85 per cent. from 1867, and of 54 per cent. from 1872! Let but imports increase, and exports decrease, in the second half of the period from 1872 to 1900, as they have done in the first, and at the close of the century England will be importing foreign manufactured goods to the amount of about £83,000,000, and exporting to foreign countries British products to the amount of only £96,000,000. And should the Colonial have followed the course of foreign trade, the only alleviation of these calamities in the former period will have disappeared!

THE ADVANTAGES OF A CUSTOMS UNION.

It is true that, even under these circumstances, England would not be exactly in the situation suggested in the extract I have quoted above. But she would be sufficiently near it to dictate the necessity of taking precautions against its occurrence. And already we see that foreign nations have undoubtedly improved immensely in manufacturing industry; that they would seem to have definitely adopted Protection; that the Colonies show some inclination to follow them in this policy, Canada to-day even discussing a Customs union with the States; that the population to be fed and employed at home is almost sure to increase, and its increase to augment the difficulty of finding food and employment for it; that knowledge of the fact that *England now imports annually goods to the amount of about £54,000,000, which English labour could supply*, is almost certain to render the majority of the present electorate vehemently Protectionist, and that it can make England Protectionist at pleasure; that the Colonies can supply all the imports needed by the United Kingdom, and can furnish homes for all its surplus population; that the Colonial trade alone has been prosperous during the last fourteen years, and is already more than one-half of that with all the rest of the world; that Imperial Federation is now admitted to have

come definitely "within the range of practical politics;" and that the measure would almost certainly be much more popular in the Colonies with some measure of Protection such as a Customs Union would insure than without it. In view of these facts, I say, may it not be well for England to consider whether, even supposing Customs Union to involve some trifling sacrifices on the part of England during the remainder of the nineteenth century, these would not be amply repaid in the twentieth century by retention of the Colonial trade, and enjoyment of the increased strength springing from being head of a Pan-Britannic Federation? For myself I think that she would be thus repaid even should a Free Trade policy be practicable in the next century. But how can she—permanently and remuneratively—pay for those imports of food and raw materials without which her people must either starve, or be left destitute of the means of employment, otherwise than by exporting manufactured goods? How can she do this without customers? And do not the signs of the times seem to indicate that all save her Colonial customers are deserting her? Will any Free Trader tell me how she can adhere to Free Trade when her manufactured goods are undersold either at home or abroad?

Toronto.

JEHU MATHEWS.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

A LIMITED number of copies of "Fifty Years' Progress," printed on special paper, as presented to Her Majesty the Queen, can now be procured, handsomely bound in cloth boards, gold lettered, with marbled edges, price 2s., postage 6d. Early application to the Secretary is recommended.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN INDEX to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1886 has been compiled, and is now ready for binding with the volume.

LITERATURE.

Gladstone answered and the Irish Question solved by Means of a British Federative Union. By James Morton.

WE have received from the author a pamphlet bearing the above title. "Federation between Great Britain and her Colonies," writes Mr. Morton, "is urgent. A Federation on a commercial basis should at once be made, and delegates sent from the Colonies to assist the Imperial Parliament in elaborating the permanent code of laws." Mr. Morton, so at least we gather from the titles of his previous works, is or has been connected with the scholastic profession, and it is there probably that he has learned to consider human nature somewhat more plastic than politicians and public men are apt to find it. We are happy to agree with Mr. Morton that Federation is urgent, but we hope it will not have to wait till the Imperial Parliament has elaborated "the permanent code of laws." Assuredly, if it does, the first federated New Zealander who comes over here is neither likely to find any ruins of St. Paul's left to sketch, nor even any fragments of London Bridge left to sketch from. For among the items which would have to be included in the permanent code there would be necessary (in the opinion of our author), *inter alia*, "a law to restrict the church to the teaching of religion and Christian morality;" "a law to allot to every household in country districts a larger or smaller portion of land, and some equivalent in towns;" "a law to regulate by statute the price of all kinds of labour;" "a law to assure maintenance to all citizens during famine, want of work, disease, and old age;" and "a law to render justice sure, prompt, and gratuitous." "Such a code of laws would suffice for all time and for all the constituent parts of this great Empire." Mr. Morton goes on to make provision for an efficient military organisation, but surely this is superfluous. If he can not only enact laws abolishing want and injustice, but also secure their due execution, there will assuredly be no need to defend so fortunate an Empire against external foes. Absorbed in the contemplation of a vision so beatific, Germany, France, and Russia will hasten to beat their spears into pruning-hooks, and submissively beg to be admitted as the humblest of appanages to share in the blessings of the Mortonian Constitution.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

SEPTEMBER, 1887.

THE SPIRIT OF UNITY.

THE loyalty displayed by subjects of the Queen in celebration of her Jubilee has been universal throughout the Empire. From the centre to the sea in all the realm of Greater Britain one thought has animated all minds, one sentiment has filled all hearts, of love towards the gracious Lady whose long reign has intensified and deepened the devotion of her people. The perfect unanimity with which the occasion has been seized upon as the signal of world-wide rejoicing is sufficient proof that there exists beneath the chequered surface of the British Empire a homogeneous and all-pervasive groundwork of patriotism. For it is impossible that the enthusiasm can be altogether personal; the number of those who are at any time in their lives in direct communication with royalty is excessively limited; but the multitude of affectionate subjects of Her Majesty is boundless. In the Queen they see the type of the Sovereign power exercised in a manner they understand and approve; and observers who seek a cause for the evident loyalty to the throne of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and Great Britain will find the explanation in the principles of government which the Sovereign represents, and which to our thinking indicate a community of sentiment upon certain vital matters, of hopeful augury for the permanent unification of the Empire.

What is generally spoken of as a personal tie binding the people to their Queen is not in reality identical with the bond of acquaintance that draws friends or relations together; but it is the domestic virtue of which Her Majesty presents so conspicuous an example that evokes the unqualified admiration of her subjects. In her character they see combined the qualities of a good mother, a good wife, and a good friend; the sum of these forms the mainstay of that home life in the family so dear to all Englishmen, while the race is but the counterpart of the family. We believe, therefore, that this deep-rooted affec-

tion for the Royal Lady, existing among millions who have never even seen her face, is the outcome of a reverential feeling towards the visible type of private virtue. With Englishmen, the preservation of family ties and race ties becomes a second nature; they delight to find in their Sovereign a reflection of their own sentiments. It is because these sentiments are co-extensive with our race, that not a single discordant note has spoiled the unanimous chorus of congratulation.

Thoroughly representative of the private lives of her subjects, as they themselves would wish their lives to be, the Queen, in her capacity of constitutional Ruler, likewise personifies certain great principles upon which the whole Empire is agreed. Men see in her a living witness to the Christianity of our race; she is not only the head of the Established Church of England, but also the Defender of the Christian Faith throughout the British Empire; she represents the spirit of tolerant religion, which permits the utmost freedom and variety of worship while knitting us inseparably together under the banner of a common creed. We are proud of our membership in the universal Church of Christ, and we see in the Queen the protector and champion of all Christian congregations, regardless of sectional distinctions.

Of all the features developed in the national character during the last half-century, none has been more marked than a craving for political emancipation, a desire to participate individually in the management of public affairs, and share the responsibilities of power. This desire has been promptly acknowledged and responded to by the Sovereign. In her reign the liberties of the subject have been scrupulously guarded, and her evident wish has been to direct the Imperial policy in accordance with the legitimate demands of the citizens. She has satisfied the aspirations towards self-government of the most distant parts of her realm, without decentralising too fast or too far. Whether we dwell in Canada or Australia or the United Kingdom, there are some matters in which we desire to be left alone, others wherein we feel that we must needs act together; and the unanimous tribute of respectful gratitude recently awarded to Her Majesty, proves the existence of a harmonious sentiment throughout the whole Empire concerning the elementary principles of Government, as well as the correctness with which that sentiment has been interpreted.

And may we not reasonably infer that the reign of a woman for over fifty years is emblematic of a peaceful and honourable nature in the millions beneath her sway? Have not all our hearts been touched by the thought that it was not a King's Jubilee, but a Queen's we were celebrating? Every citizen of the Empire is an advocate of peace, and when he glories in the Victorian age, culminating in 1887, he is emphasizing his satisfaction at the absence of turmoil and dissension which has enabled our Queen's throne to stand inviolate, while many around have fallen. But combined with this love of peace there is another quality foreshadowed in the chivalrous devotion of Britons to their Sovereign; in her cause, and for the defence of her dominions—our own fatherland—we are ready to defy the world in arms, animated by an intensity of single-hearted patriotism, and, if need be, of abounding sacrifice.

There is much for the League to learn from the Jubilee. We have witnessed a marvellous display of unanimous rejoicing throughout the Empire; we have tried to discover the reason of this unanimity in order to enlist the same sentiments in our own cause of Federation. We have found that there are certain principles upon which all are agreed. These are that the claims of family and race should be paramount; that the national life should be fashioned by Christian precepts; that diversity of details and unity of essentials should be stamped upon the Government; and that our policy should be peaceful but unyielding. Not a single dissentient voice has marred the chorus of praise offered by her subjects to a Queen who is the visible embodiment of these principles. If we use them as the foundation stones for the structure of Imperial Federation, our task will be rendered more simple and more certain of success, for the same feelings that prompt us all, with one accord, to pray "God save the Queen," will cause us to exclaim, with one heart and voice, "God save the United Empire!"

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD AND THE COLONIES.

FROM the early days of doubt, disparagement, and half-cynical, half-contemptuous patronage, down to these latter days of recognised position and assured influence, Federationists have persistently maintained an attitude of "cautious advance." Their main anxiety has been to watch, their primary endeavour has been to control and direct, the impetuous zeal of their more ardent disciples. They have felt, and felt truly, that the goal at which they aim will be more surely, and in the long run more rapidly, attained by a game of watching and waiting, rather than by a rush, however strong, however spirited. It has been the policy of the League to avoid anything in the nature of a programme, or at any rate to discourage the formulation of any precise means by which to attain their ultimate ends. This policy has not lacked critics even among sincere well-wishers to the cause. For my own part, I am convinced that the League has chosen wisely. "Take care of the pennies, and the pounds will take care of themselves," is an aphorism of domestic economics not without its application to Imperial politics. Nothing could be conceived more calculated to arouse mistrust and hostility; nothing could in its essence be more foreign to the spirit of English constitutional progress; nothing could be more opposed to the best traditions of English statesmanship, than the premature formulation of any cut and dried scheme of political Federation. It has been wisely urged that in a matter of this kind it is infinitely better to lag slightly behind than to be in advance ever so little of the potent abstraction known as public opinion.

It is far from being the case that Federationists—I had almost said official Federationists—are careless or unmindful of the larger issues involved in their creed. But they insist that these larger issues must be allowed to develop and shape themselves. Federation must be permitted silently, and with as little of observation as may be, to grow, as have grown in the past all those English institutions which have contained in themselves the germs of permanent vitality. None the less, while the "pounds" of political Federation may thus safely be allowed to accumulate unobserved, must the "pennies" be ceaselessly and affectionately piled up. I trust it may not savour of an assumption, begotten, it may be, of the Oxford tendency to regard Oxford as the centre alike of the Empire and the universe, if I am inclined to claim a foremost place among the "pennies" for what I have termed educational Federation.

Since an explanation of the precise methods adopted by Cambridge has been afforded by one to whom they are familiar, I shall avail myself of the permission granted me to deal exclusively with Oxford. No one with the most superficial acquaintance with this University can fail to have been struck by the fact that she is rapidly assuming an Imperial if not a cosmopolitan character. It would puzzle even a professed ethnologist to ascribe with accuracy to their respective nationalities the students whom he might observe during an afternoon's stroll through the streets and gardens of Oxford. Our Indian fellow-subjects, in particular, have in recent years been the objects of solicitude to the University. To the zeal and energy of Sir Monier Williams is due the erection of a handsome building known as the Indian Institute—a focus for all things in Oxford pertaining to our great Dependency. Every year the position of Oriental studies is becoming more and more assured in the University curriculum. Barely a month ago the first-class list for the Final Honour School of Oriental Languages was issued by Professor Max Müller and his colleagues. Taken by themselves these things, and many other things of which these are merely typical, may to the ambitious seem small. In the aggregate they may be, and must be, pregnant of great results: "pennies," it is true, but just the sort of pennies which have the useful knack of accumulating into pounds.

It is, however, more especially with the relations of the University to the Colonial Universities, and with the facilities afforded to individual colonists, that I am invited to deal. This distinction between the attitude of Oxford towards individual colonists and towards the students of

any particular collegiate institution in the Empire must be carefully borne in mind from the outset. As individuals, British subjects, from whatever part of the Empire they may come, are, as they ought to be, on precisely the same footing. Prizes and distinctions of every kind are open to all. The scholarships annually offered by the different Colleges (restricted for the most part to boys under nineteen years of age) may be obtained just as well by a boy from Melbourne or Montreal as by a boy from Winchester or Eton. It is not to be denied, of course, that a boy educated at an English Public School has many advantages over the colonist, more especially in the closer touch maintained by the tutors of his school with the Universities to which they themselves belong. What I desire to make clear is the absence of any statutable disqualification. Nor are the disadvantages of the colonists, at which I have hinted, by any means insuperable. Not a few distinguished examples have demonstrated the contrary. Scholarships and even Fellowships are at this moment held here by men who received their early education beyond the limits of the United Kingdom. And so far as it is permissible to generalise from individuals, Oxford, at any rate, has every reason to hope that the number may be largely and speedily augmented. As regards individual colonists, therefore, there is no distinction drawn. They enjoy no special privileges; they suffer under no disqualification. They matriculate, as Commoners or Scholars; they graduate, in honours or without; they "go down" or remain in residence as Fellows or Lecturers, precisely under the same conditions as British subjects born and educated within the United Kingdom.

Within the last six months a further step towards definite educational Federation has been taken by the University. Notwithstanding repeated assaults upon the position, Oxford still remains true to the principle of making residence an essential qualification for a degree. She refuses to become, as some would have her, merely an examining body. But in spite of the development of the non-collegiate system, and in spite of a general tendency towards greater economy of living, residence in Oxford is still an expensive matter. Consequently, without abandoning the principle, a certain amount of elasticity, yet jealously guarded and defined, has been introduced into the system. Under a statute passed in 1880, certain privileges and limited exemptions in the matter of examinations and residence have been conferred on the students of affiliated colleges. "Any college or institution within the United Kingdom, or in any part of the British dominions, being a place of education in which the majority of the students are of the age of seventeen at least, may be admitted to the privileges of an affiliated college," on certain conditions, of which the most important are: (1) "That its members shall be incorporated by Royal Charter, or that provision shall have been otherwise made for its establishment on a permanent and efficient footing, and for its government;" (2) that it shall allow the University to be represented on its governing body and to take part in its examinations.

The students of any such college obtain two privileges—(1) They are exempted from the primary University examination known as responsions; (2) they are excused one out of three years' residence. In order to secure these privileges, however, such student must (1) have completed a course of three years at least at an affiliated college, and have passed all the examinations connected with that course and approved by the University of Oxford; (2) have obtained honours in the final examination at such affiliated college. Further, the University has enacted that, in order to get an Oxford degree, such students must obtain honours in one of the public examinations of the University. On paper the conditions may seem somewhat rigorous; as a matter of fact, they are such as any student would naturally and in the ordinary course of things fulfil, while the remission of a year's residence is beyond all question a very substantial boon to the class of men who take advantage of it.

It will be observed that any collegiate institution in any part of the British dominions can become an affiliated college. In practice it has been found that the conditions simple enough for colleges in the United Kingdom are not easy of fulfilment for colleges further afield. More than

this, the great Colonial Universities stand on a different footing. They are themselves, in some cases, I believe, the parents of affiliated colleges. They might, therefore, urge with reason that affiliation to an English University, however ancient or respectable, would hardly be consonant with their own dignity. What they desired was Federation rather than Affiliation. The University has not been backward in meeting their wishes. Within the last six months a statute has been approved which will give to the students of any Colonial or Indian University which may be admitted to the privilege rights and exemptions considerably in excess of those enjoyed by the students of affiliated colleges at home. The Colonial Universities will not be technically affiliated; they will not be required to admit a representative of this University on to their governing body; nor will the course of study which they prescribe for their students have to be formally approved by their University. It need hardly be said that no Colonial University would be likely to be admitted to the privilege of "Federation" unless the Oxford Council were satisfied as to the adequacy of the course of study prescribed, and of the examination connected with it, but no formal approval is required. Any student hailing from a University thus admitted "who shall have pursued during two full years the course of study prescribed by such University, and shall have passed all the examinations connected with that course prescribed by the regulation of such University," will enjoy on coming to Oxford precisely the same privileges as the student of an affiliated college. It will be observed that as compared with the latter the period of previous study required from a Colonial student is reduced by one year, and the regulation requiring him to have obtained honours in his previous examination is relaxed. Equally, however, with the affiliated student, he will be required to obtain honours in one of the public examinations of their University.

Briefly and popularly stated, the student of any privileged Colonial University, having completed a two years' course there, can come to Oxford and obtain a degree by two further years of residence here. The minimum period of residence required from our own students is three years; more often than not (in the case of "honour men" almost invariably) the period is extended to four years. Practically, therefore, the Colonial student is placed by this recent statute on the same footing, the only difference being that two of his years will be spent at his original University and two at Oxford.

It would be impossible within the limits of this article to describe in detail the Oxford curriculum. The growing tendency is to permit the greatest possible latitude to individual tastes in the final examination, while maintaining the standard of a good classical education in the earlier ones. But so rapid are the changes, so constant is the "tinkering" which goes on at present in Oxford, that even before these words see the light the regulations to which they refer may be entirely obsolete. Meanwhile, it is a matter for profound congratulation that in the midst of heated controversy at home the University is quietly but decidedly labouring to extend the privileges which she has to offer to the youth of "Greater Britain." The imagination staggers at the thought of the results which may accrue from changes so silent and so simple. With fuller, closer, and clearer mutual knowledge there must come, we are assured, sympathy at once warmer and less ill-directed than of old. In contributing the "pennies" to the Federation movement, Oxford is determined to take her part. Some of her sons may think that in this, as in other matters, the "half is greater than the whole;" but there is at least no room for doubt that she is honestly endeavouring—not, it may be, without shock to prejudices which must be respected even where they cannot be defended—to realise, so far as she can, the idea of an Imperial University.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

PRACTICAL COLONISATION.

WE reported briefly in a former issue that an interesting paper on this subject had been read by Sir Francis de Winton at the Royal Colonial Institute. The paper and the abstract of the discussion which followed its reading have now been published, and though the space at our command makes it impossible for us even to attempt to summarise all that was said, the matter is of such immense importance that we cannot let it pass without a few comments of our own.

At the outset the lecturer insisted strongly on the difference between colonisation and emigration. "Colonisation is one thing; emigration is another." "Emigration is the voluntary movement of individuals from one country to another to meet the varying conditions of life. . . . No laws govern its action." "Colonisation is the removal of families whose correspondence with their environment is in process of decay, and their transplantation by groups into a condition of life where that process of decay may not only be arrested, but turned into growth." Sir Francis went on to complain that "much confusion of idea was prevalent concerning these two branches of economic science." For our part we will confess that we do not think that his definitions will avail to draw a hard and fast line between emigration and colonisation, for the simple but sufficient reason that no such line does in fact exist in practice. No doubt, if Lady Gordon Cathcart or the Duke of Argyll sends an entire crofter township bodily to Canada, that is colonisation. No doubt, if an individual blacksmith or mason determines to take his own passage to Australia and try his fortune there, that is emigration. But what if an East-end society places fifty separate sugar refiners in communication with a dozen different sugar planters in Queensland, and advances some £20 or £30 a head for passage money and outfit? Or what if Miss Ryë and Dr. Barnardo supply Ontario farmers and their wives with hundreds of destitute children as domestic servants or farm labourers? In which category will Sir Francis place efforts like these? We confess to having some sympathy with Mr. Walter Peace, the Emigration Agent for Natal, who, in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, said: "I do not believe in this bugbear of separating the word emigration from colonisation; it is only a fancy; there is nothing in it."

One thing is certain—colonisation, as Sir Francis de Winton understands the word, is a terribly expensive process. It would cost, he calculates, £137 10s. to settle a family of five persons in Canada. In Australia, therefore, it would cost somewhere about £200 per family. Put in another way, a company with a capital of half a million, assisted by a Government guarantee of 3 per cent., would only be able to establish 15,000 souls in the Colonies as the result of four years' work. But at present 200,000 emigrants at least leave our shores annually. It is evident, therefore, that a company dealing with less than 2 per cent. of this number would only be one more agency added to the dozens that already exist. It is obviously not likely that this difficulty will be got over by the increase of the capital of the proposed company from half a million to twenty-five millions sterling. Indeed, as Sir Francis proposes that his scheme shall be managed on a commercial basis, and at the same time only holds out a hope of 4-per-cent. dividends, we confess to feeling grave doubts whether he would ever be able to raise his capital at all. The capitalists who will be attracted by the possibility of 4 per cent., if Highland crofters and East-end "cat's-meat men" turn out all that they are expected to be, are, we fear, scarcely likely to be either a large or a wealthy class.

But the financial side of the proposal is not, to our mind, its only weak point. If a man is to be taken with his family and all his belongings, and transported thousands of miles at the expense of others, furnished with land and stock and money on which to live till he can earn his own maintenance, common prudence will suggest to the lenders that they must pick their recipients from the cream of the classes who have already been trained to agricultural pursuits. Otherwise the land will remain unimproved, the stock will die, the maintenance money will be spent, and where then

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN REVENUE RETURNS.—The South Australian revenue for the past financial year amounted to £1,868,000, being £375,000 below the Treasurer's November estimate. The customs revenue decreased by £102,000, the receipts from land and income taxes by £86,000, and the territorial revenue by £59,000. On the other hand, the railway receipts show an increase of £24,000. The accumulated deficiency is estimated at £1,080,000.

is the security for the lender's capital? But have we any great surplus of intelligent and energetic farm labourers at home at present? Even if we had, how would this scheme benefit the vast majority of our population—the inhabitants of the towns? Again, how are the recipients of this tremendous boon to be selected? On what principle is one out of fifty eager applicants to be taken and the other left? Should we not all be eager to besiege the doors of a society which was prepared to lend us £137 10s., and not begin to ask for repayment till after three years had elapsed? To quote Mr. Peace again, "You will have so many applicants that it will pass the wit of man always to separate the wheat from the chaff."

For our own part, without being enamoured of the theory which would leave everything to individual energy and absolute self-reliance, we cannot but feel that the despised emigration, whose "action is governed by no laws," has much to say for itself after all. A dock labourer who has shown energy and self-restraint by saving a few pounds out of his scanty earnings, is likely to make an admirable emigrant, when a society comes forward and lends him or gives him the amount necessary to complete his passage money. He is not fit, of course, to set up for himself as a ready-made farmer, but he can do a good day's work in a master's service, and save money against the time when he has gained the experience to enable him to start on his own account. Emigration in the past has been discredited by the wholesale shipment of paupers and loafers and ne'er-do-wells. Interested agents, caring for nothing but their own commission from the ship-owners, have allured thousands abroad to places where there was no opening at times that were in every way unfavourable. And yet, in spite of all disadvantages, the mass of emigrants have undeniably succeeded. As long as the population of Great Britain increases at the rate of 300,000 a year, while Western Australia has only 40,000 inhabitants for its million square miles, it will never do for us to confess that Englishmen and Scotchmen cannot push their own way for themselves across the sea, fight their own battles, and put up with the hardships. Where would the British Empire have been to-day, if our ancestors had waited at home till they were assured that some one had gone on in front to remove all possible obstacles from their path? We do not deny that State aid might be reasonably invoked to accelerate the streams that already flow eastwards and westwards in considerable volume from our shores; but there are at least two indispensable conditions attached—one is, that it shall not neutralise or discourage private effort; the other, that it shall not be invoked, with the inevitable accompaniment of a costly machinery for supervision, unless there is a definite prospect of thereby effecting a regular exodus of surplus population upon a scale of Imperial magnitude.

FIFTY YEARS OF COLONIAL POLICY AND PROGRESS.¹

IN these closing years of the nineteenth century when the least imaginative of Englishmen must recognise the immeasurable importance of our Colonial possessions with their population—already equal to that of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales combined—increasing by leaps and bounds, and that rather in a geometrical than in an arithmetical progression, it is difficult for us to conceive how matters looked to our fathers in the year when Queen Victoria came to the throne. To say that the area of the Empire was then computed at 2,000,000 square miles; that to-day it is known to be more than four times that amount; that the total population was 100,000,000, while to-day it is 270,000,000; that the Europeans numbered 2,000,000 against 10,000,000 to-day—all this is to tell but half the tale. For what were the white inhabitants of our Colonies fifty years ago. Australia had indeed a population equal to that of Dundee at the present time, but that population was largely composed of convicts. To-day its popu-

lation is equal to that of all Scotland, and the convicts have disappeared, absorbed in the vast masses of industrious and contented inhabitants. So, too, fifty years ago Canada was mainly peopled by French Catholics, and the Cape by Dutch Boers, races alien to us in blood, and estranged both by political and religious sentiment. Of fellow-countrymen at the Cape we had almost none. In Canada there were indeed some, but a large number of them were paupers, who had been "shovelled" (to use Charles Buller's graphic phrase) out of the workhouses of our great cities. To-day Canada is distinctly Anglo-Saxon, and as loyal as Great Britain itself, while at the Cape, if this consummation has not yet been fully reached, there is every sign that its advent will not much longer be delayed. Need we wonder that to the statesmen of an older generation, who grew up to manhood half a century since, Imperial Federation sounds nothing more than a mere fantastic dream of ingenious politicians. "At the beginning of the reign, there was no prospect of such splendid progress. Then the mention of Australia could be greeted with laughter, and the rebellion in Canada gave opportunity for envenomed discussion, in which separation and coercion were alternately advocated. There were gloomy forebodings as to the future of England; there were many who doubted whether she could maintain her place among the Powers of Europe."

Mr. Ward, from whom we quote, the author of a useful history of the reign of Queen Victoria, divides the half century into two periods of unequal length—the line being drawn through the year 1856. "At that date responsible and representative government had been granted and guaranteed by custom to all the more important colonies." Difficult as we now find it to realise the fact, an historian writing in this very year considered that it must be the aim of statesmanship to "ripen" the colonies for the responsibility of ultimate separation—an "inevitable event" which the *Times* a year or two before had asserted it would be "the merest prudery to blink." Arabia in ancient times was known as "Felix," and in modern Europe Austria in a famous line has arrogated to herself the same proud title. But surely of all countries in the world England has the best claim to the name of Fortunate. We gained possession of one continent and threw it away by obstinate refusal to abide by the principles of our own constitution. Fate, without our knowledge, presented to us a second continent. This time we deliberately tried to rid ourselves of the incubus, as we thought it. We failed, but only because, burden though it was, we refused to take the trouble to thrust the burden off our necks. Had we given a generation back to Colonial matters a tithe of the attention that we devote to them to-day, it cannot be but that we should have succeeded in our purpose, and forced the half-fledged brood to forsake the shelter of the parental nest. We boast ourselves of the triumphs of modern civilisation and talk of steam and the electric telegraph annihilating distance, and bringing Melbourne and Sydney to the door of Downing Street. But we may be thankful that a generation back Downing Street and Sydney were a good many months apart. The cable messages that would have flashed from the Colonial Office, the reports of House of Commons debates that would have appeared in Colonial newspapers, would have done little to kindle the enthusiastic affection for the Mother Country that the Colonies are displaying on all hands to-day.

How the marvellous change from the sentiments of 1856 to those of 1886 came about it is difficult for us, who ourselves must have changed unconsciously with the changing times, rightly to estimate. But those who are still barely middle-aged can remember how when Mr. Gladstone's Government came into office as lately as 1868, it was commonly believed (rightly or wrongly makes no difference to our argument) that they were committed to a policy of Colonial Separation. The historian of the future will trace the birth and the growth of the Imperial idea. It will be his lot to decide how far writers such as Froude and Seeley and Tennyson have been cause and how far effect. But if he finds it difficult to trace back the idea of Greater Britain much behind the middle of the century, we verily believe that to trace beyond its end writers who advocate the policy of a Little England is a task that he will find impossible.

¹ "The Reign of Queen Victoria," edited by T. H. Ward (2 vols., Smith and Elder).

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE following circular was sent out last July to about eighty representative schools in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, with the view of ascertaining to what extent the subject of Imperial Federation had been already ventilated among them:—

DEAR SIR,—I write as a member of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League to make the following inquiries, which I trust you will favour me, as Head of your School, by answering at *your earliest convenience*.

(1) Has the question of Imperial Federation (or of the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country) been discussed by your School Debating Society, and, if so, with what result?

(2) Has this subject been proposed by your School authorities in any form for (a) a Prize Poem, (b) an English Essay, or (c) a Latin Essay?

(3) Has this subject been brought before the notice of the School by a lecture, or in any other way?

For facilitating your reply to these questions a stamped half-sheet is enclosed bearing a lithographed form, which I should be obliged if you would fill in and return to me.—I remain, yours faithfully,

H. F. WILSON.

The Osiers, Chiswick Mall, W., July 11, 1887.

The answers which have been received up to the present date (August 14th) are tabulated below, coming from thirty-five schools in Great Britain and Ireland:—

Name of School.	(1) Debate.	(2) Prize.	(3) Lecture, etc.	Remarks.
Bath (Kg. Edwd's.)	No.	No.	No.	
Bedford (Grammar)	No.	Yes (b). 1887.	No.	Froude's "Oceana" set for holiday task. "Fifty Years' Progress" distributed.
Birkenhead	No.	No.	No.	
Blackheath	No.	Yes (b). 1886.	No.	
Bristol (Grammar)	No.	No.	No.	Will probably be debated next term.
Bury St. Edmund's	No.	No.	No.	
Cambridge (Leys)	No.	No.	No.	
Canterbury (King's)	No.	Yes (b). 1885.	No.	
Christ's Hospital ...	No.	No.	No.	
City of London ...	Yes. 1886.	No.	Yes. 1887.	
Clifton	Yes. 1887.	No.	Yes. 1887.	
Dublin (High) ...	No.	No.	No.	
Edinburgh (Fettes)	No.	Yes (c). 1885.	No.	
Eton	No.	No.	Yes. 1887.	
Glenalmond	No.	No.	No.	Brought forward in course of regular instruction.
Haileybury	No.	Yes (a). 1887.	No.	
Harrow	Yes. 1887.	Yes (c). 1886.	No.	Lecture to be arranged.
Highgate	No.	No.	No.	
Isleworth (International) ...	No.	No.	No.	
Ipswich (Grammar)	No.	No.	No.	Essay may be set next year.
Isle of Man (King William's) ...	No.	No.	No.	
Jersey (Victoria) ...	No.	No.	No.	
Kensington	No.	No.	No.	
Liverpool (Royal Institution) ...	No.	No.	No.	
Malvern	No.	Yes (b). 1886.	No.	
Merchant Taylors'	Yes. 1886.	Yes (b). 1886.	No.	
Mill Hill	No.	No.	No.	Will probably be debated next term.
Portsmouth	Yes. 1885.	No.	No.	
Radley (St. Peter's)	No.	No.	No.	
Repton	No.	No.	No.	
Rugby	Yes. 1886.	No.	No.	
St. Bees (Grammar)	No.	No.	No.	
Stratford-on-Avon..	No.	No.	No.	Would be glad to receive a lecturer or to give prize for essay.
Wellington	Yes. 1883.	Yes (b). 1885.	No.	
York (St. Peter's) ..	No.	No.	No.	

Besides these, we have information from other sources as to the undermentioned:—

Name of School.	Debate.	Prize.	Lecture.	Remarks.
Charterhouse ...	No.	No.	No.	Will probably be debated next term.
Marlborough ...	No.	No.	Yes. 1887.	
Uppingham	No.	No.	No.	Lecture to be given next term.

Forty-two schools have sent in no replies, including the important foundations of Cheltenham, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's, Westminster, and Winchester.

For further details relative to the replies sent in, our readers are referred to an article entitled "Our Crusade among the Public Schools," which will be found on another page of the journal.

Offers of help in lecturing, opening debates, or giving prizes for essays, etc., to be competed for at the various public schools, will be thankfully received at the League's Office, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.

A set of twelve large pictures, illustrative of our Colonial Empire, is in course of preparation by Mr. L. Speed, for use by lecturers.

CASTING IN OUR LOT WITH THE COLONIES.

IN our July number we gave a brief summary of Sir William Fitzherbert's speech at the recent meeting of the Oxford Branch of the Imperial Federation League. But the most valuable portion of his remarks, which the speaker expressly stated had been written down, contrary to his usual practice of dispensing with notes, "because he was unwilling to run the risk of damaging a great cause by perhaps speaking unadvisedly with his lips," was not contained in the report that reached us. We are now enabled to place the full text of the omitted portion before our readers; it is inspiring to see a man of Sir William Fitzherbert's long experience of affairs, so confident that the League has undertaken a work worthy the co-operation of all who love their country; and he could not have shown more clearly his appreciation of the importance of his subject than by adopting the irksome and tedious method of committing his opinions to paper in order to ensure accuracy and deliberation; for every one knows that Sir William is a practised and eloquent speaker, who would only go the length of reading what he had to say when the matter was of exceptional gravity.

The increase and massing of the population of this country, and the ratio of growth of that population, have reached dimensions which constitute a political social problem, which will become very difficult to deal with.

The population of the United Kingdom was 29,000,000 a quarter of a century ago; it is now estimated at 37,000,000.

Your wealth and your facility of transit, aided by your centralising tendencies, are augmenting this congestion.

Instead of dismissing this question as an indefinite one which may, perhaps, some day come to be dealt with, let us examine into it a little more closely. The area of the United Kingdom may be stated at 122,000 square miles. This area you have cultivated, for the most part, as carefully as a garden, and it would not answer to endeavour to raise more food from it. You import, every year, an enormous proportion of the flour and meat you consume. The bulk of these importations come from foreign ports; only a very small proportion from British possessions.

I hold in my hand a return, extracted from the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1886, and furnished to me by my friend, Mr. Price Williams, M.I.C.E. I will not weary you by reading out the details, but they are at the service of any one who may wish to examine them. I will not venture to hint at the particular contingencies which might arise from combinations in the event of war, nor is it necessary to emphasise the figures of this return. They speak plainly enough of the risks to which the supply of your daily food is liable. I will merely summarise:—

69 per cent.	of your imported wheat.
75 "	" " " wheat meal and flour.
98 "	" " " live animals for food.
93 "	" " " preserved and frozen meat.

come from foreign ports; whilst the percentage from British possessions is:—

31 per cent.	of your imported wheat.
51½ "	" " " wheat meal and flour.
1½ "	" " " live animals for food.
7 "	" " " preserved and frozen meat.

I must here caution you against concluding from this statement, which exhibits so insignificant a supply of articles of food from British possessions to the Mother Country, that they are unable to yield a sufficient supply. I have not at my command any figures with regard to other British possessions, but I am able to give a statement on this point with reference to the Colony of New Zealand. Mr. Blair, M.I.C.E., in an address delivered in February last to the Industrial Association of Canterbury, at Christchurch, New Zealand, referred to the rapidity with which its bread-producing resources were developed in New Zealand, and said that "the first direct exportation of wheat to England was only made in 1868, and in 1883 we despatched to various parts of the world an amount equal to the full cargoes of a hundred ships." Mr. Blair referred

at the same time to a statement made by "an eminent English economist, that New Zealand could not grow its own wheat."

But the political-social problem, and that of the safe and sufficient supply of food, grave as they are, are not the only questions which are being forced upon your consideration by the growth and density of your population.

Does the fierce struggle of life, intensified as it is in this country by the pressure of population within a very limited area, tend to promote the happiness and morality of the people? I use these terms in their highest sense. I ask, Is the spirit of independence in the man failing? Are the tender springs of benevolence in the woman drying up under the withering influence of the daily struggle for maintenance for their children, with but little gleam of hope for the future? We have the answer before us in our great metropolis, and in every city, town, and village of this great country of broad human sympathy—where, thank God! great numbers of men and women devote their best energies to helping their suffering fellow-creatures out of the gutter,—and yet everywhere confess and lament that they are unequal to the task.

We will, if you please, turn over the leaf to a pleasanter page. Nations, as well as individuals, have at times to turn over a new leaf. And, depend upon it, this great country is now at a turning point; and the future prosperity of the Empire will greatly depend on the direction taken. You will quite understand that I am referring to the future relations of the Mother Country and the Colonies.

I have exhibited to you a sketch of this country; I invite you to take a view of the Colonies.

In using the term Colonies on this occasion I mean the Colonies of Canada, South Africa, and Australasia, because they are the Colonies more immediately affected by the question of Federation; and although I have no statistics of the area of territory and number of the population with regard to South Africa, and am, therefore, unable to produce any, yet you may safely assume that if I had them at command they would strengthen the scope of my statement instead of diminishing it.

We have contrasted the territory and population in the Mother Country, and seen how inadequate the territory is to the population. In the Colonies the reverse is the case; there the population is inadequate to the territory. I place the figures before you:—

AREA AND POPULATION—1885-6.

	Area (square miles).	Population.
Canada	3,406,542	5,000,000
Australia	2,948,470	2,613,881
Tasmania	26,560	133,791
New Zealand	100,000	620,310
Total..	6,481,572	8,367,982

Now, this vast territory, containing six-and-a-half millions of square miles, is not a mere wilderness. Much has been done there, although much remains to be done. There are roads, railways, hospitals, schools, churches, and cities, which would surprise you if you visited them. These countries, which possess good climates, in which the English language is spoken, where your relations live, which enjoy free institutions, and are adopting your habits and customs, lie open to you and invite you to enter into occupation. There is ample scope for work, for enterprise, for creating homes, and there is abundance of wholesome food, while you remain here cramped and cooped up; deprived of many of these advantages and prospects. A heavy responsibility rests in this respect somewhere.

Not only is there an opening for population, but also for the investment of capital. The resources of these countries are vast, and their development in its infancy. If you mean, in reality, to draw closer the ties between the Mother Country and the Colonies, you will identify yourselves with their undertakings and take an active part in administering them.

If, gentlemen, the remarks I have offered for your consideration should have any effect in promoting amongst the inhabitants of the Mother Country an earnest, practical, colonising spirit (by this term I mean a casting in their lot with the Colonies), I shall, I submit, have adopted the surest method to promote the objects of the Imperial Federation League. For, depend upon it, no Federal structure, however beautiful in design and faultless in theory, will prove to be of a lasting character, unless it be steadily reared upon the solid foundation of a common sentiment and common interest.

If a unification be so brought about, the ties of Federation will adjust themselves from time to time, and the power of the British Empire will grow to an extent that we can, perhaps, now scarcely realise, but always in the direction, as I believe, of the civilisation and peace of the world.

FEDERAL DAY.—The economic and political magnitude of the questions ventilated at the Conference, no less than the fair British feeling which appears to have controlled each day's deliberations, must have the undoubted effect of promoting the solidarity of the Empire, and expediting the advent of that Federal Day which will be unique in history, and which is already far more than a dawning dream. "First the bud, and then the flower, and then the fruit." Such is the genesis of all world-movements.—*Illustrated Sydney News.*

THE NEWFOUNDLAND DELEGATE ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

If a delegate may be trusted to express the sentiments of those who give him his commission, the inhabitants of Newfoundland, though they have hitherto stood aloof from union with the Dominion, are not one whit behind the Canadians in their desire for the unity of the Empire as a whole. Sir Ambrose Shea, now Governor of the Bahamas, at a recent dinner of the Constitutional Club, declared that "the Colonies were outgrowing the old conditions, and new methods of relationship had become indispensable." As for the direction in which the new relationship should be developed, Sir Ambrose spoke with no uncertain sound. "It was," he said, "a matter of the highest Imperial importance that the Colonies should be brought into the closest relation with the Mother Country." "The view was ever present to the minds of the delegates that, whatever difficulties arose in the way of agreement on the questions brought before them, these difficulties must be surmounted, for they would not face the alternative of failure." But we will quote no more. The whole speech is so admirable that we feel constrained to transcribe it at full length. In response to the toast of the "British Empire," Sir Ambrose said:—

"The fact that a Colonist was invited to answer for this toast was not wanting in significance. It recognised the issue which the last few weeks had realised in the closer combination of the outlying portions of the Empire with the Mother Country, brought about by the Colonial Conference. There never was a more enlightened movement than the assembling of the Colonial representatives in London. The Colonies were outgrowing the old conditions, and new methods of relationship had become indispensable. It was an act of statesmanlike genius on the part of Mr. Stanhope so wisely to devise the means of meeting the altered circumstances where a limp or incapable policy might have given a false and injurious direction to the current of the future destinies of the Colonies. The happy result of that Conference in uniting the old land and her thriving Colonial possessions was the best commentary on the sagacity that governed this measure.

"The issue was a grave one. It involved in a very great degree the question of the future of the Imperial connection with the Colonies; and this was one of commanding importance when they regarded the magnitude of the interests that had been developed by the growth of the Colonial Empire. That Empire had a trade of over two hundred and fifty millions sterling—a population of fifteen millions—which, in a measurable period of time, would be thirty millions—drawn largely from the unemployed surplus of this country, and thus converting a source of trouble into one of great advantage to the Mother Country, and making the emigrants in their improved condition contributors to the increase of British and Colonial trade. In view of such interests was it not a matter of the highest Imperial consequence that they should be brought into the closest relation with the Mother Country, and while a mistaken policy at the present time might have led to other results, the wise statesmanship that saw the efficacy of a Round Table Conference in explaining facts and circumstances, and removing misapprehensions, led to the all-important result of merging all minor sectional differences, and producing a broad national sentiment, which accepts the view of a common Imperial interest, in which Great Britain and the Colonies are identified, and for which they have formulated a well-devised plan of co-operative defence? He knew statistics, as a rule, are not most acceptable topics at a dinner-table, but he felt he might safely assume that at the present time they would not weary with some interesting records of what the Colonies were doing in the way of advancement, and as indications of their resources and advanced prosperity. They have borrowed about two hundred millions from English capitalists, and he asserted with confidence that no investment rested on a sounder or safer basis. The Australian Colonies owed one hundred and forty millions of this amount. In Canada they had somewhat similar results, with a prospect that the future would develop even greater and grander consequences of a bold and statesmanlike policy. The increase of her debt was from fifteen millions sterling in 1867 to forty-five millions in 1886, while such was the faith of the financial interest of London in the integrity of the investments and the assured progress of the country resulting from the railway extension, that the credit of Canada never stood so high as at present, her three-and-a-half securities being now at a premium in the stock market. The stability and extent of the resources of the Dominion were never adequately estimated until they were tested by the gigantic undertaking of the Pacific Railway, which was constructed, in half the time contracted for, out of the unaided resources of Canada.

"England owes the Dominion a heavy obligation for the addition given to Imperial resources, and consequent strength,

by the establishment of the great highway across the continent, giving her an alternate route to the East, and making her independent of the Suez Canal. Canada had thus immeasurably contributed to the power of the Empire; and how signally were those views answered which spoke of the Colonies as an encumbrance that England would be well rid of. Such were the interests that were now more than ever before an integral part of the Empire; and the view was ever present to the minds of the delegates that, whatever difficulties arose in the way of agreement on the questions brought before them, these difficulties must be surmounted, for they would not face the alternative of failure. It would, they felt, be little short of disastrous if it was seen that the Mother Country and the Colonies were so wanting in the conditions of common aspirations and unity that they were unable to agree as members of the Empire on vital questions of Imperial concern. Such an issue would have gravely affected the estimation and prestige of this country with the nations of the world; but this was not a part the Colonies could ever play. They could not but feel that when the delegates visited Windsor Her Majesty was deeply moved, and that, amid the magnificent and glittering incidents of this jubilee year, when all the pageant was over, and in her moments of quiet contemplation, there would be nothing on which Her Majesty would look back with greater satisfaction than the simple, though pregnant, occasions when the representatives of her millions of subjects from beyond the seas tendered her their loyal reverence and affection, and the assurance that they were indissolubly bound up with the fortunes of the Empire."

HERE AND THERE.

THE British Government have decided for the present to import no more horses for the army from Canada.

BY the completion of the Lachine bridge across the St. Lawrence, the Canadian Pacific Railway obtains access at every season of the year to all ports on the Atlantic.

SIR JOHN BRAND, President of the Orange Free State, is strongly in favour of a railway being built through the country, in extension of the Cape Colony system. He hopes in time to see it connected with the proposed line from Delagoa Bay to the Transvaal.

IT is stated that under the new Australian mail contract, the whole of the mails will be landed at Adelaide for distribution throughout the Colonies of South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales.

THE Cape Parliament has approved the proposal to confer with other States and Colonies in South Africa concerning a Customs Union; the Natal Council has agreed to entertain the question of ceding a share of the Customs to any State which may be prepared to carry forward the Natal Railway from the border.

THE Council of the Royal Colonial Institute have memorialised the Government in favour of the proposed Trans-Pacific mail service: and a resolution on the same subject, signed by over 200 members of Parliament, has been presented by Mr. Baden-Powell, M.P.

THE question of breeding horses for the Indian market is beginning to attract attention in Australia.

WE have received from the composer, Mr. W. H. Long, a spirited song, entitled "Our Colonies," of which both the words and music deserve the favourable notice of members of the League. The composer is his own publisher, at 4, St. Mark's Grove, Fulham Road, S.W.

THE dry dock at Esquimalt has been opened, and was first entered by H.M.S. *Cornorant*. The construction of fortifications will now be actively proceeded with, armaments being furnished by the Imperial Government.

VICTORIA, Queensland, and New Zealand, are, according to Mr. W. L. Jackson, M.P., the only Colonies in which Parliamentary debates are officially reported by the Government. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and South Australia, the work is done by contract at the public cost, while in the Dominion Parliament, Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, The Cape, Tasmania, and New South Wales, the reporting is left to private enterprise.

IN the Natal Legislative Council the cause of responsible government numbers ten adherents, but its opponents have at present a majority of one.

THE Earl of Rosebery, Chairman of the League, is Chairman of the Royal Commission of the Melbourne Exhibition.

THE Premier of Victoria has promised to place £10,000 on the next estimates for an Antarctic Expedition, on condition that the other Colonies will join in the enterprise.

THE next ocean mail contract will be negotiated by the Cape Colony with the Union and Castle Steamship Companies on the basis of a subsidy of £52,000 and a twenty days' passage.

SIR EDWARD WALTER intends to visit Australia, with a view to the establishment of a Corps of Commissionaires in Melbourne and Sydney.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION BY THE MELBOURNE BRANCH.

BANQUET TO LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.

THE PREMIER OF VICTORIA SUPPORTS THE LEAGUE.

A COMPLIMENTARY dinner was tendered to Lord Brassey, K.C.B., the hon. treasurer of the Imperial Federation League, by the members of the Victorian branch of the League, at the Town Hall on Saturday, June 25th. The banquet was laid in the council chamber, and about eighty gentlemen sat down to the tables. The chair was occupied by Mr. G. D. Carter, M.L.A., president of the Victorian branch. On his right were the guests of the evening, the Premier (Mr. Duncan Gillies), and the Postmaster-General of Queensland (Mr. McDonald Paterson), and on his left the Mayor of Melbourne (Councillor Cain), the President of the Legislative Council (Sir James MacBain), Mr. Justice Webb, and Mr. Nicholas Fitzgerald, M.L.C. The company included a large number of other prominent citizens, many of them not being members of the League.

THE CHAIRMAN stated that he had received several letters of apology for non-attendance. The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly expressed his great regret that he was unable to attend owing to ill-health. The Archbishop of Melbourne stated that owing to a previous engagement he could not be present, but conveyed an expression of his full sympathy with the high and statesmanlike object the Imperial Federation League had in view. The Bishop of Melbourne never went out on the day before Sunday. Colonel Disney and Captain Fullarton were prevented from attending owing to the lamented death of Major Ind, whose funeral took place that day. It would be a mark of their sympathy if, under the circumstances, they omitted the toast of the army and navy, which was to have been proposed. (Hear, hear.)

In giving the toast of "The Queen," the CHAIRMAN said that they could not better have given expression to their loyalty to Her Majesty than by meeting to advocate the unity of the Empire over which she reigned. (Cheers.) The assemblage of representative citizens for such a purpose formed a most appropriate conclusion to those rejoicings in which we had so happily shared during the week of Jubilee. It seemed to them to gild the apex of the pyramid of our triumph, and to distinctly mark the summit of our political desires. (Cheers.)

The toast was received with enthusiasm, and a verse of the National Anthem was sung.

THE CHAIRMAN gave the toast of "His Excellency the Governor." He was sure they would all join him in the regret that his Excellency's position appeared to him to prohibit him from accepting their invitation to be present. They would like to have had the company of his Excellency, because they knew that nobody desired more strongly than he did the unity of the empire. (Applause.)

The toast was received with cheers.

THE CHAIRMAN next proposed the toast of "Imperial Federation," coupled with the names of Lord and Lady Brassey. He thanked the Mayor for his kindness in allowing them to hold that meeting in the Town Hall, for which they were very much obliged to him. (Applause.) On behalf of the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League, he thanked Lord Brassey for so cordially accepting their invitation to that banquet. He saw several non-members present. He thanked them for their attendance, and he hoped that they would give in their adherence to the movement. (Applause.) The point to which they had got at present was this, that they desired to see the Empire united as one inseparable whole. (Applause.) It had been said that that was a very foolish position to take up, because if they did not know the road on which they were going to travel, what was the use of wanting to get to the place? Everybody was anxious to get into a happy future state, which was ordinarily called heaven, but they had not yet decided which was the one road that would take them there. They had all their particular ideas on that subject, but if they said that they did not want to go to heaven because they did not know the road they would be regarded as lunatics. As to the reasonableness of this wish, he asked when had the world ever seen an Empire like that of Great Britain? It was not quite so large as the United States as described by an officer at a banquet after a Federal victory, when he said that it was bounded on the north by the *Aurora borealis*, on the south by the eternal precession of the equinoxes, on the east by primeval chaos, and on the west by the Day of Judgment. But when they remembered that the British Empire occupied about one-seventh of the whole surface, and about one-fourth of the entire population of the earth, they would recognise that it was not an unworthy ambition to desire to belong to such an Empire. (Applause.) This Empire had been developed by the enterprise of its people. Great Britain began to colonise only 300 years ago, and now, in the words of Antony to Sextus Pompeius, she commanded the Empire of the seas. It was to be desired that she should retain her position of pre-eminence, but without unity how could she do so? (Applause.) The Colonies had local self-government, and they did not contemplate a unity of the empire which should in any way interfere with that local self-government. (Applause.) We were bound together by the ties of kindred, kith and kin, and he even dared to hope that the view expressed by Mr. James Anthony Froude when he was here would be realised, and that there would eventually be a union of the English-speaking peoples of the world for the purpose of mutual defence. (Applause.) The progress of the Melbourne branch of the Imperial Federation League had not been as satisfactory as they could have wished; but if England were ever in danger, he believed that the enthusiasm of the people would be aroused, and that they would receive abundant support. (Applause.) They had now about 1,000 members. They recently offered a prize for the best essay on Imperial Federation, and it was won by Mr. D'Esterre Taylor, whom he was glad to see present. (Applause.) They also offered prizes to be competed for by state school children, and the master of the

state school at Geelong, which took two of the prizes, had come all the way from Geelong to attend. (Applause.) On behalf of the Victorian branch of the Imperial Federation League, and of the Colony generally, he offered a cordial welcome to Lord Brassey, and trusted that he would carry away with him pleasant recollections of his visit to Victoria. (Cheers.)

LORD BRASSEY, who was received with hearty and continued applause, said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—As the treasurer of the Imperial Federation League established in London, it affords me the greatest pleasure and gratification to be your guest this evening. Our work in the Old Country would be of little value unless it were approved and supported by public opinion in these great and growing Colonies. Speaking on behalf of the Imperial Federation League in London, it is proper that I should say that we have no cut-and-dried plans which we are anxious to put forward. We see the great difficulties which we shall have to contend with in arriving at any solution of the question of Federation; but as with their growth in population, in wealth, and in resources, we anticipate that we shall see more and more displayed a manly and independent resolve on the part of the Colonies, not only to make provision for their own defence, but to share in the responsibility of the defence of the united Empire; and, as with your increased participation in the burdens, you must necessarily receive an increased share in determining the policy of the Empire, we see looming in the not far distant future the necessity for some further approach to a settlement of the problem of Federation. We do not desire a hasty solution. We should deprecate a hasty solution. (Hear, hear.) We believe that probably the wisest solution will be of a gradual and piecemeal character, dealing with circumstances wisely as they arise—(applause)—but for wise action when the necessity arises we wish to pave the way by timely and temperate discussion. (Applause.) Gentlemen, the views of the founders of the Imperial Federation League were very well put in one of his latest speeches by a grand statesman of the old country, Mr. W. E. Forster, the first president of the League. (Applause.) This is what he said:—"The idea of the permanent unity of the realm, the duty of preserving this union, the blessings which this preservation will confer, the danger and loss and disaster which will follow from disunion, are thoughts which possess the minds of Englishmen both here and over the seas. These thoughts are expressing themselves in deeds; let this expression continue; at present it helps our cause far more effectually than any possible scheme." I am not one of those who ever doubted the loyalty of the Colonies to old England—(applause)—and, gentlemen, if any Englishman were in doubt as to the feeling of the Colonies towards the Mother Country, the events of the past week in this noble city of Melbourne would have done much to dispel, and dispel effectually, any doubts in that respect. (Applause.) On Tuesday last, I think it was, we saw your armed forces and militia march past like a wall, to the tune of "The Old Folks at Home." Well, that may be a somewhat homely melody, but it had a touching sentiment to the spectator from the Old Country. (Applause.) And then there followed a ball given at Government House, an entertainment the splendour of which could hardly have been exceeded in any capital in Europe. (Applause.) That entertainment owed its character not merely to the graceful hospitality of the host and hostess on the occasion, but to the eager desire of those who were present to seize the occasion for showing that along with their pleasure there was an undying sentiment of attachment to the Queen, in whose honour and in whose name that ball was given. (Loud applause.) On the following day, the hall of your Parliament Buildings, which by the beauty of their design and the amplitude of their proportions express your greatness in the present and anticipate your growth in the future, was dedicated, with a generous spirit of loyalty, to the name of the Queen. On the evening of the same day we attended a concert of colossal proportions, in which on four several and separate occasions the National Anthem was sung, and on each occasion with increasing fervour. On the following day 30,000 children were brought together, trained to utter the sentiments of their parents in that National Anthem which they sung so well; and in journeying in some of the remoter parts of this Colony it was touching to hear the same anthem sung at every opportunity by the little children, who are thus early trained in this sentiment of loyalty. But, gentlemen, if we pass from these momentary incidents of the week to circumstances of a more permanent and perhaps more serious character, what are the conclusions which an intelligent traveller from the Old Country may draw with reference to the ties which bind the Colonies to the Mother Country? If he looks at your society, and your family life, he finds the same manners, the same habits, the same ways of viewing circumstances and things. Your English tastes are shown in the houses which you build, the clothes which you wear, the food which you eat, and the goods you buy. The national character of the Anglo-Saxon race is shown as strongly here as in the Mother Country in your spirited devotion to many sports and pastimes; and when we think of the other ties that bind us—a common faith, a common literature, the same dear mother tongue—it seems to me that scarcely any other conclusion can be drawn by the intelligent traveller than this—that the ties which bind the Colonies to the Mother Country are stronger than those which any legislature or any statesmanship could contrive, and that they are inherent in the innermost life of the people. (Loud applause.) Gentlemen, you may call the union which binds us an Empire, you may call it a Federation, you may call it an offensive and defensive alliance of the closest kind—you may call it what you will—the name is of a subordinate consequence while mutual sympathy and sentiment retain that binding force which, as we have seen in this Jubilee week, you are all so generously prepared to encourage in regard to your relations with the Old Country. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, perhaps I may say a few words on this occasion with reference to the mutual advantages which are afforded by our remaining together as members of a united Empire. There was a time when the connection was less valued than it is at present, at any rate by some of the eminent statesmen of the Old Country. Since the days of which

I speak great changes have taken place. The map of Europe has been reconstructed on the principle of the recognition of nationalities. The Germans have made themselves into a nation; the Italians have made themselves into a nation; and our tight little island is small indeed in area in comparison with the great territories of Continental Europe. It is small in area, but if we and the children descended from us—these great English-speaking nations which have overspread the world—remain united together, we then are the first of the nationalities of Europe. (Applause.) I think there are some indications that the maintenance of the unity of the British Empire may be less difficult than might perhaps in former days have been anticipated. Science has done much to shorten distances; it has given us the electric telegraph, an improved steam-ship service, and the railways. And then, gentlemen, as the Colonies grow in importance, it must almost necessarily follow that the Imperial policy will be concentrated more and more upon objects which are common to the Colonies and to the Mother Country. The foreign policy will be directed to the maintenance in security of the communications between the Mother Country and the Colonies, as an object which is of common interest to yourselves and to ourselves. (Applause.) And then looking forward to a not very distant time, it is evident that your growth in population and power will be such that you will have a dominant influence in the waters adjacent to your own shores. With your growth in trade your relations with India will become closer and closer, and you will be in a position not less strong than that occupied by the Mother Country, and your interest will be as great as that of the Mother Country, perhaps, in preventing the hoisting of any flag hostile to your own upon the portals of India. (Applause.) I believe that all the countries that are now parts of the British Empire will hold together, because I believe that it will be for their advantage to do so. Looking at it from the point of view of a citizen of the Old Country, have we not found in the recent movements of commerce a stronger and stronger illustration of the maxim that trade follows the flag? While other branches of our foreign trade have been languishing, the trade with the Colonies has remained flourishing and elastic. (Applause.) And looking at it from your point of view there are some considerations which are obvious. We lend you our capital on much easier terms than we would ask from you if you were under a foreign flag, and we hold before you in your external relations, the shield of a great Empire. (Applause.) The advantages of the present arrangement from a Colonial point of view were happily put a short time ago in a speech from Sir John Macdonald, from which I will ask leave to quote two or three sentences. Speaking at Montreal, he said:—

"We want no independence in this country, except the independence that we have at this moment. What country in the world is more independent than we are? We have perfect independence; we have a Sovereign who allows us to do as we please. We have an Imperial Government that casts on ourselves the responsibilities as well as the privileges of self-government. We may govern ourselves as we please; we may misgovern ourselves as we please. We put a tax on the industries of our fellow subjects in England, Ireland, and Scotland. If we are attacked, if our shores are assailed, the mighty powers of England on land and sea are used in our defence."

Well, I dare say there are some who think that the union of the Empire cannot be maintained because it is difficult to reconcile the impetuosity of youth with the prudence of old age. (Laughter.) They think that you may be inclined to make a rush for an object in the impetuosity of youth, and that you will resent the perhaps excessive prudence with which the Mother Country holds you back. Well, now, gentlemen, I venture to say that upon a wise view of it, we find, as we recognise the characteristic qualities—each quality having, of course, its corresponding defect—of youth and age, one reason more why it may be prudent for you, who are young, to remain in one common bond with the more aged Mother Country. (Laughter.) Now the father of the philosophy of history, Thucydides, has put into the words of an orator, Alcibiades, a view of this subject which seems to me to contain a great truth. This is what he makes the orator say:—"Consider that youth and age have no power unless united; but that levity, sobriety, and deliberate judgment, when duly combined, are likely to be most efficient." I hope that that philosophic view of the great Greek writer will be illustrated now by the wise policy with which the affairs of the British Empire may be conducted by the mutual and combined influence of the young Colonies and of the dear old Mother Land. (Applause.) Gentlemen,—I feel deeply grateful to you for having invited me to be your guest on this occasion, and I most particularly appreciate the presence of so many eminent men at your table. Believe me, I do not for one moment suppose that they have assembled here merely to pay a compliment to me as an unworthy individual. They have come here in order to express the deep interest they feel in the important question upon which the Imperial Federation League is engaged. Gentlemen,—I can assure you of this, that I shall go back to Old England deeply touched by the love which I have seen the people of these Colonies show to that Mother Country, that dear Old England, whose greatest pride it is to have been the mother of mighty nations. (Applause.) I cannot sit down without acknowledging on behalf of Lady Brassey the kindness which you have shown in the mention of her name. I shall be a faithful reporter of your proceedings to my dear wife, and I am sure she will greatly appreciate the kind reception given to her name. (Loud applause.)

THE MAYOR OF MELBOURNE proposed the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers in Victoria." They were not there that evening to charge the Ministry with acts either of omission or commission, but to do honour to their distinguished guest, Lord Brassey, and to hear from his lips the opinions of himself and of the Imperial Federation League on this great question of the Federation of the Empire. What the Premier had heard would no doubt help him at some future day in dealing with these important questions in the Australian Colonies. (Hear, hear.)

MR. GILLIES, who was well received, said:—Mr. Chairman, my Lord Brassey, and Gentlemen,—I came here this evening with the

object of not only paying a compliment to Lord Brassey as a gentleman connected with the Imperial League in London, but also with the intention of indicating my adherence to the great sentiment which that League was inaugurated to advance. (Applause.) I confess that after hearing the remarkably able statement of Lord Brassey, delivered in a quiet and singularly eloquent manner, I have come to the conclusion that if all the gentlemen in London who are connected with that League are imbued with exactly the same sentiments, and with the same spirit and the same wise moderation, that League, if it be possible, is bound to be a great success. (Applause.) It is not very often that we have an opportunity of hearing such a pleasant, such an agreeable, and such an extremely weighty address as we have heard this evening. (Hear, hear.) Although many persons may, perhaps, think that Lord Brassey may not be as eloquent as Mr. Gladstone—(laughter)—I venture to think that the sentiments which he has expressed this evening have found an echo in the heart of every gentleman seated at these tables—(applause)—because, after all, what is that sentiment? That sentiment is not simply to be recorded in the words “the Unity of the Empire.” We must add some other words to them before we can completely indicate the sentiment contained in Lord Brassey’s address. It is the Unity of the Empire truly, but it is also a protest against the dismemberment of the Empire. (Loud and continued applause.) For any one to say that the Unity of the Empire can mean nothing, while the dismemberment of the Empire might mean something, would be to me an utterly unmeaning sentence. (Applause.) To me the Unity of the Empire means no possibility of dismemberment, and while that is my conviction, the view entertained by the League in London for the Federation of the Empire is one that not only commends itself to me in sentiment, but one that I will do everything in my power to bring about. (Applause.) I agree with Lord Brassey that any attempt to mark out the absolute lines and limits upon which this should be done would be extremely rash and unwise, and that what they are more immediately desiring to do is to endeavour to make, and to be convinced that they have made, one united and universal sentiment on this subject; and then, when all are of one mind on that point, to endeavour to see the best way by which it can be brought about. (Hear, hear.) Unity is acknowledged always to be strength, and I have no doubt that if this Colony were polled to a man to-morrow there would be a very small percentage indeed, if any, who would tolerate, as far as their judgment and voice could control it, any dismemberment whatever of the British Empire. (Applause.) Once people are all clearly convinced that some particular thing is unattainable and impossible, like children in like circumstances, they soon give up the game. Now, I say that, so far as I know, any attempt at dismemberment of the British Empire at the present hour is absolutely and utterly hopeless. If anyone entertains that idea the sooner he gets it out of his mind the better. In coming here this evening I feel the greatest possible pleasure in being able to say to Lord Brassey that, as far as I know, the sentiments of the people of this Colony—and I can speak as to the sentiments of the Government, and I feel quite confident of Parliament also—that the strongest possible desire they have is to do all they can to draw closer and closer the bonds of union between this and the Mother Country. (Applause.) And the demonstrations of loyalty that have been exhibited during the present week in this Colony and all over the Colonies of the Australasian group clearly indicate, beyond all doubt or question, that that is the united sentiment of the whole of the Australian people. That that sentiment will grow and increase to vast degrees I do not doubt for a moment, and should the hour ever come when their real sentiments are likely to be decided, I don’t hesitate to say that there will be no stronger expression of opinion throughout the whole of the Empire than that of those on this side of the sea for the purpose of supporting the unity of the Empire, and of preventing any disintegration of it whatever. (Applause.) I am glad to see Lord Brassey here on this occasion, because it has given an opportunity to many of us of being present to hear him, and to hear the utterance of sentiments which, while not new to us at all, yet at the same time show what complete unity there is on this subject in this part of the world, with the very best minds that England at this hour can boast. I assure you, my lord, that whatever may be their difficulties or ours, the feelings of those of us who were born in the old land are as warm towards the Mother Country to-day as they were at the time we left it. Although we are now 16,000 miles away, the sentiments which animate us are still the same, and we still stand shoulder to shoulder with the object of doing all in our power to cement the strong feeling that now exists between us. Our desire is to work hand in hand together, and as soon as a scheme is brought forward which will render possible the complete federation of the Empire it will be gladly adopted, so that the British Empire in all its parts may be one people, united never to be disunited. (Loud applause.)

MR. J. L. PURVES, Q.C., gave the toast of “The Parliament of Victoria.” He was called an Australian native, but he claimed to be that man of British birth who was proud to be a member of the British Empire. (Applause.) This Colony was a part of the British Empire. Lord Brassey had come here, he presumed, to effect his education. (Laughter.) His lordship was not a man who would go a yard unless he had some personal object to serve.

LORD BRASSEY: Or public object.

MR. PURVES: They might depend upon it that Lord Brassey did not come to Australia to give them anything. His lordship came here for his own advantage, to see what this Australia meant, to see what this voice was that was making itself heard in the halls of the Empire. (Applause.) They owed nothing to England except birth. (Cries of “No.”) He did not mean anything offensive. They owed to England this fact, that they were born Englishmen, and nothing more. (Cries of “Yes.”) England had not in any way favoured us, but we had established a Colony here which claimed recognition. England took away our standing army, and to a certain extent the Imperial protection that was afforded to us, and then she found that the Colonies were worth preserving. If she had gone on as she was once going we should not have

remained a part of the British Empire. Knowledge came, he supposed, with age, and, he supposed, with travel, because, as Shakspeare said, “Home-staying youths have ever green wits.” Each visitor from the Old Country had said that he was astonished at the progress of the Colonies, and no doubt when he went back he told his friends and acquaintances that there was here a part of the British Empire that was worth preserving, that there was here a great country that required recognition, and that would have it. (Applause.) That was the true meaning of the establishment of the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League, because, as the Premier said, we did not desire to see the empire disintegrated. The greatest empires of the world had been those that had the greatest number of Colonies. When they neglected their Colonies, the Colonies fought against them in league with their enemies, and the result was oblivion. Great Britain neglected the greatest Colony she ever had, and a new English empire was formed in the United States. There was no more loyal man in that room than he was—(applause)—but at the same time he claimed to be a man who could see ahead, and could discern the dangers that beset us. Would that Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League have been established if there had not been a necessity for it? In connection with any scheme of Imperial federation there must be a proportionate representation of the Colonies in the British House of Commons—(cries of “No” and “Yes”)—and there were men in the Victorian Parliament who would grace the halls of Westminster. The reason the colonies had in the past been neglected and ignored was that those who ought to have had our interest at heart knew very little about us. The toast he had to propose was that of the Parliament of Victoria. (Hear, hear.) He was a member of the Legislative Assembly for some years, but he was not an efficient politician. He never succeeded in getting anything for his district, or in securing a billet for any of his friends. He supposed that he was rather a statesman than a politician. (Laughter.) Those who were most successful in obtaining billets for their friends secured a billet for themselves also, and apparently the best rule to observe was this, “You scratch my back and I will scratch yours.” (Laughter.) He supposed that he had rubbed some of the hon. gentlemen present up the wrong way. He owned that he did it designedly, because they had no business to come there to eat and to drink and to advertise themselves to an illustrious visitor. They worked hard for the colony, but he was certain that they worked desperately hard for themselves also. (Laughter.)

SIR JAMES MACBAIN, who was received with hearty applause, in replying to the toast, said he believed that Mr. Purves, who had proposed it in somewhat equivocal terms, had tried as far as he was able from his own past experience to do it justice. (Laughter.) It was a great pity that Mr. Purves did not find a better position in Parliament than he did, but perhaps he was the gainer by being out of it. He would agree that—

“There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.”

Perhaps the less they said about Parliament on the present occasion the better. He had been invited there that evening to hear the views of Lord Brassey on Imperial Federation, and he agreed to a great extent with the views expressed by Lord Brassey and the Premier. He did not know why they should be all clamouring for Imperial Federation. He had been himself for 35 years in the Colony, and had never expressed an opinion contrary to the union of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) What they really had to do was to imbue the young generation of Australians with the same sentiments as themselves, and to teach them that though they were a separate and distinct body in the British Empire, they should consider themselves, as their fathers did, as part and parcel of that Empire, and nothing else. (Loud applause.) He would not give a button for the man, however humble his position in the old country might have been, who would forget the land of his birth. (Applause.) He often thought himself of the associations of his early life, which was passed on a small farm in the north of Scotland; and humbly as he was brought up there, he often thought that—

“Chasing the wild deer and following the roe,
My heart’s in the Highlands wherever I go.”

(Applause.) To Mr. Purves and to every young Australian he would say, think well of the land of your birth. They should be proud of their country, and do all they could in order not to disgrace the nation with which they were connected, but to advance its interests in every possible way. (Applause.) Mr. Purves said the Colonies ought to be represented in the British House of Commons. For his part, he (Sir James MacBain) did not think that was either practicable or advisable, seeing that we had a constitution of our own to work out.

MR. PURVES: Why not?

SIR JAMES MACBAIN: Because with representation there must be taxation: and were the Colonies prepared, after having a free constitution granted to them, to send a small minority of members, say half a dozen, to the House of Commons, and to allow the British Parliament to tax us here for any cause whatever? (Cries of “No.”) This country would never agree to such a thing, and it was not likely that the Parent Country would demand it of us. The only practical solution of that difficulty was that proposed by Lord Rosebery, that men who occupied by intelligence and industry a high position in the Colonies should be elected as members of the House of Lords. That would not involve the principle of representation and taxation, but it would give the Colonies power to more adequately express their views on Imperial matters more particularly affecting the interest of the Colonies themselves. This proposal might not be the best, but it seemed to be the most practical one that had yet been made.

MR. E. L. ZOX could not thank Mr. Purves for the way in which he had proposed the toast, but he was not surprised that Mr. Purves, who confessed that he never did a good turn for his constituency, was relegated to private life. (Laughter.) Mr. Purves asked what had England done for us? England gave us this Colony; it gave us our freedom, and it gave us enlightened institutions. He believed that

there were no more loyal people than the natives of Australia, and he would regret it very much if anything should occur to create a false impression with regard to them. (Applause.)

MR. JUSTICE WEBB proposed the toast of "The Press." He said that, as an old pressman, it was consistent with the eternal fitness of things that he should do so. The Victorian branch of the Imperial Federation League was under great obligations to the Press, as every institution and every organisation must be, for without the Press no institution or organisation would succeed. The Press was their great glory. It was a great power, and to it they were all indebted very largely for the success which attended any efforts which they might make. There appeared to be somewhat of an apprehension abroad as to the institution of that branch league. It was not an original league formed in this country, arising from the necessities of this country, or from circumstances occurring in this country. (Applause.) It was not because this colony showed any disposition to separate from the great British Empire, or to take one step towards disintegration, that it was necessary to have a league; and he fully endorsed what the Premier had said, that when, under the name of Imperial Federation, they started the branch it was to give a counter-check to Imperial disintegration. (Applause.) That Imperial disintegration was not threatened from Victoria. It was not threatened from any of the Australian Colonies; but it was threatened from a Manchester school in the Mother Country, which began to talk about the Colonies being an incumbrance that England could do better without. (Applause.) English politicians started that idea, and he was glad that it was English politicians also who founded the Imperial Federation League, and said that they wanted the Colonies, and would not have disintegration. (Applause.) It was the restless spirit of the Manchester school that made the Imperial Federation League necessary, and when it was established they were glad to assist by the formation of a branch in this Colony. (Applause.)

MR. HOWARD WILLOUGHBY responded. He said that he rose unexpectedly to reply to the toast. At the same time he could do so with pleasure, because the journal with which he was associated was in substantial accord with the promoters of this movement. (Applause.) It was not desirable that there should be perfect unanimity in the press either of Australia or of Great Britain on this subject. The man he most respected of all was the earnest, staunch, and enthusiastic advocate of the cause with which he was associated himself, and next to him he placed the man who was the most earnest, staunch, and enthusiastic on the other side, because he pointed out those defects in the order of battle which might be fatal if they were not made known. All he would request from the press was that they should discuss this highly important question with candour and honesty. While the press of England would no doubt discuss it with great integrity and intelligence from their standpoint, they in Australia could be equally shrewd, equally candid, and equally honest in their endeavours to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion with regard to it. Sir James MacBain said that the future of this movement lay with the young people of Australia, and not so much with those who had the honour of being born in the old country; and it gave him much satisfaction to hear that the prize offered by the Victorian branch of the Imperial Federation League was won by Mr. D'Esterre Taylor, who was an enthusiastic young Australian. (Applause.) There was one way in which Lord Brassey might forcibly help this cause. A large number of volumes had been issued of memories, anecdotes, and reminiscences of the Court of Queen Victoria, which had thrown a flood of light upon the private life of Her Majesty, and the more light there was thrown upon her private life, the more she became endeared to her subjects. (Applause.) In one of those numerous volumes there was a statement that every day there were submitted to the Queen extracts from eight or nine of the newspapers of England, in order that Her Majesty might be intimately acquainted with the affairs of Great Britain. It was observed to him that it was a proof of a wonderful intellect that Her Majesty, after reading so many newspapers, should still be in a fit state of mind to transact the business of state. (Laughter.) That was a sarcasm, and he did not endorse it. The wisdom and moderation always displayed by Her Majesty might probably be attributed to the fact that she was in the habit of reading eight or nine newspapers every day; and he ventured to suggest that if eight of the newspapers were English and the ninth Australian, Her Majesty might be still more intimately acquainted with the affairs of Great Britain. (Applause.) When he remembered that Mr. Justice Webb and Mr. Chief Justice Higinbotham had been distinguished ornaments of the press, and there were other gentlemen occupying high positions in the community, and he had also had an honourable connection with it, he thought that he had no cause to be ashamed, but rather to be proud of the institution to which he belonged. (Applause.)

MR. E. G. FITZGIBBON proposed the toast of "Our Visitors," coupled with the name of the Postmaster-General of Queensland. The thanks of the Colonies were due to Queensland for the bold stand she had taken in advancing the interests and protecting the rights of Australia. Proofs of the attachment which existed between the people of the various Colonies were continually arising. The latest was in connection with the Bulli disaster in New South Wales. Universally and thoroughly the great heart of Victoria was moved in brotherly feeling and love to the poor suffering people, and already the amount raised by public subscription exceeded £10,000. (Applause.) If such could take place in regard to a mere mining accident, what would be the feeling in Victoria if any one of the other Colonies was menaced by a foreign foe?

MR. PATERSON, in replying, said he had long ago formed a high opinion of Lord Brassey's intellectual qualities, and he would carry away with him a strong and vivid impression of Federation from his lordship's standpoint. He (Mr. Paterson) was not there as a patron of Federation. Like many others, he felt that the question at the present moment was in a state of chaos so far as Australian feeling and sentiment went. He was not prepared to drift on any Federation tide that might spring up. It was our duty, he thought, to examine every phase of the question as it presented itself to us, and then to decide

whether it should be accepted or rejected, or modified. The general question of Federation would undoubtedly receive an impetus from Lord Brassey's visit. It was to be hoped that many other Englishmen of equal ability and position would follow his example, and see what the Colonies aspired to be: and if they did so, it would be with great profit to themselves, with credit to the Colonies, and with much assistance to the end which they were met there that night to foster—namely, the Federation of the English-speaking people of the world. (Applause.)

LORD BRASSEY again thanked the members of the Victorian Branch of the League for their kindness, and moved a cordial vote of thanks to the chairman for presiding.

The vote was passed with musical honours, and, the Chairman having briefly replied, the proceedings terminated.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

JULY 19—AUGUST 19, 1887.

EMIGRATION OF PENSIONERS TO NEW ZEALAND.

July 21st.—In the House of Lords, LORD SANDHURST called attention to the desirability of affording facilities for the emigration of army pensioners to New Zealand. His object was to improve the position of the pensioner, direct his attention to the advantages of emigration, and facilitate that emigration which should not interfere with the labour market in the Colony. If, by a process of this kind, we could induce a stream of those men to go out, we should be forming a fresh link and direct association with the Colony which in itself was sufficient to recommend the general idea to their lordships. There had lately been great interest taken in the subject of Colonial defence. He could not, of course, say what determination Her Majesty's Government had come to, but whatever that determination might be, a body of pensioners could not fail to be of use in assisting any scheme. If only a small body went out they would form a valuable disciplined nucleus for a defence force, for he should suggest their being made liable to serve in New Zealand for Colonial defence, as they were liable to be called on by the War Office up to a certain age. If, on the other hand, a large number emigrated, he thought that the Imperial and Colonial Governments would find them of the greatest use. New Zealand was a difficult country to defend on account of its innumerable harbours, and the formation of the country did not admit of sufficiently rapid communication between all parts. If they had stations of pensioners, disciplined veterans, who could be available, he thought that the men would materially aid in naval defence. His Lordship proceeded to draw attention to the remarkable advantageous circumstances in which emigrants to New Zealand were placed, and quoted the testimony of the Pension Officer, and of Sir M. O. Rorke, Speaker of the House of Representatives, as to the success which had attended the formation of pensioners' settlements by Sir George Grey, in past years. The pensioner was himself a capitalist with this advantage, that he could not spend his money in gin shops immediately on arrival at the port of debarkation. The men who go out must be pensioners and not those who had commuted the whole of their pension. Therefore he did not wish to ask the Government for capital to carry out this idea. But there was a difficulty confronting them which might easily be got over—viz., the payment of passages out to New Zealand of a pensioner and his family. At present no commutation was possible until the age of 50, but he suggested that by means of a partial commutation, at an earlier age, the sum required for passage money might properly be provided. The number of pensioners was 85,000, and they were already allowed to draw the pension in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions. The idea had been approved by many in New Zealand, and the Auckland Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution in its favour.

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA supported the proposal, but

LORD HARRIS stated that it was hardly a matter with which their lordships could deal, for if a change were made in the amount which a pensioner could obtain, the subject would have to be dealt with in a Money Bill in the other House of Parliament. But it was a matter which he thought was worthy the consideration of Parliament. He was exceedingly obliged to the noble lord for having drawn attention to it, and he could assure him that it had not escaped the notice of the Secretary of State for War. Mr. Stanhope was quite prepared to take it into consideration, but it was impossible for their lordships to go any further at this moment under the circumstances he had stated. It was a very large question, and it was hardly one with regard to which he could pledge himself at this moment. He had not found in the War Office any papers which bore on this subject. The most interesting details were to be found in the reports of the Parliamentary debates about 1831 and 1832; but if the noble lord would call at the War Office, he should be afforded an opportunity of seeing the papers there that related to the subject of his motion.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said that this was a question which in his opinion should have been brought under the notice of the Colonial Conference. They sometimes took a somewhat pettifogging view in reference to this matter. It was really a question of providing for the defence of our Colonies, and of settling in them a number of deserving men who could not find employment. He thought that question must soon be faced by the Government, and he regretted that the Government did not see their way to face it even in this small connexion on the present occasion. There were very few questions on which the country felt so great an interest at this moment as the question of emigration. In the present case the Colony was willing to receive the emigrants if the Imperial Government would facilitate the sending of them out. In conclusion, he hoped that the Colonial Office and the War Office would endeavour to force a more statesman-like view of this question on the Treasury.

After some remarks from the EARL of ONSLOW the question was dropped.

THE NEW HEBRIDES.

July 29th.—In the House of Commons, MR. BRYCE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when he expected to be able to give an account of the progress of the negotiations with France relating to the evacuation of the New Hebrides.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: I hope to lay upon the table papers showing the course of these negotiations. The negotiations as to the New Hebrides have been associated with others which had been commenced in the time of previous Governments; but Her Majesty's Government have pressed for nothing else from the French Government except a fulfilment of the formal obligations of the French Government with respect to the New Hebrides. Her Majesty's Government are well aware that these questions have been too long at issue; they have spared no efforts to bring them to a conclusion by friendly representations, and they cannot but deeply regret the unsettled position in which they still remain.

MR. BRYCE asked when the papers would be laid on the table, and also whether it was the intention of the Government that any agreement finally made should be confined to the settlement of the New Hebrides question, or whether the evacuation by France of the New Hebrides would involve the concession of something else on our part.

SIR J. FERGUSSON hoped the papers would be presented in a few days. The settlement of the New Hebrides question, which he trusted would not be much longer delayed, would stand on its own merits; but he did not mean to convey that there would not be a settlement of other matters, because there were other matters which the Government were exceedingly anxious to see settled.

OUR RELATIONS WITH CANADA.

August 2nd.—In the House of Commons, MR. GOURLEY asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, before committing the Imperial Government in pecuniary responsibility with the Dominion Government for the conveyance of mails *via* Halifax to the East, he would stipulate for a modification of the protective duties recently imposed upon iron and steel and intended to diminish the export trade of those goods from this country?

THE CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I think that the Canadian Government would deny that protective duties have been recently imposed upon iron and steel with the intention to diminish the export trade of those goods from this country; but I do admit that the attitude of the Dominion Government towards the trade of this country in general is a fair element to take into consideration in any negotiations in which the Canadian Government takes a deep interest.

THE NEW HEBRIDES.

August 9th.—In the House of Commons, replying to MR. BRYCE, SIR J. FERGUSSON said: The French Government have desired that the negotiations in regard to the New Hebrides and the Suez Canal should proceed *pari passu*, but have not sought to associate the former with questions relating to Egypt generally. Her Majesty's Government, while not objecting to discuss the two subjects at the same time, have in no way consented that the withdrawal of the French troops from the New Hebrides should be postponed until an agreement had been arrived at for the neutralisation of the Suez Canal. Her Majesty's Government are pressing upon the French Government that the negotiations should be brought to a close in respect to this subject, upon which the two Governments are perfectly agreed in principle. No shipment of habitual criminals to New Caledonia has lately been reported. The last of which we have any knowledge took place in November last. It is a fact that settlers continue to be sent from France to the New Hebrides.

August 12th.—In the House of Lords, the MARQUIS of SALISBURY said: I observe that the noble earl opposite (Lord Rosebery) has put down on the paper for next week a notice which will involve discussion as to the New Hebrides. I do not wish to contest the Parliamentary right of the noble lord to bring that question forward—in fact, under some circumstances it might be his duty to do so—but, perhaps without going further into details, I should say that I think that serious public inconvenience would result from a discussion on this question at this time. I would, therefore, endeavour to persuade the noble earl to withdraw his notice.

THE EARL of ROSEBERY: I have not the slightest hesitation whatever in replying at once to the appeal of the noble marquis. Any one who sees the notice I have put upon the paper will easily perceive that it is by no means my intention to embarrass Her Majesty's Government. If I took the view of the noble lord the President of the Council as to our numerical powers, it would be impossible under any circumstances to embarrass Her Majesty's Government; but without entering into that I may at once say that my one and only object in putting that notice on the paper was to strengthen the hands of Her Majesty's Government in dealing with what is a grave difficulty indeed. If I had brought it on I should simply have recapitulated circumstances already well known to your lordships, the arrangement with regard to the New Hebrides having been entered into some time ago, and pledges constantly conveyed to the late Government by the French Government. But there is no use in doing that if in any way it would injure the progress of negotiations. I am delighted to hear it stated that those negotiations have arrived at such a stage as to render discussion undesirable. I do not know whether before we disperse for the holidays the noble marquis may be able to make any official statement on the matter, but I do hope that when we assemble next year we shall know that an occupation has come to an end which has ceased, in my opinion, to have any justification at all.

COLONISATION.

August 15th.—In the House of Commons, MR. KIMBER asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether any proposal ever submitted or discussed with any of the Colonies on the subject of colonisation had been based on the principle of the funds being provided by the public here, by subscription to a public marketable stock, to be issued on the secu-

rity of the lands settled on, and guaranteed as to the interest by the co-operation of the Imperial and Colonial Governments, the latter undertaking and guaranteeing the administration of the capital and the collection of the interest from the settlers, and the Imperial Government lending its guarantee, by way of endorsement of the Colonial security, to enable the money to be raised at the lowest possible cost; and, if not, whether there was any reason why an inquiry should not be addressed to the several Colonies to ascertain their views upon such a plan, or, in the alternative, for their suggestions of any other plan, in order that the same might be submitted to the opinion of that House next Session?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The subject of colonisation on the principles set out in the question of my hon. friend has not been discussed with the Colonial Governments. There seems no reason why the attention of Colonial Governments should not be directed to this question, and why they should not be requested to state their views thereon, and Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to take the necessary steps.

THE PROPOSED AUSTRALIAN FLEET.

August 18th.—In the House of Commons, replying to a question by SIR G. CAMPBELL, as to the provision of an additional naval force in Australian waters, SIR H. HOLLAND said: It has been necessary to ascertain whether the Colonial Parliaments will make the proposed provision before taking further steps in this country. Her Majesty's Government will, of course, be bound to obtain Parliamentary sanction to the scheme, inasmuch as a vote for the expenditure must be in due course submitted. After the very full public discussion and approval which the scheme of joint naval defence has received, it is clear that, although the House of Commons has the power of refusing to provide the contribution assigned to this country, the failure to do so would cause great surprise and dissatisfaction to the Colonies; and I must add that Her Majesty's Government are bound in good faith to uphold an arrangement which they consider of great importance. The stipulation as to not moving vessels out of Australian waters only, applies to the new vessels, and the further stipulation relating to the maintenance of the existing strength of the normal squadron was inserted for the purpose of insuring that the new vessels should be a *bona fide* addition to the strength of the squadron, and that this addition should not be used as an argument for the reduction of the existing force. It appears from the Navy List that the present strength of Her Majesty's ships on the station consists of the flagship, three corvettes, two gunboats, two schooners, and three surveying vessels.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF NEW GUINEA.

SIR H. HOLLAND: Her Majesty's Government have agreed that upon the passing of a Bill by the Queensland Legislature, the terms of which will be found at pages 209 and 210 of the Appendix to the Colonial Conference, Her Majesty will be advised to assume the sovereignty over the present protectorate.

NAVAL RESERVE MERCHANT STEAMERS.

In reply to MR. BADEN-POWELL,

LORD G. HAMILTON said: Arrangements have been made with the Peninsular and Oriental Company under which, in consideration of an annual subvention of about £3,500 payable in respect of each of three of their new ships—viz., the *Victoria*, *Britannia*, and *Oceana*, of 6,300 tons each—that Company engage to hold these steamers at the disposition of the Admiralty for service as armed cruisers or transports whenever required. That company also engage to hold in the same manner at our disposal and for the same purposes, but without further charge, seven of their other steamers—viz., *Arcadia* (new), *Valetta*, *Massilia*, *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Ballarat*, and *Parramatta*. All these vessels, representing over 48,000 tons of shipping, especially the four new ones, possess a high rate of speed, and have an unusually large coal endurance. In the event of the Company building further steamers which the Admiralty consider more suitable than those named in the agreement we retain the right of substitution. The prices for hire or purchase are specified in the agreement. The agreement is determinable at twelve months' notice on either side. The vessels are to have such fittings placed on board as will enable them to be prepared at the shortest notice in the event of contingencies.

August 19th.—In the House of Commons, replying to Captain Colomb, LORD G. HAMILTON said that the sum to be paid to the P. and O. Company as a retainer for their steamers was in addition to the mail postal contract, but the mail contract had been utilised, as in the case of the Cunard and White Star Companies, so that the use of the vessels carrying the mails might, under certain contingencies, be economically secured to the State. These arrangements were made subsequent to the approval by the House of the mail contract.

QUEENSLAND.—According to returns just issued, the revenue of Queensland for the financial year ending June 30, 1887, amounted to £2,870,000, being a decrease of £61,000 as compared with the preceding year. The revenue from land shows a decrease of £75,000, from customs of £36,000, and from taxation of £22,000. On the other hand, the receipts from pastoral rents and mining dues show increases of £13,000 and £15,000 respectively. The year's expenditure amounted to £3,263,000, being an increase of £173,000 over last year. There is a deficit of £410,000.

THE ROYAL CANADIAN REGIMENT.—Lady Dufferin has just presented new colours to the 100th Regiment. This body was raised in Canada in 1858, during the Indian Mutiny. After a short stay in Malta, it remained two years in Canada, returning to England in 1868, and proceeding to Bombay in 1877. It is now incorporated with the 109th Leinster Regiment, and known as the 100th Prince of Wales Royal Canadians. The first colours were presented by the Prince in 1859. The new colours are in charge of Private Dugas, a French Canadian, and the old colours are to be returned to Canada and placed wherever the Government may think best.

Imperial Federation.

OCTOBER, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE QUEEN'S Speech at the Prorogation of Parliament on September 16th contained the following notable paragraph:—"It is with singular satisfaction that I mention the assemblage of the first Conference of the representatives of my Colonies that has ever been held in this capital. Their deliberations, directed to many matters of deep practical interest to their respective communities, and conducted in a spirit of hearty co-operation, will, I doubt not, add strength to the affection by which the various parts of my Empire are bound together."

No sooner was the news of the disastrous fire at the Exeter Theatre flashed to the Antipodes than the citizens of Melbourne determined to raise a fund for the relief of the sufferers. Exeter men in Victoria, so the telegram informed us, originated the idea of sending help to their fellow-townsmen at home; and the readiness with which the suggestion was received affords gratifying testimony to the affection still entertained for the old country by those who have left her shores. In the presence of dire national calamity, Britons all over the world would, we doubt not, close their ranks and stand shoulder to shoulder, even as these Exeter men have done in their day of trouble.

Now that the Parliamentary Session has come to an end, the managers of our leading journals will have more leisure to look into the system upon which their business is conducted, and we hope that the *Times* will pardon us for a suggestion which would, if carried out, be greatly appreciated in the Colonies. At present the long list of REUTER'S telegrams is invariably headed "Foreign News," although hardly a day passes without the inclusion of one or more items from HER MAJESTY'S Colonies. We gratefully acknowledge the support constantly accorded by the *Times* to the cause of Imperial Unity; and we feel sure that this trifling relic of a time when the Colonies were almost nonentities will be transformed to meet the facts of their present importance. By heading the telegrams "Colonial and Foreign News," accuracy of definition would be combined with a compliment to Colonial sensibilities.

WE are glad to notice in *Australian Public Opinion*, a weekly journal lately established in Sydney, that a prominent place is assigned to the discussion of topics comprised under the head of "Imperial Interests." It is, we may hope, genuinely significant of Australian sentiment that these subjects of Imperial interest precede the review of Colonial affairs which occupies another portion of the journal. It is essential to our mutual welfare that, both in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies, local interests, important though they be, should be recognised as subordinate to those vital questions of Imperial magnitude, neglect of which must involve disastrous consequences alike to local prosperity and local independence.

It is hardly credible that the islands of Bermuda have no means of telegraphic communication with the rest of the world. Although the unique position of the group, situated in mid-ocean half-way between the West Indies and the Dominion of Canada, has been considered of such supreme

strategic value that a first-class fortress and naval dockyard have been established there at an enormous cost, no Government has yet had the courage to take a vote for connecting the depôt at Bermuda with the depôt at Halifax, Nova Scotia, whence there is direct communication with England already. As will be seen by reference to our Parliamentary intelligence, MR. W. H. SMITH admitted to SIR E. WATKIN, that "*both the War Office and the Admiralty think it would be desirable to have some communication with Bermuda*," while "the Treasury does not object to connect the places named by submarine cable." Indeed, tenders for the purpose were actually invited last year, but rejected on the score of "the cost and conditions not being considered satisfactory." Surely, this is another of the grim jokes to which, alas! we are growing wearily accustomed. Guns that burst when fired, bayonets and swords that bend and break, forts unarmed, coaling stations unprotected, and now dockyards without telegraphic communication! How long, O ye penny-wise and pound-foolish, how long?

THE magnitude of our responsibilities in the work of patrolling the sea-board of the British Empire is forcibly brought home to us by an official definition (taken from the Conference Blue-book) of the extreme limits of the Australian naval station. It is bounded on the north by the parallel of 12° N. latitude, on the west by the meridian of 95° E. longitude, on the east by the meridian of 160° W. longitude, and on the south by the Antarctic circle. A very fairly large portion of the earth's surface to have been looked after by a single squadron! It certainly seems high time that we took our Australian cousins into partnership in this stupendous task.

WE commend to our readers the report which will be found in another column of the speeches by MR. DEAKIN, Chief Secretary, and MR. HIGINBOTHAM, Chief Justice of Victoria, on the occasion of a banquet given to the former on his return from the Imperial Conference. A special significance was attached to this banquet by the fact that it was inaugurated by the Australian Natives' Association, and it is extremely gratifying to find that so powerful a body of enthusiastic native-born inhabitants of a great Colony should welcome with acclamation the exuberant expressions of loyalty to the Empire indulged in by the guests of the evening; and combine with that national sentiment, which it is the peculiar function of the Association to propagate, a resolute determination to uphold the integrity of the QUEEN'S dominions against all comers.

HERE is what SIR GRAHAM BERRY told the people of Newcastle the other day, on the occasion of the launch of a Victorian passenger steamer that has been equipped and armed so as if necessary to serve as a cruiser:—"I believe the good feeling between the countries increases every day. The necessity of a bond of union comes home more and more, and I am satisfied that without any legislative interference, without any set machinery or Federation, the people of Australia and the people at home are federated in spirit and interest every day. I am satisfied that it is coming home to the practical sense of Englishmen wherever situated, in India, Africa, Australia, or London—the feeling is coming home that their safety depends on a closer union of all the English-speaking races."

EVIDENCE of another kind, perhaps even more valuable because entirely unconscious, is furnished by an anonymous correspondent of the *Melbourne Age*, who appeals to that paper as "the only journal truly representing the Australian

national sentiment" of hostility to the maintenance of the British connection. That wisdom and virtue take refuge with despised minorities we have often heard; but that Australian national sentiment can only find in all Australia one journal as its mouthpiece, is a paradox that we find quite beyond our capacities of explanation. We shall venture to think that a simpler solution is to be found in the fact that "DIC MIHI" has himself mistaken the drift of that sentiment. Certain we are that he is mistaken in thinking that, "whatever may be the ideas of the black inhabitants of Natal or Jamaica, there must be no doubt that Australians recognise only one interest as paramount—self-interest." The Anglo-Saxon breed is not so much inferior to the negro and the kaffir as he would have us believe.

FURTHER, it is sad to think that "the only journal truly representing the Australian national sentiment" must, ere this, have been found by "DIC MIHI" to be but a bruised reed after all. Commenting on the dinner to LORD BRASSEY, of which we gave a full account in our September number, the *Age* declares that our noble treasurer "took a moderate and sensible view of the Imperial Federation movement. . . There is an obvious advantage in all parts of the British Empire clinging together and presenting a united front to every possible foe. . . The surest basis for this united action, and the best guarantee for its permanence, is a common sentiment of nationality in all parts of the Empire. . . LORD BRASSEY has had abundant evidence during the last week that the people of these Colonies are thoroughly loyal to the QUEEN and the Mother Country. . . The mutual sentiments of respect and affection which exist in the hearts of the people of the Mother Country and of her Colonies form ties much stronger than any which statesmen could provide." We venture to hope that "DIC MIHI" is correct in believing that the *Age*, if not the only, is at least a true representative of the Australian national sentiment.

SIR CHARLES WARREN was at no loss in his Presidential address, on which we comment elsewhere, for instances how ignorance of geography had led both nations and their leaders into serious political error. If, however, he wishes for a startling example, we can conscientiously commend to his notice a recent article in the *Daily Free Press* of Aberdeen. "The question of the fisheries," writes the *Free Press*, "has its origin in the anomalous and unnatural political divisions of the North American Continent. . . The boundary line which separates Canada from the United States has no relation geographically, economically, or otherwise, to the convenience or needs of the people of the country as a whole. The people of the States and of Canada are one in race and language, while their laws, religion, and political institutions are, for all practical purposes, the same." Now, it may be unnatural that a continent should not be wholly under one Government, though it must be admitted that in passing from Lisbon to Hong Kong there are considerable varieties of both language and race that may at least palliate if not excuse disunion, but it is surely not anomalous. For our own part, unless possibly India be a case in point, we fail to call to mind a single nation that is in possession of its natural frontier. Italy as a geographical expression is not very different from Italy as a political unit, but France, Switzerland, and Austria, all rule over portions of what is geographically and economically, and linguistically as well, Italian territory. Where does the *Free Press* find the natural frontier between Spain and Portugal, between France and Belgium, between Austria and Germany? And yet in all these cases the intercourse between the States is unfortunately "barred by artificial

restrictions." For our own part we should have thought not only that the political institutions of Canada and the States were, for practical purposes, a good deal different, but also that the great lakes formed, on the whole, a tolerably visible frontier. We wonder, too, whether the editor of the *Free Press* feels a very unmistakable bump as his train rolls southward past Gretna or across the mouldering fortifications of Berwick-on-Tweed?

THE assertion that the laws of Canada and the United States "are, for practical purposes, the same," deserves to stand by itself in all the prominence that we can give it. What, we would humbly ask, is the law of Canada? And what is the law of the United States? We had been under the impression that each Province of the Dominion and each State of the Union had its own laws, and that while, for example, the French Codes of Lower Canada or Louisiana had many features in common, they both differed profoundly from the Common Law jurisprudence of the New England States and Ontario, and only in a less degree from the more modern codes of the Western States. To take one or two tolerably conspicuous instances, is it not matter of common knowledge that the marriage laws of the different States of the Union differ profoundly from one another, and that the terms on which the franchise is granted varies in each different State and Province? Tolerably practical differences, these.

SIR EDWARD WALTER will shortly start on his journey to India and Australia, for the purpose of establishing a Corps of Commissionaires in the principal cities of the Colonies. He hopes to arrange for enabling time-expired men from regiments quartered in India to proceed direct to Australia instead of returning to this country. The fact of there being any demand for such a body helps us to realise the size and importance of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, when we remember how few of our own towns afford an opening for the operation of this admirable system. The Commissionaires are, we believe, without exception army and navy pensioners, whose good conduct is vouched for by the corps; the advantages which will accrue from the presence of these fine fellows in Australia are not confined to the private firms or individuals who employ them. We cannot do better than quote SIR EDWARD WALTER'S own words, from which our readers will gather that the movement is one of special value to Federationists.

"I WILL mention," says the founder of the Corps of Commissionaires, in a letter to a friend at Melbourne, which has been kindly placed at our disposal, "a few of the advantages attending the extension of our system to the Colonies, which may influence the minds of those who look at the subject from an Imperial or Colonial standpoint. Firstly, our men will come as 'capitalists' to the Colonies, and taking the average value of their pensions at £25, this sum at only twelve years' purchase would represent £300 per man. Secondly, a body of highly-trained and disciplined men selected from all branches of Her Majesty's naval and military service, and whose numbers would be limited only by their opportunities of employment, would be a highly valuable addition to the defensive force of any Colony, and this, too, without any cost to its Government. Thirdly, the continual yearly influx of such men would tend to foster that national spirit of co-operation and mutual protection amongst the various portions of the Empire, which is so marked a feature of the present day, and maintain that constant and unvarying standard of drill and soldier-like habits which are so essential to the welfare of any military force."

THE *Auckland Star* was not a little perturbed a month or two back by the news that Komaroff was massing troops in Central Asia, and that a Russian fleet of fifteen men-of-war was preparing to put to sea. A naval descent upon these Colonies, says the *Star*, "would almost inevitably follow the outbreak of hostilities, and the sacking of Auckland is a sport which the most peace-loving of our citizens cannot contemplate with equanimity." Under these circumstances the New Zealand paper is very well pleased with the arrangements concluded for the maintenance of the Colonial Defence Squadron on terms which it considers "exceedingly favourable to the Colonies." It believes that the decision of the Conference will generally be accepted by the Colonies, and that the negotiations have been carried on in a most conciliatory and patriotic spirit. We are very far indeed from wishing to insinuate that these admirable sentiments of our New Zealand fellow-countrymen will only last as long as there is a war "scare" imminent; on the contrary, we believe that one great benefit of the Conference has been that it has brought home to the minds of the leading Colonial statesmen that a policy of selfish isolation is as impossible as it is undesirable. Colonists have realised that other European countries would not be unwilling to possess some of the fairest portions of the world's surface, and that their own unaided efforts might be too weak for their defence. They cannot, if they would, cut themselves loose from Europe. But for all that, it is none the less pleasant to be assured that they have no wish to try.

NOT many years ago it would have been considered a subject for national congratulation that the Wimbledon Rifle Meeting should be attended by competitors from all over the kingdom, and "from John o' Groats to the Land's End." It is a curious sign of the broader view British citizens are accustoming themselves to adopt, that the *Times* in its leading article upon the meeting this year had to go much further afield for the boundary points. "From the Channel Islands to the Dominion of Canada, from the Cape to British India," the army of citizen soldiers is now drawn. More significant even than the utmost extension of the Imperial borders is the ubiquitous presence of a volunteer army, inspired to take up arms for the Empire solely by the patriotic motives of loyalty and love.

THE arrangements for carrying on the League's work during the winter are now being rapidly completed. We would remind Branch secretaries of the importance of fixing the date of lectures and addresses as long as possible beforehand, and publishing the particulars widely, in order to avoid clashing with other engagements, and to secure a full attendance. While no town or village is too small to take an active and useful share in the work, we should like to suggest that Branches should in such cases endeavour to get meetings addressed by local people, and not rely exclusively upon lecturers from head-quarters. We feel sure that in every Branch there are plenty of members competent to give an interesting and lucid address upon Imperial Federation, and so ease the severe strain already experienced by the London Office in meeting the applications constantly pouring in. A plentiful supply of literature, and information of every kind, will be immediately forwarded to any one who is desirous of speaking or writing on the subject; and the columns of this journal are always open to reports of speeches and debates, whenever they reach us. We anticipate having to record at least 500 meetings during the winter, if those who are interested will send us reports in good time.

THE GREAT DEBATE ON FEDERATION IN THE PARLIAMENT OF VICTORIA.

FOUR NIGHTS' ANIMATED DISCUSSION —TRIUMPHANT ISSUE.

MR. DEAKIN'S statement in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria concerning the work of the Imperial Conference is not only extremely interesting in itself, but marks an epoch in the progress of the League's principles which cannot be ignored even by the most unwilling witnesses. For four nights the Assembly was engaged upon what was practically an Imperial Federation debate. When we consider that Victoria stands second to none of the Australian Colonies in point of wealth, population or political intelligence, the fact of this debate alone should suffice to obliterate once for all the ridiculous contention sometimes employed by our adversaries, that Federation is not discussed or thought of in the Colonies. Naturally enough, opinion is divided. The League has not had the same opportunities of explaining its objects that it has so successfully profited by in this country; but it will be observed with satisfaction that the arguments used by our opponents in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria are based upon misconception of our aims rather than by rooted conviction of their unwisdom. The attitude of uncompromising hostility assumed by Mr. Gaunson, who appears to be the Thersites of the Victorian Assembly, was characterised more by such alliterative allegory as that Federation "meant destruction, death, and damnation to the Colony," than by any serious basis of resistance. It is only necessary to state the premises from which this sturdy conclusion was derived in order to dismiss it as meaningless. Among the propositions advanced by Mr. Gaunson we note that, in his opinion, "the people of Australasia did not care a brass farthing who occupied the New Hebrides, and were perfectly prepared to see the French there." Furthermore, he announced his conception of the Federal bond to be displayed in the relations of Great Britain to Ireland; and at the conclusion of his speech showed his inability to grasp political facts by declaring that "the people of Australia were competent to defend themselves against the whole world, England included." No wonder the Assembly greeted this nonsense with laughter; such fatuous folly deserved no other welcome.

Mr. Deakin's patriotic and statesmanlike speech demands closer study than any summary could supply. We, therefore, refer our readers to the report in another column, where the passages chiefly bearing upon the League's work have been reproduced; by far the greater portion of his remarks consisted of a detailed elucidation of the proceedings at the Conference, and the Chief Secretary was not only rewarded with the compliment of hearing himself called by Mr. Patterson "a Chesterfield in manners, and a Demosthenes in oratory," but obtained the more solid satisfaction of finding his statement, at the end of four nights' debate, so favourably received that no division was challenged and the papers were allowed to lie on the table. Perusal of Mr. Deakin's speech will show the significance of this result; his tone throughout exhibits unmistakable symptoms of strong Federal proclivities. At times his opponents may fairly have thought it unnecessarily aggressive, nor can there be any doubt that they would have endeavoured to defeat him in a division, had they not felt the evident sense of the House to be overwhelmingly opposed to Imperial disintegration.

Mr. Deakin was followed by Mr. Patterson, whose assertion "that the Conference had been called at the instigation of the Imperial Federation League," was, we are told, received with applause. His attitude seems not to have been wholly friendly to the Chief Secretary, whom he successfully convicted of having deserted—perhaps only temporarily—the position indicated by a former speech at Essendon, containing a sentence to the effect that "we may then see, not only a union for defence like the German *Kriegsverein*, but also a *Zollverein*, or union for customs purposes." Nothing in the whole course of the debate strikes us more forcibly than the prominence attached in Victoria to the question of Free-trade or Protection. In this country we are accustomed to look upon Victoria as a confirmed Protectionist, and the other Australian Colonies as

always tending in the same direction; whereas the truth seems to be that the Protectionist members of the Victorian Assembly are in constant apprehension of a change in the fiscal policy, and look upon their colony as the only one, with the possible exception of South Australia, not already beguiled by the siren of Free-trade. But it is even more strange to find that all Englishmen are still believed to be staunch Free-traders, and that the Conference was suspected of being prompted by a desire to bring Victoria round to Free-trade. In this country we are more accustomed to see Lord Salisbury's Government reproached with Protectionist leanings than with ultra-Cobdenite principles.

Returning for a moment to Mr. Patterson's remarks, we find him asking the old question, what was meant by Imperial Federation? We may answer in his own words, "It should be alliance rather than allegiance." And this brings us to the next speaker, Mr. Pearson, with whose views we believe ourselves to be in hearty accord, although an apparent discrepancy at first sight is caused by his mistaken view of the League's constitution. "What we all desire," he said, "if not Imperial Federation, is at any rate the unity of Great Britain and its Dependencies." Here indeed is a distinction without a difference, for the two are exchangeable terms expressing the same thing. But we can well understand that Mr. Pearson saw a very real difference between them if he imagined—we quote from an earlier part of the speech—"that the League most distinctly holds the view that the Colonies should be directly represented in the Home Parliament." To this statement we must give an absolute and unqualified contradiction. If there is one point upon which we have always insisted, in season and out of season, it is that the League distinctly refuses to sanction any detailed scheme of political representation whatever, and we challenge Mr. Pearson or anyone else to produce a jot or tittle of evidence in support of his contention, from "the literature connected with that body"—the League—upon which he professes to base it. As we have said, Mr. Pearson's aims and our own are identical, in that we both are working for the unity of the Empire; we hope, therefore, that the Minister of Public Instruction will take an early opportunity of correcting the erroneous impression produced by words calculated to damage a cause in which he is no less interested than ourselves. While, however, we feel bound to join issue with Mr. Pearson on one ground, we must defend him on another. We cannot find anything in his speech to justify Mr. Munro in attributing to him the announcement that one of the objects of the League was to abolish Protection in the Colonies. Of course the League has no such object, any more than of abolishing Free Trade in Great Britain.

We now come to one of the most remarkable utterances of the debate, and again experience the difficulty of having to remonstrate with a friend. Mr. Woods "claimed himself to be loyal for many reasons—for reasons of race, kindred pursuits and objects," and religion; and when a man recognises the force of these ties of unity, he must forgive us if we call him a friend. But what does Mr. Woods mean by saying that Federation would reduce the labour-market of the Colonies to the English level of wages and working-hours? If his argument is worth anything, he ought to be able to support it by a comparison between the Crown Colonies and the self-governing Colonies, showing that in the former the English rate of wages prevails, and not in the latter; for the Crown Colonies are now in the very position which Mr. Woods assumes—though wrongfully, as we shall show—would be that of the self-governing Colonies under a scheme of Federation. But is a lower scale enforced by Western Australia than by her neighbours? Are wages lower at Natal than at the Cape? The most superficial consideration will make it plain that the wages question has nothing whatever to do with Federation. But if Mr. Woods will turn to the constitution of the League, he will find this clause: "That no scheme of Federation should interfere with existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs;" and, perhaps, when he has read it he will regret having ignorantly called Federation "a conspiracy against the labour of the Colony." When the same speaker referred to the question of Imperial defence, he exhibited a lamentable failure to understand the true state of affairs. Fortunately, he appears to live

alone in his Fool's Paradise; but can any more disastrous delusion be conceived than that "up to the present moment there had been only a passive union between the Colonies and Great Britain, and when the Mother Country went to war, Australia was not regarded as a belligerent power!" Heaven help Australia if this delusion be shared by his fellow-citizens in Victoria, or by his compatriots in Great Britain, when the war breaks out between England and Russia, which Mr. Woods considers inevitable!

Mr. Zox made a temperate and sensible speech in vindication of the Conference. "What Victoria wanted," he said, "was that she should be closely united to the Mother Country, and that her interests should be protected as those of a Colony occupying so important a position deserved." He pointed to the enormous wealth of real and personal property, amounting to £294,000,000, in the Colony, and asked what was the use of cavilling about an expenditure of ten, twenty, or fifty thousand pounds in defence of such a country. He ridiculed Mr. Woods' idea of Australia having no foreign policy—it was idle to talk of such a thing. "We *must* have a foreign policy. While we form part of the British Empire—and I sincerely hope we shall never be separated from it—its foreign policy will be ours." We need only refer to one remark of Mr. Jones's, which will not, we fear, be altogether acceptable to our readers in the United Kingdom. It is certainly a striking sign of the times to read that "if Federation takes place, it must proceed on one of two lines. Either *Australia must come down to the level of the Mother Country, or the Mother Country must be lifted to the Australian level.*"

Mr. Tuthill, we suppose, must be ranked as an opponent of Federation, as he declared that "he would feel bound to object to it." But we cannot regard him as a very bitter antagonist when we read that he did not think Imperial Federation required, because "we possessed it already. The strongest bonds were the bonds of commerce and of kinship—bonds which would never wear out as long as England remained a great nation, and as long as Australia progressed as she was progressing now."

Passing over a short speech from Mr. McClellan, who recognised that "the Conference accomplished one great purpose, and that was to lay public questions before English statesmen in such a way that they would be understood," we come to some important remarks by Mr. Andrews. His tribute to the Conference was conceived in glowing terms. "In history," he thought, "it would be regarded as the most striking feature of the nineteenth century. It must have been an imposing spectacle to see the representatives of rising communities, separated from the Mother Country in many cases by thousands of miles of ocean, sitting side by side, on terms of perfect equality, with the grave and venerable representatives of the Imperial Government, in the great centre of the Empire, the metropolis of the world, and debating great and important subjects for the advancement of British interests throughout the world-wide Empire of the Queen." Proceeding to deal with some of the subjects discussed at the Conference, Mr. Andrews avowed himself a champion of the proposed cable-route *via* Canada and the Pacific, which we have so often advocated. He also declared that a "threepenny postage home by the direct route" was required by the Colony, stating that the assumed loss of revenue by the Post Office was chiefly due to unnecessarily large payments to the railway department. He frankly disapproved of the new Australian fleet, but in our opinion unadvisedly. For instance, he maintained that the fleet would solely "take care of British commerce in Australian waters." But he should remember that the protection of floating trade in Australasian waters is the specified work of the fleet, and that more than half of this trade is Colonial property. Again, Mr. Andrews suggests that Australian commerce might be transferred to a neutral flag in war-time. That is never a perfect safeguard; but does it not occur to him that trade once transferred is not easily recovered? The carrying trade of the United States has never to this day recovered from the transfer to foreign flags necessitated during the Civil War. Another curious argument used by Mr. Andrews was that the presence of the fleet, whose strength he greatly underestimates, would actually tempt attack from an enemy. "I am sorry we should dangle a fleet before our eyes, and dare the Russians

to come on!" We venture to think they would "come on" with even greater alacrity if the £294,000,000 worth of property were dangled without the fleet!

Mr. Vale used the language of a thorough-going Federationist, and ought to be a member of the League. We have recorded his speech in another column, and will here content ourselves with thanking him for his unqualified support of our principles, though we might be inclined to differ with him on some points of secondary importance.

Mr. Derham, the Postmaster-General, naturally devoted himself to the discussion of matters connected with his department. But he could not altogether divest himself of the Imperial considerations which formed so conspicuous a feature of the whole debate. After explaining the new ocean-mail arrangements, he concluded with these words: "I think I should not dismiss this subject without congratulating the House on the nationality of the steamers which have been entrusted with the privilege of carrying our mails. When we consider what are the relations that exist between some of the countries of Europe—that they are armed to the teeth, and, if not engaged in actual warfare, are aiming at each other blows scarcely less deadly than they would if war were declared; that they are framing hostile tariffs, offering large export bounties, and subsidising their steamers, it may be said with the avowed object of injuring British industrial enterprise, and undermining the supremacy of British maritime power in these seas—we shall be glad to find that the flag that will float over the Australian mails will be the flag of our own country." This was the last contribution to the great debate, with the exception of Mr. Gaunson's, to which we have already briefly referred. Our space has prevented us from giving more than an outline of the views expressed, and if it be thought that we have perhaps dwelt unduly upon adverse arguments, we must remind readers that it is unwise to leave even obvious errors uncorrected. The House knew what value to place upon the anti-Federationist statements, and the fact that no division was taken is the best possible evidence of its agreement with the Chief Secretary. By referring to our report of his actual words in opening the debate, and on the occasion of the Native-born Australians' banquet shortly before, members of the League will be able to form their own estimate of Mr. Deakin's sentiments, and perceive what an immense stride our cause must have made in the great Colony of Victoria, when such sentiments hold the field in the Legislative Assembly.

WORKING MEN FEDERATIONISTS.

GLADLY and hopefully we recognise the truth of Lord Rosebery's words at the recent League banquet, that the cold-blooded and nullifying party that looked forward contentedly to the dissolution of the Empire is mostly buried in Kensal Green. There are still, however, a few survivors who talk complacently of separation and independence as the inevitable fulfilment of an obvious destiny. Have they ever thought, we wonder, what separation means? What ties of blood, of friendship, of old association must be torn asunder? How hundreds of thousands of people must face the cruel alternative of either doing violence to their dearest sentiments on the one hand, or sacrificing their hard earned possessions on the other. For, whatever might have been the case a generation back, that England and Canada, say, or Australia should part company with no more emotion than a merchant feels when his "partnership has come to an end by effluxion of time and is not to be renewed," or than the inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets felt when their borough was cut up into seven divisions for electoral purposes, this to-day is absolutely inconceivable. What the loyalists in New York or Virginia suffered when American Independence was conceded, and what their countrymen at home suffered when they surrendered the power to protect them, is matter of history. What the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine have suffered in being compelled to choose between French and German nationality, is still within the recollection of most of us.

But we have no intention of writing an essay on the difficulties of disruption, the more so as for our own part we are persuaded that the difficulties are little short of impossibilities. Only when we Imperial Federationists are

taunted with the difficulties that beset the course that we advocate, we may be forgiven if we turn round and point out to our opponents that the path that leads to independence is not exactly a broad and flowery high road. Either road is difficult and arduous, but ours at least leads to a goal that is worth attainment. Our purpose now is a humble one. It is to call our readers' attention to one influence that makes for union, an influence that not only is strong and far-reaching, but also affects precisely those classes where it may be thought to be most required. We refer to the Friendly Societies and Trade Unions. The importance of these societies can hardly be overrated. Large and rich as they are already, they are rapidly increasing both in numbers and in wealth. Thirteen Friendly Societies alone out of the thousands that exist have accumulated funds amounting to £10,000,000. The two largest societies, the Foresters and the Oddfellows have each about 700,000 members. The Trade Unions are, of course, smaller, though to make up for this their bond of union is a much closer one. Still the Amalgamated Engineers, for example, have more than 50,000 members. Altogether, we find that sixty leading societies and unions out of a total number of between 13,000 and 14,000 on the Registrar's books have a membership of 2,300,000, a reserve fund of £12,300,000, and pay out in benefits of one kind and another sums amounting to over £2,000,000 a year. Of course many of these societies are only local, the London Cabdrivers' Society or the Vellum Bookbinders' Society for example, could scarcely become world-wide institutions, but great societies, such as the Oddfellows, have branches all over the English-speaking world. So, too, has the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners with its 26,000 members. In the words of a working carpenter, who has published a short account of his society, "branches have been established in most of the large towns of the States, in Canada, and in all the Australian, New Zealand, and Cape Colonies, and form a bond of union between the New and the Old countries. It is in the existence of societies like this, based upon brotherly fellowship and identity of interests, governed by one code of rules, sharing one common fund, that we see the best hope of a practical realisation of that dream of federation which fills the air to-day with so many vague and shadowy forms."

Let us see somewhat more in detail what Mr. Dew means by identity of interests and sharing a common fund. Its society is divided into 450 branches; of these branches 378 are in Great Britain, 66 in Canada, 35 in Australia, 4 at the Cape, and 26 in the United States. Each branch collects from its members a weekly subscription of one shilling, and from this fund primarily are paid all "sick" or "unemployed benefits" to the members of the branch. But it may well be that trade is dull or sickness is rife in London, and the funds of the London branches do not suffice to maintain the payments that are promised. Toronto, on the other hand, with its 250 members, or Melbourne or Sydney with their 300 members apiece, may have a large surplus. The Executive Council accordingly will desire the rich branches to send such a sum as it thinks they can spare for the benefit of their hard-pressed fellows. At the end of each year the accounts are finally adjusted, and transfers are made so that all the branches are left with the same amount of money per member. In this way it is evident that the natural inclination of the members of any individual branch to discourage members at a distance from coming and sharing their prosperity receives a decided check from the fact that they have to pay for the maintenance in idleness of their distant fellow-members. Further, each branch is required to send in to the Central Office a monthly return reporting on the state of trade and specifying how many members are unemployed. If, therefore, Manchester reports that trade is bad or very bad, members in other towns can gauge the accuracy of the statement for themselves by noticing that 42 members out of 900 are out of work. It is surely not too much to say that a system such as this promotes identity of interest. But the working men's societies do more than this. They take the place of ties, such as freemasonry or school-fellowship, among the upper classes. As Mr. Dew writes: "These Colonial

branches are invaluable to the emigrant, for he knows that when he sets foot in the new country he will find his fellow unionists ready to welcome him, and give him kindly advice and assistance if necessary, and that the minute he lands he is entitled to the full benefits of the Society."

We have no wish to push our argument further than it will fairly carry us, so we feel bound to call attention to the fact that the organisations that we have described embrace the United States as well as the British Colonies. It will, perhaps, therefore be said that the result that we should logically look for is not a federation of the British Empire but of the English-speaking races. Not so, however, to our thinking. No one can say how much the Friendly Societies and Trades Unions have done to promote that warm feeling of friendship between England and the United States, which after eighty years of dislike and suspicion has grown so remarkably in the last quarter of a century. But the friendship has come too late to recall the past. The two nations have developed on their own divergent lines too long for it to be ever likely that we should come together again. But Canada and Australia have not yet gone, and the cords which are not strong enough to draw back an offended and recalcitrant comrade, may well avail to keep by our side those who at any time may be moved by a hasty and spasmodic impulse to forsake us.

REPRESENTATIVE OR MISREPRESENTATIVE?

MR. JOHN NORTON, the "labour representative for New South Wales and Australia generally," as he describes himself, has returned to Australia, booking his passage with characteristic patriotism on board the German steamship *Nechar*. At Adelaide he was visited by a reporter of the *Observer*, and nothing loth, for, as he says, "he did not much scruple as to the means by which he obtained publicity," he yielded himself to the interviewer with the result that the *Observer* contains three columns of his opinions and experiences. We regret that space does not permit us to transcribe them at full length. A better specimen of the way in which history is written it seldom has been our lot to meet with. We shall watch with interest for any signs to show how much credence the Australian working men attach to the reports that Mr. John Norton brings them. Here are a few excerpts: "Regarding the position of Trade Unions in England, it may as well be stated that Trade Unions as an organised body no longer exist. Those societies that were all powerful forty or fifty years ago have now become effete, or have degenerated into a species of bankrupt benefit societies." It is really difficult to give Mr. Norton credit for believing his own statement that the Trade Unions fifty years ago, when not one in a hundred of them was in existence, and when the law branded them as illegal associations, were more powerful than they are to-day. But Mr. Norton continues: "To-day all sections of the workers combine together in such organisations as the London Radical Clubs, the Radical Federation, the Social Democratic Federation and numerous other new and energetic labour associations." As Mr. Norton was in England when London returned fifty Conservative members, this is rather a strong assertion.

So much for Mr. Norton's accuracy. But we must find room for one or two quotations to show the unselfish spirit which Mr. Norton laboured in the interests of those who sent him. "It is a pleasure for me to be able to state that the working classes of England view with suspicion all emigration schemes advocated as a remedy for the widespread misery and distress in that country. It was my constant purpose to sustain this legitimate feeling. . . . It was hoped that the Indian and Colonial Exhibition would have relieved England of the bulk of those destitute and discontented persons who constitute her social evil. Fortunately the exhibits of the Australian courts gave a direct lie to all the flowery stories of Agents-General and Emigration agents. . . . Australia appeared to great disadvantage. . . . Lectures favouring emigration were delivered in the Exhibition Conference Hall once a week, and I went to considerable trouble and expense in

organising opposition to them by insuring the presence of returned emigrants from Australia to join with me in the discussions. This disguised emigration dodge I thus rendered abortive." Questioned as to the state of the English labour market Mr. Norton declared: "Not an industry of any importance can be said to be flourishing; the unemployed may be numbered by hundreds of thousands. . . . Notwithstanding this, the employers' profits are to-day even greater than before." Mr. Norton has the effrontery (we can call it by no milder word), after protesting against the "insolent persistence" of the starving English workmen in their attempt to share in the comparative plenty of Australia, to go on and reproach those same Englishmen for their carelessness of Australian interests in the matter of the New Hebrides difficulty. "England is indifferent to questions which Australians consider vital." Why Lear should concern himself with the misfortunes of Goneril, Mr. Norton does not apparently think it necessary to explain.

"The Imperial Conference," continued Mr. Norton, "is hardly worth discussing. It is undoubtedly an effort made by England to induce what she magniloquently terms 'her Colonies' to commit themselves to some scheme of Imperial Federation which the advocates of the scheme themselves cannot explain. A very short time will suffice to show the futility of the Imperial scheme; and even though the Conference had any serious significance, Australians are not likely to allow the future of their country to be committed by such men as assumed to represent her on that Conference."

To this denunciation we will not trust ourselves to reply in our own words, but if we may we will borrow our answer from Lord Macaulay. "Ignorant as Mr. Norton may be of the meaning of Imperial Federation, he knows enough of us to hate us. 'The value of the compliment is, indeed, somewhat diminished by the circumstance that he knows very little about us, but we persuade ourselves that if he knew us better he would hate us still more. We like his invectives against us much better than anything else that he has written, and dwell on them not merely with complacency but with a feeling akin to gratitude.'"

JAMAICA: ITS PRESENT POSITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

MR. WASHINGTON EVES, a member of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League, and late Hon. Commissioner for Jamaica at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, has been good enough to forward us a book, giving a very full account, both statistical and historical, of his island. The book has been written in special connection with the Royal Jubilee Exhibition at Liverpool, "with the intention of increasing our knowledge, and assisting in the growth of a mutual interest and sentiment."

We fear it must be confessed that the knowledge which the average Englishman possesses of Jamaica is very strictly limited. That fifty years ago Jamaica produced large quantities of sugar by slave labour, and that the planters grew colossally rich, this we know. We know, too, that when emancipation came, the slaves ceased to work and the planters were half ruined. But there, we take it, our knowledge as a rule ends. As, however, mutual interest and sentiment are impossible without knowledge, perhaps we might do worse than avail ourselves of Mr. Eves's guidance to see what is the real position of affairs in the Jamaica of to-day.

And first as to sugar and its closely-allied product, rum. A hundred years ago the island exported annually some 75,000 tons of sugar; in the first quarter of the present century even this quantity was exceeded. In 1854 the quantity had fallen to 21,000 tons of a value roughly of £420,000 or £20 a ton. Last year the quantity was 16,000 tons, and its worth was only £202,000. In other words, the price of sugar had fallen from £20 to under £13 a ton. Rum meanwhile has remained fairly steady at an average of some ten million gallons per annum, with a value of something over 2s. per gallon. But how to account for this, in the face of the notorious fact that, while the repeal of the English sugar duties has doubled our consumption of sugar in the course of the last fifteen years,

the consumption of rum has been checked by the increasing sobriety of the mass of the population? A calculation based on figures furnished by the *Deutsche Zuckerindustrie* will explain the paradox. Continental countries give bounties on the export of beet-root sugar, amounting to something over £7,000,000, at an average rate of about £3 10s. per ton. The consequence is that, while England imports not far short of a million tons of sugar per annum, with a value of £20,000,000 sterling, Jamaica finds it impossible to sell its product except at a loss, and is rapidly abandoning the contest in despair. No wonder that Mr. Eves quotes with emphatic approval the words of Sir Samuel Griffith, the Premier of Queensland: "The Favoured Nation clause does not give the Colonies any favour equal to that enjoyed by France or Germany. Ask the West Indies whether they think they are on an equal footing with the Republic of France. They are on the same footing in one sense, but it is a mere jugglery of words. They have not only to meet the higher cost of their goods coming here, but also to compete with the bounties of the French Government. At least our Colonies should be really as much favoured as foreigners."

But meanwhile strenuous efforts are being made to develop other and more profitable branches of trade. "The Jamaica Blue Mountain coffee is now acknowledged by experts to be the finest in the world." The value of the coffee exported in 1885 was upwards of £150,000. Fruit (bananas, oranges and pineapples, for the most part) has averaged about the same for the last three years; and wood (especially logwood) has been worth a similar amount. The total exports of 1886 amounted to a gross value of about £1,300,000, while the imports were worth a few thousand pounds more. Divided according to the countries with which the trade was carried on, Great Britain took 40 per cent. of the whole, Canada about 4 per cent., the United States as much as the two combined, and foreign countries the remaining 12 per cent. of the total. In the import trade, however, the proportions are reversed. The United Kingdom sent £680,000 worth, Canada £145,000 worth—or, together, £825,000—against £450,000 (not much more than half) imported from the United States. All other countries contributed only £47,000 worth, or little more than 3 per cent. But Mr. Eves warns Great Britain that "the trade with the Colonies has shown some significant signs of slipping away from her."

He has, however, no doubt that there is at the present moment a profitable opening in Jamaica both for capital and for immigrants of the right class. Railway extension, horse-rearing, "tinned and canned" industries both in fruit and in meat, cultivation of bamboo for paper-making—such are some of the outlets for capital that he thinks promising. There is room also, he considers, "for sober, industrious, frugal and intelligent workmen, skilled in earth culture and the various handicrafts;" "their settlement would be a benefit to themselves and the island." He points out, further, that many persons go to Cuba for health and for pleasure, and inquires why this stream of profitable visitors should not be attracted to Jamaica. "In Jamaica (on the high ground, that is) an Englishman finds the best of his own climate without any of its hardships or peculiar discomforts." "Do not let us," he says, "talk too much about depression and ruin. Many things in the past are, no doubt, bad, and ought to be buried and forgotten; the immediate future is what we have to look to, and that future, to a very large extent, is in the hands of our own people."

Mr. Eves continues: "To a very large extent, but not entirely. The Mother Country is bound to do a great deal." "It is essential to the integrity of the Empire that the strategic value of the Colonies should be recognised, that they should be utilised as coaling stations, and should be put into a proper state of defence. In case of war they would become of supreme importance to the British navy. In the hands of an enemy they would be fatal weapons with which to strike at British power. The very existence of Great Britain as a first-class power is, it may be said, largely bound up with the facilities offered by the Colonies as places of arms." "If Jamaica is to be classified as a Crown Colony, its defences are matters for which the Imperial Government is directly responsible."

"It ought to be understood that the Colonies are even more important to the Mother Country than the latter is to them. Great Britain would be immensely poorer for their loss. No Colonist would like to contemplate such an eventuality, but many Colonies are the result of conquest, and no one can say how history may repeat itself in future fortunes of war." We have no wish to argue the point, whether the separation between them would be more disastrous to England or to Jamaica. Both countries can join in saying, in Mr. Eves's words, "Long may that time be of coming—if, indeed, it is to come at all." Meanwhile our author admits that England, as represented by "Sir Henry Holland's statesmanlike and comprehensive address" has pledged itself to do all in its power to avert the contingency. "His words," says Mr. Eves, "are eminently satisfactory, as disclosing a true policy in which the Colonies will heartily agree." Mr. Eves also declares that "the Imperial penny postage, advocated so strenuously by Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., would be a grand undertaking by the British Government, but Jamaica could hardly be expected to bear any part of the expense." This may sound somewhat grasping, perhaps, but it is only fair to remember that on three separate occasions (by the abolition of slave labour, by the remission of the sugar duties—which gave Jamaica sugar a preference over the slave-grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil,—and latterly by placid acquiescence in the hostile bounty system of continental governments we have dealt severe blows at the commercial interests of the island. We are persuaded that the English people will not wish to act otherwise than generously by so sorely-tried a population, or to do anything except draw tighter the bonds that have already for more than two centuries and a quarter united us to Jamaica.

THE GREAT NORTH-WEST.

THE traffic that passed between Lake Superior and Lake Huron through the canal, which avoids the rapids at Sault Ste. Marie, amounted last year to upwards of four millions and a half of tons. The total amount passing through the Suez Canal, the centre round which half the diplomacy of the Old World revolves, was less than double this amount. Five years before, however, when the traffic of the Suez Canal was close on six million tons, that of its American rival was somewhere about a million and a half. In the interval, therefore, while the trade of the one has increased 50 per cent., that of the other has increased no less than 300 per cent. If we go back a few years further, we shall find that in Black's Imperial Atlas, published in 1873, Port Arthur is not marked at all, and even Duluth itself is only marked in the smallest type. Need we wonder that, with our minds of the Old World Conservative type, Europeans fail to realise the pace at which the New World is forcing its way forward to alter the balance of the Old? Need we wonder either that inhabitants of the Continent, where such marvels of progress are constantly displayed, find it difficult to repress a boisterous self-assertion which sometimes grates on the ears of their stay-at-home cousins? Our recognition constantly lags behind their achievement. We give them credit for what they did yesterday; they demand due appreciation for the great feats they have done to-day, possibly even for the yet greater feats they are confident of successfully accomplishing to-morrow.

But we must return from sentiment to facts. The Sault Ste. Marie canal is becoming too small for its increasing traffic. It is not merely grain that is in question; the growth of the mining industry is such that it is estimated that in the near future this alone will give employment to a million tons of shipping per annum. The Americans accordingly are calling for the enlargement of the existing canal. Canada, however, has determined to have a new canal of its own on the northern, or Canadian, side of the falls. The advantage of the step is obvious, as at present the Canadian traffic is at the mercy of the United States, which in the event of war would of course close the canal to foreign vessels. "The construction of the Canadian canal will be justified," says the *Montreal Gazette*, "by regard for the needs of our commerce, without consideration of contingencies that recent events have made

possible, though not, it is hoped, probable." If it ever was true that Canada would go cap in hand to the United States, and sue, as a suppliant, for admission into the great Republic, the day for this is evidently past.

NATIVE-BORN AUSTRALIAN LOYALTY.

FEDERATION SPEECHES BY MR. DEAKIN AND THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF VICTORIA.

ON his return from the Imperial Conference, Mr. Deakin was entertained at a banquet by the Australian Natives' Association in Melbourne. We extract the most important passages from his speech, and that of the Chief Justice of Victoria. It may be mentioned that Mr. Gillies and a number of other Ministers were present on the occasion.

IMPERIAL CO-OPERATION ESSENTIAL.

MR. DEAKIN, in the course of his remarks, said that the late Mr. W. E. Forster, the first president of the Imperial Federation League, considered that the Imperial relations of the Colonies could be summed up in one of two words—separation or federation. For himself, he declined to accept that antithesis as exhausting the situation. (Hear, hear.) It was not necessary to consider the suggestion of separation at any length. Ideas of separation had generally come from the Mother Country, and never from the Colonies. (Applause.) Independent Australia would be a remarkably feeble State if it stood entirely alone at this period of the world's history. It might well be doubted whether such a State could preserve its own territories from interference by foreign Powers. It was perfectly certain that it could have no influence beyond the bounds of that territory. It was perfectly certain that the doors would be closed to all aspirations for influence in the Pacific and neighbouring islands. It was perfectly certain that we would get no more self-government than we had now, and it was perfectly certain that we would lose the little foreign influence we now exercised. (Hear, hear.) It appeared to him that the proposals for separation meant all loss and no gain. (Cheers.) He was not, however, prepared to fall into the arms of the Federation League. (Hear, hear.) Federation meant some gain, but also some loss; and it meant the loss of something of that which was most precious—our self-government. (Hear, hear.) In return for that loss we were offered some sort of representation on the other side of the globe—a representation which would be ineffective, and which could not produce the ends aimed at. (Cheers.) It seemed, however, that there were bonds between the several portions of the Empire which, strong now, might be trusted to strengthen in the future. We could trust to the ties of race, blood, and language in the future as we had done in the past, and we could provide a better means for drawing those bonds closer, and could attain, if not to a federation, to an Imperial co-operation which would fulfil the needs of the hour—(cheers)—a co-operation of peoples in the common work before us—equal representation of self-governing communities, meeting from time to time to consider the interests of the Empire, and then to lay before the bodies they represented those proposals for acceptance or suggestion. This, to him, appeared to fulfil the need at the present time. Of the federation of sentiment we could not have sufficient, but of the political federation, which implied a sacrifice of self-government, we could have too much. It was with no idea of undervaluing or denying their duty to the Empire, but in declaring it, that they made this protest—that only to the extent to which they devoted their energies to the development of their own country were they really fulfilling the patriotic needs and claims of the most ardent federationists. So far as his observations went, there was likely to be a greater need for directing attention strictly upon our own affairs, with the idea of their development in the immediate future, than there had been in the halcyon days of the past. The distance which separated us from the Mother Country was being practically removed by the inventions and improvements in steam-shipping communication. That communication might not only bring armed warriors to our doors, but it brought us within the range of that intense competition prevailing in the Old World, whilst it also threatened to bring us within the scope and sweep of events in the Old World against which it was necessary to prepare.

WHEN AUSTRALIANS NUMBER FIFTY MILLIONS!

When we had set ourselves to lay the foundations of national prosperity at home, and when we had fully undertaken the defence of our own shores—then we would become a power with which it would be worth while to co-operate. Then, instead of leaning upon London, we would have a power upon which London could lean, if necessary, when Australia had its fifty millions of men. (Applause.)

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.—THE FIRST STEP.

The next object for Australia was Federation—the Federation of Australasia. (Applause.) That was the first Federation at which we had to aim. How could the Colonies complain of the treatment they had received on certain issues from the

Mother Country when they themselves were so divided amongst themselves? (Hear, hear.) What was the use of dreaming of a larger Federation before we were able to federate with our own immediate neighbours? How could we speak of larger unions with the other side of the world when we were presented even to-day with the ridiculous spectacle of a war of railway rates on our own borders? (Hear, hear.) Tens of thousands of pounds could be saved now, and hundreds of thousands in the future by a federal union in railways, in postal contracts, and in cable and telegraph arrangements. (Applause.) The simplest commercial foresight should surely dictate to us the early establishment of Australian Federation. (Loud applause.)

WHAT NEXT?—IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

Then, having reached an Australasian Federation, we might be prepared to consider proposals for some other kind of Federation. (Cheers.) It might be thrown out as a suggestion that in the future foreign policy of the Empire each dominion important enough to be a dominion should have its due consideration. That whilst in the councils held in the city of London, there would very properly be considered European or Asiatic relations, those who controlled the foreign policy of the Mother Country would listen to the dominion of Australasia so far as the Pacific was concerned, would listen to the Dominion of Canada so far as the Atlantic was concerned, and would listen to the Dominion of Africa so far as African interests were concerned. (Cheers.) What these Colonies should be ambitious to obtain should be a voice in foreign affairs so far as they effect Australasia. (Hear, hear.)

NATIVE AUSTRALIANS MUST BE IMPERIAL PATRIOTS.

Unquestionably, a great part in the future of Australasia, and of the British Empire, would be played by the Australian born people. (Applause.) What he had endeavoured to sketch, in perhaps a somewhat visionary way, of the ultimate effects of the policy we were pursuing, depended altogether for its realisation upon those whom he saw around him. Every movement of the native-born population of Australia was being scanned to discover, if possible, what its tendencies in the future would be. Should they fail in a patriotic spirit because it was not nourished in adversity? If there were only the spirit of patriotism, nothing but great things could be expected of such a great country as this. "Peace has its victories no less renowned than war," and the patriotism of Australia must not be one of ease, but of suffering, valour, and sacrifice. Let this spirit of patriotism but breath upon the natives of Australia, and it would enable them to rear here a race worthy of their fathers, ardent as the sun above them, generous as their own soil, original as our forms of life, and mighty as the ocean that surrounds it. (Loud applause.)

MR. GILLIES then proposed the Australian Native's Association in a brief speech; this, having been duly honoured, was followed by the toast of Australia and Australian Federation.

LOOK FORWARD TO FUTURE CONFERENCES.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE said they had been told most truly that the recent Conference in England had established a new departure for Australian political life. . . . Although a great work had been accomplished in instituting a face to face discussion between Ministers of the Colonies and Ministers of the Crown at home, that was only the first step which must precede any effectual attempt to bring about either co-operation or federation. Unless great care was taken the advantages of this great work might soon be dissipated and lost. It could not be doubted that Sir Henry Holland meant what he said when he expressed a desire to meet the representatives of the Crown and discuss the wants of the Colonies. There was, however, a power behind Sir Henry Holland. His intentions might be disregarded; his promises of future Conference might be withdrawn; and unless our Ministers showed a determination to retain the advantage they had secured, it was possible that that which had now been gained might be completely lost. (Hear, hear.)

PLUMP FOR FEDERATION WITH THE DEAR OLD MOTHER COUNTRY.

With regard to the toast, he might tell the company that he was an Englishman. (Laughter.) He meant an Irishman. (Renewed laughter.) But he could frankly say he desired, above all things, Federation, and not co-operation, with the dear old Mother Country. (Cheers.) The time when it would be possible or safe to federate with the Mother Country was still far distant. (Hear, hear.) He believed the time for Colonial Federation was much nearer. (Cheers.) At present there were insuperable difficulties to carrying out federal relations, either between all parts of the British Empire, or even between these Colonies. We could, however, do much in the present to lead to this blessed result in the future. We could cultivate the federal spirit. By cultivating a neighbourly spirit amongst the Colonies, by joining in common efforts for limited objects, by uniting for the purposes of common advantage, and for the purpose also of guarding against common

dangers, we might hasten the time when it might be possible to unite in an Australian Federation, and when that time came he thoroughly believed we would be better prepared than at present to consider the question of Imperial Federation. (Cheers.) He had heard there were some members of the association who looked forward to a period of Australasian independence. That was a legitimate aspiration. It was not his aspiration; but it was a question which would have resolved itself long before the Federation of the Australian Colonies had been effected.

AN AUSTRALIAN REGIMENT FOR INDIA.

IN the present state of relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies there are countless little changes which might be effected to-day with a view to promoting the permanent unity of the Empire; and more than this there are a great many new schemes which might be set on foot with the same object.

It is one of these latter that I should like to propose here—that Australasia should furnish some permanent troops for the garrison of India. The proposal is this: to raise, as a beginning, two infantry regiments—we will say in Sydney and Melbourne as being the two largest cities—each regiment to be 1100 or 1200 strong, and to be divided into a service battalion of 900 and a depot of 200 or 300; the two service battalions to be quartered in India, paid for by the Indian Government, and in all respects treated in the same way as the English troops now in that country, the two depots to enlist recruits and prepare them for the service battalions, and also to serve as the nucleus of an Australasian permanent force.

Let us examine first the advantages of this scheme, and then see whether it would be practicable.

Its advantages are many and obvious. It would provide additional troops for India. Now, it seems probable with the absorption of Burmah into the Indian Empire, and the increased vigilance now necessary on the north-west frontier, the Indian Government would be only too glad to have a couple more battalions at its disposal; but even if they did not, such a reinforcement as would be gained by the relief of two of the English battalions now in India would be very acceptable to our Home and Colonial establishment, none too large at present, and which has to garrison Egypt in addition to its ordinary duties.

Australasia, for her part, would have a certain number of trained soldiers ready at hand, men accustomed to the strict discipline of the British army, and who, if they did not see actual fighting—which they very likely would see—would at any rate have gained invaluable experience in military duties and military life. These regiments would form a most valuable nucleus for a permanent Australasian force, besides affording even in time of peace a definite object for military preparations and a definite stimulus for military enthusiasm, such as would otherwise be wanting in Australasia.

The moral effect on the Australasians of having a small foreign service army would be very great. A military element is of great value in a population. Not only does it pave the way for that martial and patriotic spirit which has produced most of the noble deeds of history, but it develops qualities of obedience and discipline such as would otherwise be apt to languish in a peaceful, prosperous, and democratic country like Australasia.

Again, Australasia at present rather tends to be wrapt up in her own local affairs. A great change would be wrought were this proposal to be carried into effect. The friends and relations of the soldiers in India, and through them the whole country, would take a new and lively interest in places where their friends were living, and so in political questions affecting those places. Their range of vision would be enlarged from local to Imperial politics—a sure method of bringing Australasia into closer sympathy with England. When the soldiers began to return from India, and to scatter to their several homes, they would talk about what they had seen and heard, and thus further promote an interest in Imperial politics, besides infusing a certain amount of military spirit into the people.

It would be a great boon to young Australasian gentlemen to be able to follow a military profession and that without permanently exiling themselves from their native country. That they are eager to become soldiers one can easily imagine of them as descendants of English gentlemen, and it is further proved by the fact that even now some of them come over to England to enter the army, and that too when there is no hope of their ever being quartered in their own country. It is hardly to be doubted that a large number of gentlemen would come forward at the prospect of service in India. They would be only too glad to have a new profession open to them, and a very good thing it would be for them: with us a commission in the army (and this applies especially to the Guards) is recognised as a most useful training for a young man who will in course of time have a high social position in the country and very likely the management of a large property, besides providing a good occupation for many who would otherwise do nothing. From such advantages young

Australasians are almost entirely debarred, and this no doubt in part accounts for Mr. Froude's remarks in "Oceana" (p. 138) of the Victorians that "the young men who are to inherit fortunes are said to leave something to be desired, being brought up with nothing to do, a high station, and no responsibilities."

Again, such experience would be gained in equipping troops for foreign service and in transport arrangements as would be of great use in war—should Australasia in the future be strong enough and willing to give us material assistance in the defence of India.

The moral effect on the natives of India of seeing English-speaking troops arriving from a new and much closer country would be very great, while it is not unreasonable to suppose that a similar effect would be produced, to a less degree, on Russia, and would be an additional weight in the scale against declaring war with us.

Again, Australians ought to be better able than Europeans to stand the Indian heat.

Looking at all these things one can hardly doubt that the proposal, if successfully carried into effect, would be very beneficial to all parties concerned and would be a very practical step in the direction of Imperial Federation.

Next, would this proposal be practicable? Some one will very likely say, "You will not get Australasians to serve for the same pay as English soldiers, and you cannot give them more." I don't think this objection will hold good. In the first place the number of men proposed to be enlisted is very small in proportion to the total population. If England with 35,000,000 people maintains a volunteer army of 200,000 men (1 to every 175 of the population), Australasia with nearly 3,500,000 ought to be able to maintain 2,500 soldiers (only 1 to every 1,400). Surely the Soudan expedition practically proved that there are 2,500 Australasians too keen on soldiering to haggle over the pay—they cannot have hoped to get much pecuniary advantage out of that expedition—and India itself is a name to conjure with. Besides this, I believe I am right in saying that there have been instances of Australasians coming over to England for the express purpose of enlisting in the army. Again, the Australasian scale of prices would not follow them to India, and once there, what was good enough for English soldiers ought to be good enough for Australasians. When they returned to Australasia they would of course be paid by the Government there at whatever rate the latter thought fit, just as the small permanent force there is paid now, and disciplined regular troops would be better worth paying than mere local troops.

The idea that Australasian troops could not be made to submit to military discipline seems eminently absurd. Every nation in the world has had regular troops, and the efficiency of these necessarily lies in their discipline. The United States are not less democratic than Australasia, yet there are regular troops in the former, why not equally well in the latter?

The proposal here has been confined to infantry, and Sydney and Melbourne have been suggested as convenient headquarters. But there is no reason why cavalry or artillery should not be raised on the same principle, while the depots of the troops so raised could be placed wherever expediency or convenience might suggest.

J. A. LONGLEY.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1886 has been compiled, and is now ready for binding with the volume.

A NEW pamphlet, entitled "The Imperial Conference of 1887," will be ready early in October, price 2d. Post free, 2½d. In accordance with the terms of membership the pamphlet will be sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate, and we think the very great saving thus effected will be thoroughly appreciated by Members of the League, who are so frequently sending for copies.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

OCTOBER, 1887.

WORK FOR THE WINTER.

THE winter is upon us, and with it approaches the season of the League's greatest activity—the time when the work of advancing our cause throughout the country can be most successfully and unremittingly pursued. During the summer months even the keenest enthusiast deserts the platform or the lecture-hall for "fresh fields and pastures new," and the Parliamentary Session usually absorbs the attention of those who cannot even in the height of summer forget the existence of political problems. The League has to concentrate all its strength upon the practical attainment of designs previously matured, while keeping a strict watch over our interests in Parliament; and the wise organiser relaxes his labours until long evenings bring enforced leisure, and renewed disposition to seek instruction and entertainment within doors. But now that the Session has ended, and the season is propitious, we must once more rekindle the torch of agitation, and spread the light of our principles to every corner of the kingdom. The Queen's Speech, at the prorogation of Parliament, referred in glowing terms to the success of that great Conference, the magnitude of whose functions was undoubtedly entailed by our incessant energy last winter. And in congratulating the country upon the admirable harmony of the assemblage and the practical nature of the deliberations, the Speech conveys, for those who have ears to hear, a hint that the League's work is but half finished, and that this winter must be as pregnant with achievement as the last. If the Conference is, in the Queen's words, to "add strength to the affection by which the various parts of my Empire are bound together," is it not plainly indicated that there yet remains a complement to the deliberations, in the task

of transforming the spirit of those debates into the letter of statute law?

Various questions were mooted at the sittings, the need of change and methods of reform were indicated, but the constitution of the Conference precluded the execution of the most elementary and uncontroverted plans for reorganising a single administrative detail. Even the measures, recognised as being imperatively demanded for the insurance of the Empire against aggression, have to be submitted to some half-dozen Parliaments before a single new ship can be placed on the Australian station. Such beneficial reforms as cheaper postage, uniformity of marriage laws, assimilation of legal procedure hardly passed beyond the portals of academic discussion or were dignified with the honour of a "scheme;" not to speak of a host of problems cursorily glanced at and relinquished; without a suspicion on the part of the delegates that the very existence of such anomalies in a *soi-disant* United Empire, would sound paradoxical to any but its inhabitants.

What the League has to do is to duplicate the utility of the Conference; it is not enough that a power of hearty co-operation among the components of the British Empire has been revealed in debate, though that in itself is an enormous stride towards unity. We must not stay our hand until we have seen, as it were, the steam passed on to a second cylinder, in which it shall become the motor of acts and deeds. When the talk of the Conference is the law of the land, when the Empire is administered on consistent and uniform principles, when useless sources of friction are banished from its organisation, our task will be done, our victory complete.

We do not delude ourselves with the idea that the marvellous progress of the last year or two is likely to be continued at the same rate. We have stormed the outworks with incredible ease, and must expect a prolonged siege of the citadel. But what a vantage-ground we have gained! What a splendid army of allies we have secured among the honoured statesmen who sat round that Conference board last May, and are at this moment backing our efforts in Canada, Australia, and the Cape! It is no exaggeration to say that the public opinion of the Empire is with us, forming an irresistible weapon in hands that know how to use it.

And how ought we to use it? Not by feeding it with the sop of spread-eagle Jingoism, nor yet by crying peace where there is no peace. Not by patting it on the back and deluding it with vague generalisations of national progress, while the populace stands shivering and starving. Not even by resolving to let well alone, awaiting the development of events, or nursing any other shibboleth that cloaks a spirit of obsequious indolence.

The public opinion that makes for Imperial unity is akin to patriotism, and will be potent in proportion to the likeness. If we of the League want to use this great lever well, to make it as efficacious as possible, we must keep the path clear of side issues, and supply principles of action whose soundness will be a guarantee for their permanent acceptance. We must show the country that we seek peace; we must prove to the hilt our statement that Federation means material prosperity, and it may be that before we can instil the truth we shall be forced to undertake the disagreeable task of convicting our fellow-countrymen of gross ignorance. But in the long run public opinion must be propitiated with facts; and as without its help our movement can never be successful, no business more urgent will occupy the League this winter than that of supplying accurate knowledge of the situation, and forcing the facts into notice.

The methods of doing this are notorious; let us not despise them because of their simplicity. The reforms discussed at the Conference will become law as soon as they assume the dignity of burning questions with our democracy; but that cannot happen until the problems are thoroughly grasped and mastered. If every member of the League resolves that during the present winter he will make it his business to open the eyes of at least one individual to the truth about the British Empire, he will thereby do yeoman's service; for our cause is one in which fuller knowledge breeds keener enthusiasm.

ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMMERCIAL UNION.

COMMERCIAL Union with the United States has become a question of the day in Canada. It is strongly opposed by a Government returned to power quite recently by a large majority of constituencies under the new franchise, and no less vehemently repudiated by the leaders of the Liberal Opposition. At first sight, it would seem that in instigating the present agitation Mr. Goldwin Smith has allowed himself to become the tool of Yankee speculators, and represents no appreciable section of the Canadian people. But he has certainly succeeded in getting the subject well ventilated, and our readers may like to be briefly informed of the leading facts in the situation.

In the first place the proposals now mooted must be carefully distinguished from the free exchange of natural products between the United States and Canada which was permitted under the treaty of 1854. That treaty was abrogated by the United States at the earliest possible opportunity, and the reasons which then prompted their action still exist. We believe that the Governor-General is authorised to resume negotiations on that basis at any time, but the United States show no signs of relenting in their attitude.

The present agitation aims at nothing less than complete Free Trade between the two countries, and the mutual abolition of Custom House duties. It is obvious that this involves a complete assimilation of tariffs against other countries, because if any difference were maintained the mass of imports would naturally be consigned to those ports where the duties were on a lower scale. Nor would any pooling arrangement be practicable, for the proportions of the pool must be settled by averaging clearances at various ports in former years; while in comparatively new countries the conditions change so rapidly that in a very few years the old statistics would be worthless, without fresh ones being available.

Now if we endeavour to strike a balance of profit and loss to Canada under Commercial Union, as advocated by Mr. Goldwin Smith and his friends, how does the matter stand? By the removal of the frontier Custom Houses, there would evidently be a saving in administrative expenses to the Dominion. But bearing in mind that the whole cost of the Customs establishment is less than 900,000 dols. annually, and that far the greater proportion of this is incurred at ports attainable by ocean-going vessels where no reduction would be possible, it follows that the net saving under this head would be of trifling amount. The other and far more important feature of the new system would be the removal of duties levied by the United States upon goods valued at about 40,000,000 dols. imported from Canada. If it could be proved that the existing duties are really paid by the Canadian producer and not by the American consumer, there would of course be an enormous gain to the former from their removal. But it is one of the primary maxims of Political Economy that the consumer pays the duty, and this seems clearly verified in practice. It is assumed that there would be no fall in prices, and that the Canadian producer would pocket, as extra profit, the amount of duty now levied; but the example of Great Britain, where articles imported from abroad are much cheaper than the same articles when imported into protectionist countries, is, in our opinion, conclusive evidence that the effect of Free Trade is to lower prices and to benefit the consumer. Mr. Goldwin Smith's argument, however, rotten though it be, cuts against himself; for clearly if the price of Canadian exports to the United States were not influenced, neither would the price of the United States exports to Canada be affected; and thus the "profitable selling" argument explodes the "cheap purchases" argument, which is advanced with equal emphasis in favour of Commercial Union. We are inclined to believe that, allowing for the influence of rings, corners, and monopolies, there would still be an appreciable cheapening of United States products sold in Canada, and a considerable increase in the amount of trade at lower prices between the two countries, nor can it be denied that, were other things equal, the boon thus conferred would be very great.

But when we come to the debit side of the account the aspect of the case is altered. What would Canada lose by Commercial Union? At one stroke of the pen she would

deprive herself of nearly 25 per cent. of her total revenue. At present the whole amount raised by taxation is derived from Customs and Excise, and of this it is proposed to wipe out about 7,000,000 dols. now obtained by duties on imports from the United States. Are the Canadian people, are even the farmers of Ontario, upon whom Mr. Goldwin Smith is said to be making an impression, prepared to pay the price of an elaborate system of taxation for this precious Commercial Union? Will they welcome the tax-gatherer's frequent visits, and inquisitorial curiosity concerning their incomes? The money must be raised somehow; even if Mr. Goldwin Smith proposes to stop the payment of subsidies to the Provinces (about 4,000,000 dols.), there will still remain a large sum to be found for the necessities of the Dominion Government, and how will it suit the Provincial Legislatures to lose so important a factor in their finances?

Again, it can hardly be doubted that the effect of Commercial Union would be to retard the progress of manufacturing industries in Canada. We have heard those who know the country well maintain that the Dominion can never grow rich upon the proceeds of agriculture, and that the future depends upon the extent to which its mineral wealth and manufactures are developed. It has always been recognised by Great Britain, to her honour be it said, that a young country with undeveloped resources is wise in fostering industries, until they are strong enough to compete with their neighbours; but at present Canadian industries are in their infancy, while America is already underselling the world. Nor should it be forgotten that the agricultural community is greatly benefited by the growth of a manufacturing or mining population, and that no market is so profitable as one established in their very midst.

The last factor we shall notice in the loss that would accrue to Canada from Commercial Union is that involved in the assimilation of her tariff with that of the United States. In the existing state of American finance, Congress would certainly not pledge itself to make no tariff changes for a term of years; nor can we conceive of any machinery by which alterations could be effected, that would not place Canada in a hopeless minority, should any difference of opinion arise. In fact, Canada would be financially dragged at the tail of the United States, wherever the great democracy chose to lead. Now there are many symptoms that a Free Trade policy may ere long be adopted by Congress; the enormous customs revenue is already becoming a white elephant, and manufacturing industries independent of support. What would be the position of Canada supposing that her powerful neighbour forced her into Free Trade with all the world? Fifty per cent. more of her revenue would disappear, in addition to the twenty-five per cent. paid for the privilege of losing it. The probable result of such a blow would be the destruction of public credit, inability to carry on the Dominion Government, and political submersion as an integral portion of the United States. On the other hand, the assimilation of tariffs might involve, at any rate as an immediate consequence, a raising of Canadian duties upon English goods. Although the addition to the revenue from this source would be slight (not to speak of the detrimental effects upon the St. Lawrence ports if the superior attractions of New York ceased to be neutralised by higher customs duties), it would be enough to irritate the English manufacturer, and would surely cool the affectionate feelings with which the English people regard their Canadian fellow-citizens.

If the Dominion is prepared for all this, we have nothing more to say. But if, as we believe, estrangement from Great Britain would be hateful to Canada, if incorporation with the United States would be felt as a death-blow to nationality, if the assimilation of tariffs would be disastrous to independent finance, and necessitate a comprehensive system of taxation, then we would earnestly warn the farmers of Ontario and Quebec against paying heed to the Siren of Commercial Union, from whose grasp, once yielded to, no escape would be possible.

IMPERIAL OR COLONIAL.—A Colonial Conference is one which can be held at any time amongst the Colonies; but this was a Conference where the Colonies met the Empire to confer and advise from a colonial standpoint on matters affecting them both. That is why it properly claims the title of an Imperial Conference.—*Hon. A. Deakin.*

COMPLETION OF THE BRITISH CIRCLE.

ANOTHER TRIUMPH FOR THE LEAGUE.

THE League has to congratulate itself upon another triumph; the Imperial Government has agreed to subsidise a line of steamers from Vancouver to the East, and thus another link has been forged in the chain of Federation. The United Kingdom subscribes £45,000 a year, and the Dominion of Canada £15,000, towards the attainment of their common object in keeping Britannia mistress of the seas, and promoting the commerce of our world-wide Empire. The subsidy may be trifling in amount, but those who can act together in small things will also act together in great, and the existence of this fresh bond between ourselves and our Canadian cousins will make itself felt in many unsuspected ways.

We have never ceased in these columns to urge upon the Government the importance of conceding this subsidy; the Executive Committee of the League passed a resolution, which was submitted by Lord Rosebery to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, advocating the subsidy, and pressing for a speedy decision; that decision was taken within a month of the League's petition, and entirely in accordance with its wishes. In Parliament the League's representatives have pushed the matter forward, and in the public Press its members' pens have been busy. If justification were needed for so much persistency, we might reasonably point to our complete success. But we prefer to take our stand upon the undoubted contribution to the unity of the Empire involved in a concession that completes the circuit of the world under the Union Jack. We have no aim but the good of the Empire, and if we lay stress upon our triumphs it is only as an encouragement to fresh efforts. To-day has brought us one stage nearer the goal. We challenge contradiction in asserting that but for the existence of the League public opinion would have been dead against the subsidy, instead of applauding with universal congratulations this new phase of partnership with Canada.

A VOICE FROM DEMERARA.

FROM an outpost of the Empire that we in England are too apt to forget or overlook—from distant Demerara—there reaches us an admirable paper on Imperial Federation, by Mr. C. H. G. Legge. Mr. Legge begins by half admitting that every attempt to give body to the shadowy idea has proved as fatal to it as to the Lady of Shallott's mirror. But he gallantly attempts the task nevertheless. He is convinced that Federation must come, not by grouping Colonies into local "dominions," but by binding them all in closer bonds to the Mother Country, with whom, he considers, the initiative should rest. Mr. Legge anticipates no difficulty from the Colonies as to the "mutual support of Imperial obligations." An Imperial postage would, he thinks, easily provide the nucleus of a fund available for Imperial defence!

With the thorny question of how Federation is to be brought about Mr. Legge grapples boldly. The colonists on the one hand, he says, wish to be represented not in an Imperial Parliament but in the Imperial Parliament. On the other hand, the English people will not consent to degrade their House of Commons into a provincial assembly. Well, then, let us take the first step towards Federation by the legislature of each Colony electing some already-existing member of the House of Commons as its representative. By-and-by, Mr. Legge considers, these representatives might come to form a Grand Committee for colonial affairs. From the House of Commons to the Executive Government the passage is easy, and, with the weight of a great Colony behind him, should, to a suitable representative, be rapid. We ought to say that Mr. Legge does not think his proposals possible under present conditions, but "nothing is more certain," he writes, "in the near future than that party government in England is doomed." We cannot affect to think this prospect as near as Mr. Legge fancies it, but still Imperial Federationists owe him cordial thanks for his very thoughtful and sympathetic paper.

BRITISH INTERESTS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

IN the Legislative Council of Western Australia a motion in favour of Responsible Government has been carried by 13 votes to 4. Of the majority, twelve were elected members, and one nominated; of the minority, three nominated and one elected. At the same time a resolution was unanimously passed that the Colony "should remain one and undivided under the new constitution." The resolutions were presented to the Governor, Sir F. N. Broome, and within a few days the Council received the following message from His Excellency:—

"With reference to message No. 9, of the 8th inst., the Governor has the honour to inform the Hon. the Legislative Council that the resolutions in favour of Responsible Government without the separation of the Northern districts from the Colony, placed in his hands by your Hon. House, have this day been transmitted by despatch to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State. After careful consideration the Governor has felt able to give his fullest support to both of the resolutions, on the understanding that reasonable arrangements be made to insure the due protection of the comparatively large aboriginal population in the Northern districts, and that, as in the instance of New South Wales, a power be reserved to Her Majesty to erect any portion of the present territory into a separate Colony, in case such a step should be necessary at any future time. The Governor has asked for the earliest possible intimation of the views of Her Majesty's Government on the whole subject."

The despatch containing the petition of the Legislative Council and the Governor's arguments in support of it are at this moment in the hands of the Cabinet, and we trust that very careful consideration will be given it before any irrevocable steps are taken.

A few facts about Western Australia, the last Crown Colony remaining in Australasia, will serve to show the gravity of the question raised. The total area is over a million square miles, comprising about one-third of the whole continent. The climate is stated officially to be "one of the finest and healthiest in the world," but the vast territory may be said to be still practically uninhabited, the total white population at present hardly exceeding 35,000.

Western Australia is indeed a goodly heritage, and we desire to emphasise the fact that it is still the heritage of the British nation. For out of its million square miles, not three thousand have been alienated from the Crown, while no less than 745,000 are not even leased or occupied, and remain practically unexplored.

We hope that before resolving to follow the precedents adhered to in the case of other Colonies invested with Responsible Government, the advisers of the Crown will pause. Let them think of the struggling population of 36,000,000 in the United Kingdom, crowded together within such narrow limits that every square mile of ground represents a population of 300 persons; let them, we say, pause before they give away the precious birthright of these British subjects to form a carefully-guarded monopoly for a Colony each inhabitant of which (man, woman, and child) would thus by one stroke of the pen be made literally nearly ten thousand times better off than the rightful heirs.

It cannot for a moment be argued that the possession of such enormous tracts is necessary to supply funds for carrying on Responsible Government. When Victoria obtained a constitution her population already exceeded sevenfold the total of Western Australia to-day; but no difficulty was experienced from want of funds, although the whole area of the Colony is only 88,000 square miles. We have no intention of maintaining that the whole of the Crown land ought to be reserved; there is no reason why a portion should not be assigned to the new Government whenever it is established: but there is every reason for not recklessly abandoning this magnificent outlet for our crowded millions, the only considerable outlet, with the exception of Natal, that still remains in our hands.

We have learned by sad experience the difficulties placed in the way of immigration by Colonies which have acquired as a free gift the land that once was the common property of all British subjects. Every Colonisation and Emigration Society, every taxpayer throughout the Empire, every philanthropist who laments the hideous overcrowding in these islands, every poor fellow who comes home to his

garret in the back slums of our towns, ought to raise a cry of warning and denunciation, if ever the proposal is broached of sacrificing those boundless opportunities of expansion which are still ours in Australasia.

THE STUDY OF GEOGRAPHY: AS IT IS AND AS IT OUGHT TO BE.

THAT distinguished member of our League, Sir Charles Warren, has been doing good service to his country in calling the attention of the British Association at Manchester both to the importance of the study of geography and to the method in which that study ought to be pursued. Those of us who have not forgotten how geography was taught us at school, with wearisome strings of meaningless names, laboriously got by heart one day only to be contemptuously turned out of the mind as so much useless lumber the next, must listen with a feeling closely akin to envy to a description of the geography lesson of to-day. The child, says Sir Charles, studies first a plan of the school playground, then, when it has once realised that a map does really represent an actual piece of tangible ground, it is carried a stage further, and learns to pick its way and recognise the footpaths and the laues on the parish map. From this point further progress to the neighbourhood, the country, and so forth, is easy. When the pupil comes to the geography of the world as a whole, he is not asked to study a world laid out flat on a board, still less one stretched out of all recognition to fit Mercator's projection, but he is shown a solid globe, with the continents and ocean boldly distinguished with broad and unmistakable outlines. Methods such as this, Sir Charles assures us, actually are in use at the present moment in Board Schools. To the best of our knowledge they have unfortunately not yet reached those schools which, as Sir Charles says, are undeniably higher in one respect—the height of their fees.

"But what," we shall be asked, "has geography to do with Imperial Federation?" We venture to think that it has everything to do with it. One of the great obstacles to a closer union between Great Britain and her Colonies is want of imagination. But imagination, however active, can construct nothing out of nothing. Those to whose minds the names of Australia or Canada or New Zealand call up no ideas and suggest no pictures of the other and larger Englands beyond the ocean, can never rise to the conception of an Imperial policy, which one day may be called upon to spend English money in fortifying Cape Town for the benefit of Australia, and the next to unite with Australia to aid the development of a railway across North America. Every one knows what a powerful influence for unity has been exerted by the Post Office. But letters can only bring distant lands near to the few persons to whom they are addressed. Geography well taught can kindle the imaginations of all. Australians are, if that were possible, yet more English than the English, and among all the faults with which Englishmen have been charged, meanness in money matters has seldom been included. We venture to believe that the attempts to drive a hard bargain with the Mother Country that have sometimes appeared to find favour with the Australian democracy would never have been possible if the Australian working men realised that they were bargaining with their own kinsfolk, carpenters or bricklayers, it might be, just like themselves, only working for longer hours and for lower wages.

But it is not only for home consumption that a knowledge of geography is nowadays required. Sir Charles warns us that we have lost quite enough already by the geographical ignorance and carelessness of our rulers. "In India our want of knowledge of the country to the north of the Afghan boundary has led to a series of unnecessary concessions to Russia. Had the slightest encouragement been given in former years by the Indian Government to enable officers to acquire information as to the territories beyond our Indian Empire, no doubt we should now be in a more secure position. It is possible that a more full geographical knowledge of Egypt and the Suez Canal might have materially modified our present occupation of Egypt. Had it been known that a plentiful supply of water could be obtained close to the marine canal, independent of the

Nile water, it is questionable how far any occupation of Egypt would have been necessary."

Nor are these Sir Charles's only instances. He tells how a misunderstanding as to the relative positions of certain Bedouin Arab tribes "nearly led to a disastrous result" in our campaign in 1882. He is convinced, also, that a similar misunderstanding of the position of the native tribes in Bechuanaland is likely to cause us serious trouble in the immediate future. The only comfort Sir Charles has to offer us is that even the omniscient Germans make similar mistakes at times. "Germany has chosen a piece of useless territory on the western coast of South Africa, whereas, with a little foresight, Prince Bismarck might have obtained on easy terms the whole of the French Colonies in the Gulf of Guinea and north of the Congo." And again: "The boundary laid down by the Treaty of Frankfort, for want of geographical knowledge on the part of German employés, left several German villages near Metz in the possession of France."

Certainly Sir Charles Warren shows abundant reason why "we should use every effort successfully to grapple with a subject which, if properly taught, must affect our welfare as a nation so deeply."

TASMANIAN IMPERIALISTS.

WE continue to receive pleasant assurances from the Colonial Delegates to the recent Conference of their firm conviction that the assembly was productive of tangible benefits both to the Colonies and to this country. His Honour Judge Dodds, for instance, who represented Tasmania, thus expresses his sentiments in an interview with the *Tasmanian* on his return home:—

"Mr. Dodds speaks in the warmest terms of the Imperial Conference and its deliberations. The Colonial delegates, who reached England with but a vague idea of the real scope or nature of the Conference, found the Imperial Government thoroughly in earnest, and impressed with a sense of the importance of the gathering, and desirous of obtaining the views and the cordial co-operation of the various Colonies on the subjects to be discussed, Imperial defence being considered as decidedly the most important question. Upon learning the true state of affairs the Colonial delegates met the Imperial representatives in a similar spirit, and by holding meetings amongst themselves prior to the Conference came to a definite understanding of each other's views, and were able to decide upon a united course of action, which greatly facilitated proceedings when the Conference was in session. Great praise is given by Mr. Dodds to the tact, urbanity, and judgment displayed by Sir Henry Holland, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in arranging and carrying out the details of the Conference, and to his efforts Mr. Dodds considers the success which attended its labours is mainly due. Like other Colonial delegates, Mr. Dodds was struck by the earnest desire of the Imperial authorities to obtain reliable information, and acquaint themselves not only with the circumstances and requirements of the various Colonies, but with the real views and wishes of the Colonists upon the various matters discussed. If Imperial defences were under discussion the delegates found themselves in presence not only of the Ministerial heads of the Admiralty and War Office, but of the heads of departments, and officers holding responsible executive positions. When postal or telegraphic matter were taken, heads of departments in the Post and Telegraph Offices were there to receive and give information upon the various branches of the subject with which they were directly connected and best acquainted, and if the subject discussed was one involving questions of foreign policy, the delegates found themselves in contact with Mr. Stanhope and the official heads of the Foreign Office.

When the subject of Imperial defences was before the Conference, Mr. Dodds had contemplated putting forward a special claim for Tasmania, as an isolated outpost, but when he found that more important points of defence, such as King George's Sound, could not obtain special consideration, he deemed it prudent to forego urging any special claim for the capital of his colony. Mr. Dodds feels strongly that much direct as well as indirect benefit has resulted from the Imperial Conference, and that the anticipations which led to its being summoned have been fully justified by the results. Though such an opinion is open to the imputation of personal interest, he considers that Tasmania, as well as other Colonies, has been benefited by sending home a special delegate in addition to her Agent-General, and that in our particular case it has to some extent remedied the injury which this Colony sustained by not being represented at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. He is also of opinion that the success of the recent Imperial Conference will lead to similar Conferences being held in the future when-

ever similar results are likely to be obtained by such a gathering of representatives from various parts of the Empire."

Turning from the opinions of an individual to the collective wisdom of the community, we find a similar spirit animating the Tasmanian Parliament. Here is a sentence from the Jubilee address to the Queen, agreed to by both Houses:—"More than all we recognise how your gracious influence and example have endeared you to your subjects, and drawn closer yet the ties that bind every member of the British Empire to the Mother Country." With this we may compare the address in reply to the Governor's speech from the Legislative Assembly, in which the House stated that "we share your hope that the outcome of the Imperial Conference may be to improve the relations between England and her Colonies;" and also a paragraph in the reply from the Legislative Council, whose members "trust that the true interests of the Colonies may in the future be more fully recognised by the Imperial authorities as materially affecting the welfare of the Empire."

Judge Dodds will reassure his fellow-citizens upon this point; and with their strong predisposition in favour of meeting the Home Government half way in any measures proposed for the consolidation of the Empire, we confidently look for unwavering support and sympathy from the people of Tasmania in all our efforts to promote the cause of unity.

ARE OUR COALING STATIONS PROPERLY DEFENDED?

A LETTER from Lord Carnarvon recently appeared in the *Times*, drawing attention to the inadequate defences of our commercial ports and coaling stations. Two days afterwards, at Sheffield, Mr. Stanhope, Secretary of State for War, indignantly repudiated Lord Carnarvon's accusation of a breach of faith on the part of the Government in fulfilling their share of the defences. We hope that the result will be the rapid completion of the fortifications in question, and subjoin extracts from Lord Carnarvon's letter and Mr. Stanhope's reply bearing upon this important subject:—

LORD CARNARVON'S ATTACK.

Next, as to our foreign stations. They consist of two classes—first, of the Imperial coaling stations where British communities have grown up for trading and other purposes; second, of great Colonies such as New South Wales and Victoria, where England in all the fulness of her race and language and institutions has been transplanted across the seas. Let me say a few words on each of these.

First, the Imperial coaling stations. In many of these, such as Hong-Kong, Singapore, Mauritius, a division of expense as regards the defences has been agreed to. The local community undertook to erect the works or to provide the money for them, while the Imperial Government engaged to supply the armaments. These communities have as a rule performed their part of the contract; we have in every case left our share unperformed, either wholly or in part. Each of the three important stations which I have mentioned—each essential to the protection of our vast commerce and to the security of our fleets, each in their different degrees essential to our supremacy in the Eastern seas—remains unfortified, because we have not yet sent out the armament which we engaged to provide.

For this discreditable and dangerous condition I have sometimes heard the excuse set up that the manufacture of modern armaments is so slow that two years are needed for the construction of a gun with its proper mountings. A melancholy apology! If the manufacture is so slow, the guns should have been ordered as soon as it was known that Singapore or Hong-Kong or Mauritius was prepared to do the works or to give the money; instead of which, in order to save financial appearances, and to gain a false credit for economy on the estimates, we have made or allowed delays in giving the necessary orders to the manufacturers. More than this—even the auxiliary armaments—those machine and quick-firing guns which are absolutely necessary in modern war, which even without the heavier guns might for purposes of defence have an almost incalculable value, and which can be procured and sent out at once—are, probably for the same reason, subjected to the same fatal delay. They have not been sent out. I might perhaps ask if they are even ordered? The fault of all this is with us. Our endless Committees that too often decide nothing; our undue centralisation here, our want of proper individual responsibility there; the absence of that combination of administrative knowledge and authority, which is very graphically described by Sir J. Stephen's recent Commission, are productive of delays, errors, waste, and danger here, as in many other parts of our cumbrous system.

I will not repeat now what I have said in former letters, nor will I say anything upon the incalculable importance of garrisons except this—that the many different questions into which this large subject divides itself ought not, as is too much the case, to be considered separately. Forts are useless without the guns; forts and guns are valueless without the trained garrisons to put in them; and I may add that even forts, guns, and garrisons together are unequal to the work of defence if they are not combined and supplemented by the scientific requirements of modern war. Yet such in a great measure is our practice, and we are led into it by that false economy—fruitful parent of public waste—which too often suggests to Ministers the fatal temptation of reducing estimates by delaying the manufacture of armaments. Thus forts built at great cost stand useless for want of the necessary guns, or guns are transferred to some place where they are wanted from another place where they cannot be spared.

Meanwhile, in contrast to these sorry shifts, some at least of our great Colonies across the sea, taking a truer measure of public duties and requirements, have set us an example which may—according as we think of them or of ourselves—fill us either with admiration or with shame. Without aid from us they have manfully faced the trouble and the outlay which are the insurance policy that nations must pay for safety from hostile aggression. In Victoria and New South Wales a navy has been created, first-class works built, armaments of the newest type mounted; while in Australia generally a total sum, I believe, of not less than £5,000,000 has been spent upon defence. In a few weeks from this time I hope to see with my own eyes the result of these wise and patriotic exertions, and, when now on the eve of leaving England for some months, I cannot refrain from again urging alike upon the Government and the country the vast importance of this question and the deep unwisdom of delay.

MR. STANHOPE'S DEFENCE.

If Lord Carnarvon had read the proceedings of Parliament during the present session, or the report of what took place at the recent Colonial Conference, he would find that all he was saying related to a period which is certainly not the present time. To me the bare notion of a breach of faith with the Colonies upon such a subject is absolutely abhorrent. And I am sure if at the present moment we were called upon to give up the seals of office that is the very last charge that could be fairly brought against the present Government. I am able to say—and I have said it in Parliament—that the armaments which are required for Singapore, and approximately those for Hong-Kong, will be completed in the course of the present year. Quite recently Mauritius, which is one of the cases mentioned by Lord Carnarvon, and Ceylon have voted in their Legislative Assemblies the money required for doing their part of the bargain with the Imperial Government. Well, I can say for myself this—that I at once ordered the necessary big guns, so that the Imperial Government may be enabled to perform its part of the contract, and so it is in the case of the Cape. It was our good fortune a very few months ago to be enabled to come to an agreement with Sir Thomas Upington, one of the representatives of the Cape Colony, by means of which, if only Parliament will give its sanction, the necessary defence of Table Bay, probably the most important of all our stations, will be commenced and completed. I am happy to be able to say that, so far from its being probable that the Imperial Government will not be willing to fulfil its promises, that we shall be able to provide all the big guns that are necessary at least as soon as, if not before, the Colonial Government is ready to receive them. I am sure you will forgive me for dwelling on this subject, because after all, the charge of breach of faith is one that an Englishman does not like to hear.

CANADA PROUD OF STRENGTHENING THE EMPIRE.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD in a recent speech at St John's, New Brunswick, after referring to the remarkable speed with which the Canadian Pacific Railway had been completed, and the revolution in trade with the East about to be created by that magnificent enterprise, concluded by warmly expressing his devotion to the Imperial connection, which, we feel convinced, is shared by every true Canadian. "We have also," he said, "as loyal British subjects, a pride in knowing that we have added to the strength of the British Empire by the construction of that railway. We can, the elders among us, remember the time when the Colonies, including Canada, were considered to be a source of weakness to the Mother Country, that England ran great risk of heavy losses by reason of her Colonial dependencies, and that John Bright, then and now a great name in England, announced it as his policy to cut the connection between the Mother Country and her Colonies as soon as it might be conveniently done. But see the change now! She no longer considers her Colonies sources of weakness, no longer desires to cut the connection, and even John Bright, as you have seen in this very year, has gone back on his old predilections,

and, in common with other great British statesmen, considers Canada a great source of strength to the nation. By this route we give to England a great pathway, a military road, so that in the event of the destruction of the Suez Canal the ocean voyage round the Cape of Good Hope will be avoided, and she can transport her troops to any part of Asia or Australia, if needed, by means of this railway, fearless of any opposition by Russia or others." (Cheers.)

A FRENCH-CANADIAN STATESMAN ADVOCATES IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

If it be true, as we are often told, that Imperial Federation is an idea that has not only not been accepted by the democracies of our Colonies, but that has scarcely yet come within their range of vision, we are compelled to believe that Colonial statesmen and journalists are either singularly tactless persons, or else are impelled by some malignant destiny incessantly to harp on subjects that have no interest and no attraction for their audience. On no other hypothesis can we explain the innumerable references to the subject that reach us day by day and week by week from all quarters of the Empire. Here is one from a quarter where some might least have expected to find it, from a speech recently delivered by the Hon. M. Laurier, the leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Quebec Parliament. We quote from the *Montreal Monde* :—

Dans son programme de Somerset, tel que rapporté par *l'Electeur, La Patrie et l'Etendard*, les trois organes libéraux les plus accrédités, l'honorable M. Laurier se déclare contre l'Union Commerciale avec les Etats-Unis, et en faveur de la *fédération impériale*.

Voici les propres paroles prononcées par l'Honorable Chef de l'opposition à ce sujet :

"On a parlé—je suis obligé d'en parler également—dans certains quartiers d'une union commerciale avec la Grande-Bretagne ; on a proposé cette union commerciale avec la Grande-Bretagne comme une idée alternative à l'Union Commerciale avec les Etats-Unis. Pour ma part, je dirai la même chose de l'Union Commerciale avec la Grande-Bretagne que j'ai dite de l'Union Commerciale avec les Etats-Unis. Je ne crois pas que la question ait été discutée pratiquement, jusqu'à aujourd'hui ; cette question-là, si elle était possible, tous nos intérêts étant sauvegardés, du reste, j'accepterais un traité de commerce dans ce sens. Il est permis de supposer que ce mouvement serait suivi par tous les pays qui aujourd'hui reconnaissent la suzeraineté de la Grande-Bretagne. Il y a quelques années, en 1883 ou en 1884, M. Rouher, un des hommes éminents de la nation française à cette époque, le disait :

"A l'heure qu'il est l'équilibre du monde ne repose plus, comme par le passé, sur les Alpes et les Pyrénées, il repose sur les deux hémisphères. Ce qui était vrai, dans ce temps-là, dans l'ordre politique, est vrai aujourd'hui dans l'ordre commercial. Le commerce du monde, qui était autrefois limité aux nations de l'Europe, embrasse aujourd'hui le monde entier.

"Il est permis d'espérer que toutes les nations qui reconnaissent la suzeraineté de la Grande-Bretagne pourront être toutes reliées par des traités commerciaux. Aujourd'hui on envoie des délégués en Australie dans ce but. Qu'est-ce qu'il y aurait de plus facile pour ouvrir un commerce avec l'Australie que d'avoir un traité de commerce Australien ? Messieurs, je crois que l'idée est bienfaisante et juste, et si l'idée est juste, je crois qu'elle finira par triompher."

Cet extrait du discours-programme de l'honorable chef de l'opposition prouve à l'évidence les tendances de la politique du parti libéral vers la *fédération impériale*.

MR. DEAKIN AND MR. VALE ON FEDERATION, IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF VICTORIA.

MR. DEAKIN, in concluding his statement as to the work accomplished by the Imperial Conference, spoke as follows in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria :—"On every side we were received with open arms, with the utmost cordiality, and it seemed as if the people at home felt that nothing was too good or too kind for the representatives of the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) It was pleasant enough to be the recipient of these bounteous courtesies and hospitalities, but still pleasanter to think of the feeling which prompted them, and to reflect that it was not a transient outburst of momentary enthusiasm, but the expression of a strong and growing feeling that the Colonies were part and parcel of the empire. (Cheers.) What better testimony could be afforded of the value of the Imperial Conference—as far as Imperial statesmen could testify to its usefulness and show their appreciation of the manner in which its deliberations were conducted—than the statement of the Premier, applauded alike by his supporters and the members of the Opposition, that this was to be the first of a series of conferences?

(Cheers.) Did not it indicate that all parties were gratified with the results of the Conference, when it was regarded as certain that other Ministries in future times would convene other conferences of Colonial and Imperial representatives to deliberate upon questions of common interest to the various parts of the empire? (Hear, hear.) The Colonial representatives, one and all, left that Conference with the same hope and expectation. While the Conference was proceeding they were treated with the greatest consideration by the representatives of the Home Government. There was no endeavour to entrap the representatives of the Colonies into agreeing to anything that their Parliaments would not endorse—no attempt to obtain anything which the Colonies would not willingly give, for their own particular gain and local advantage. (Cheers.) This was felt by all the Colonial representatives, and we naturally reciprocated the feeling. (Hear, hear.)

THE COLONIES HAVE BECOME PARTNERS IN THE EMPIRE.

I venture to think that this Imperial Conference marks a distinct period in our history, because it would be perfectly impossible in the future for any English Government assuming the reins of power to do anything which would affect the interests of the Colonies without consulting the feelings and wishes of the Colonies on the subject. (Hear, hear.) That principle has been firmly established. The Colonies have come to their maturity, and in future they are entitled to be consulted, not only on questions in relation to their own affairs, but on matters affecting them both directly and indirectly. (Hear, hear.) The Colonies see more clearly than the Home Government can possibly see it what affects their interests in this distant part of the world, and the Home Government by convening this Conference professes itself willing to hear and ready to act upon representations of the Colonies. (Cheers.) This is an immense gain. Only a few years ago complaints were frequent in this chamber that the wishes of the Colony in respect of matters of interest within our own shores were interfered with and overruled by the Imperial Government, but happily that has gone by for ever. (Cheers.) The Colonies are now consulted, not merely in regard to matters affecting their interests within their own borders, but upon questions arising beyond their own borders but affecting their common interests. The creation of the Federal Council gave us the first step by bringing about legislation on subjects of intercolonial concern, and the Imperial Conference has given us the second step, enabling the Colonies to tell the Imperial Government what should be done in regard to matters outside the province of Colonial Governments. (Cheers.)

THE POSSIBILITY OF FEDERATION TESTED BY THE CONFERENCE.

All that was sought for by the Conference was Imperial co-operation. It leaves the responsible Governments of the Colonies just where they were ; it takes from them no power, not encroaching one inch upon their rights and privileges. (Cheers.) If we can secure Imperial co-operation on those conditions, well and good ; if we cannot, what is the use of talking about Imperial Federation at all? (Hear, hear.) The idea of the Conference was to bring about co-operation between the Imperial and the Colonial Governments for their mutual benefit. The Parliaments of the Colonies are to be asked to deal with the outcome of the deliberations of the Conference on each subject simply and solely on the merits of the appeals made to them, and because they promise advantage to each and all ; there was no attempt to coerce the Colonial Parliaments, but if the Colonies could not agree to act together and in conjunction with the Imperial Government in matters of common interest to the Empire, it is idle to talk about Imperial Federation. (Cheers.) The time was not yet ripe for Imperial Federation, but surely it was ripe for Imperial co-operation. (Cheers.) This Conference is the first test as to whether we shall be able to do anything in that direction—whether we shall be able to act together. (Hear, hear.) It puts Federal ideas and Federal professions to the test. (Hear, hear.) If we are unable to act together in Conferences of this kind, and if the Parliaments of the Colonies cannot see it to be to their common interests to co-operate together and with the Imperial Government on questions of intercolonial and Imperial concern, then every word we have uttered, every aspiration we may have felt with regard to Federation, is a mere bubble and an empty dream. (Cheers.)

THE NATURAL OUTCOME OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

If we take full advantage of our present opportunities, what may be done in the future no man can foresee. (Hear, hear.) I believe that the Conference which has just been held is fraught with issues to the future development of these Colonies. I believe that as it recedes from view the Imperial Conference will grow in importance, not because of the individuals who took part in it, or because of the way in which they did their work, but because of the great future it opens out for the Colonies. (Cheers.) . . . The Conference was the natural outcome of Parliamentary Government, and it does not in the slightest degree trench on the prerogatives of Parliament. The

best proof of this, to my mind, is the fact that the Conference was held under the shadow and auspices of the Imperial Parliament, that representatives of that Parliament sat side by side with the representatives of the Colonies with no greater rights, privileges, or advantages than attached to us. And although the present Imperial Parliament exhibits the bitterest feeling ever known in political circles in England, no single voice was lifted to challenge the action of Ministers in entering the Conference, or carrying its work to the conclusion which was attained. If there had been the slightest deviation from constitutional principles in holding such a Conference, the Imperial Parliament would have been the first to have objected. It was of the greatest advantage to the Colonial delegates to see the constitutional methods with which the statesmen of Great Britain conducted the work of the Conference. It was a privilege to meet the representatives of that Parliament, the parent of all Parliaments, the guardian of constitutional liberty, the most renowned, the most distinguished Legislature in the world. (Cheers.) The Imperial Conference brought together representatives from every self-governing part of the British Empire, representatives from every clime and zone. (Cheers.) And I venture to say that of all the communities represented in that chamber, there was no community in which the principles of parliamentary self-government have been more closely maintained than in this Colony of Victoria, and it is to this Parliament that the great and important issues of the Imperial Conference are now committed." (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

MR. VALE, speaking at a subsequent stage of the debate, said that any one would imagine from the tone of some of the speakers that we had no connection with the British Empire, no share in its responsibilities, no participation in its risks—that we could simply go as we pleased and when we liked. In reality, at the present moment there existed a federation of the empire. But our intent and desire was, if possible, at as little cost as we could, to take some share in the government of the empire, and to have some control over its foreign relations, not to be compelled to sit silent while some question of foreign policy was being decided, not upon its merits, but by the chance of whether some Scotch banker or some Irish landlord could influence three or four votes in Parliament. There seemed to be an impression on the part of many hon. members that before we could have a full measure of Imperial Federation we must obtain Australian federation. But if one looked over the characteristics of the people he would find that if there was one feeling more predominant than another it was local jealousy. Local jealousy was the greatest obstacle to any scheme of federation. On several occasions we have sought to create a closer union among the Colonies, but every attempt had been a failure. A great deal had been said about the New Hebrides Question, but had the present or the past Governments desired to settle the matter they could have imposed special taxation on all unnaturalised subjects resident in Victoria, as was proposed recently to be done in France, or have placed special duties on all French products. In the past the Parliament had permitted unnaturalised foreigners to have equal privileges with our citizens, and even to acquire the fee-simple of land—a thing which was not allowed in any other part of the world. It would be well in framing future legislation to consider these matters, and to decide whether it might not be proper to limit the rights of foreigners. If we had Imperial Federation and a voice in the control of foreign affairs, the expenditure on defences might not be so great as hon. members imagined. The cost of the British army and navy was about thirty-five millions per annum for an equal number of persons. Out of that sum must be deducted the large sums which had to be paid in pensions for past services; but it was within the range of probability, if the Colonies agreed to Federation, that they would demand that the army and naval service should be re-cast to reduce the expenditure to its proper limits. If that were done, the burden would not be so heavy as was imagined. In addition, it should be remembered that our expenditure on our defences was proportionately as heavy as that of the Mother Country. (Cheers.) It was clear to his mind that we need not go to a much greater measure of expenditure in military matters even if we had Imperial Federation. In the future the good positions in the service of the Empire should not be filled by a comparatively small section of the English community, but they should also be made available for the rising generation in the Colonies. Doubt had been expressed that Imperial Federation would injuriously affect our fiscal policy, but there need be no difficulty in differentiating between British and foreign products. We might place a duty of from 30 to 40 per cent. on British manufactures, and from 75 to 100 per cent. on goods of foreign make. The tariff question, therefore, need not be a bar to Federation.

It would have been best if members had stated broadly whether it was time that we should separate from England, or whether we should seek to knit more closely the ties which bound us to her. The Colonies, with their growing population and importance, should not have matters which affected them settled without consultation with them by a small clique at home.

THE PETERBOROUGH (CANADA) BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE PROTESTS AGAINST COMMERCIAL UNION.

A MEETING of the Peterborough branch of the Imperial Federation League was held in the Foresters' Hall on September 8th. Mr. J. H. Long occupied the chair. Mr. Long, who had been appointed at a previous meeting to make a digest of a pamphlet by Mr. A. McGoun, of Montreal, on the subject of commercial union, before doing so referred to two or three points which had come under his observation.

It had been argued that the United States offered a much larger field for labour than could be procured in Canada, and the fact that so many Canadians emigrated to the States was used in its support. But it was not because there was a larger field of labour or that living was better there that so many Canadian professional men, artisans, clerks, and others from towns were induced to leave their native land; it was simply because in the United States Canadian labour was at a premium. The American employers preferred Canadians, who were, as a rule, steadier and better workmen, to their own countrymen. A parallel case was found among the bankers of London, England, who preferred to employ the hardy, industrious Scotchmen to the luxuriously bred Englishmen. Then it has been said that commercial union could be carried on without the use of custom houses. The Americans, he says, could have their tariff, and the Canadians theirs. That was all nonsense. The Canadians would either have to conform to American ideas or *vice versa*. That was an important point. There would, at least on the Canadian side, have to be a set of officials to examine certain manufactured articles and literary productions, which freely circulate there, but are forbidden here. Examiners would have to be established to reject these, and when it is said that we would gain by abolishing all the custom houses along the line the statement was untrue. If examiners were appointed at all, it must be a perfect line. Therefore if we have commercial union the two countries must have uniform tariffs and ideas.

The German Zollverein resulted in the political consolidation of all the members of the Zollverein except Austria; and Austria refusing to be absorbed, the result was the war of 1866, which threw Austria out of the German Confederation. Therefore the case of the German Zollverein proves what anti-Commercial Unionists say, viz., that the result would be political union. No instance in history could be mentioned of a commercial union not resulting, if persevered in, in political union. MR. LONG then entered upon a digest of the pamphlet, after which

MR. J. H. BURNHAM inquired if all this discussion was not out of order. The purposes of the Imperial Federation League were to preserve the British Empire, and if, as he thought, this commercial union agitation led to annexation, it certainly should not be discussed here.

The CHAIRMAN replied that any member of the League was at liberty to maintain his own views as to the tendency of commercial union towards annexation, and if any one believed, as many did, that it would not lead to severance with the Mother Country he had the privilege of supporting his belief.

MR. TOKER agreed with Mr. Burnham that not only could they not support annexation, but commercial union also. He read some extracts from Mr. Wiman's speeches in the States, which showed that he was aiming at annexation, and from a letter by Mr. Goldwin Smith, in which that gentleman declared "it was impossible for two countries so closely allied to remain long apart." Speaking of the visit of Mr. Wiman and Mr. Butterworth, he said they were trying to inculcate principles of disloyalty and treason. He could not see how they could draw the line between commercial union and annexation after all their utterances. He read also some press opinions, clipped from American papers, all inclining towards commercial union as a step to annexation. He objected to the tour of Messrs. Wiman and Butterworth because of their dishonesty. They came over here and said they were working for our good, but at home they declare their efforts are towards annexation. That was their platform, and if it was not treason to Canada, as well as to the rest of the empire, he didn't know what it was. He next entered upon a discussion of several points in connection with the question, and concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"That the Peterborough Branch of the Imperial Federation League, while firmly maintaining the right of Canada to frame her tariff to suit her own circumstances, would gladly welcome any agreement which, without abandoning that right, would promote closer commercial relations between the various parts of the British Empire by discriminating against foreign countries, utterly repudiates any proposal to grant more favourable terms to a foreign nation than to her Mother Country or our sister Colonies."

The motion was seconded by the Hon. R. Hamilton.

MR. CARNEGIE, while himself thinking that commercial union would lead to annexation, said the fact should not be

disguised that a reciprocity treaty or other measure would be of certain benefit to Canada, but the question of commercial union was dishonestly discussed. If fairly put before the people the thing would fall to the ground of itself. Under commercial union, he said, everything in Canada would have to conform to the standard of the States, and the next step would be to wipe out the Dominion parliament. Then another point was that if commercial union was adopted all provincial institutions would have to be supported by direct taxation. He concluded his remarks with a peroration upon the future of Canada, which he hoped would, when the country was as old as the United States, be not a whit behind its neighbour. And if we wanted reciprocity, he said, it should be with a country not having the same products as our own, as had the United States, but with one of different natural resources.

MR. E. B. EDWARDS said he did not pretend to know much about the feeling in England regarding the commercial union question, but he could say when he was here this summer he found that a Canadian was treated with more deference than even an Englishman. He spent, he said, a few days in the county of Berkshire, and saw something which showed a tendency existing there which he thought might lead to closer union of the Empire, and may perhaps be the best answer to commercial union. There seems to be a great deal of distress in some parts of the country, for outside competition had greatly reduced the prices of grain and meat, thereby rendering it difficult for the tenant farmers to make ends meet. These tenant farmers seemed to feel that they were on the verge of bankruptcy, and wanted to shut out importations of grain and meat to give better prices. The agricultural implement manufacturers also complained of American competition. It seemed to the speaker that if the feeling largely grew the Mother Country would have to put a tariff upon imported goods; and as she would naturally first discriminate against foreign countries this would lead to closer commercial connection with the Colonies. If carried out, it seemed to him that this plan would meet the principles and aims of the Imperial Federation League to strengthen the Empire.

MR. LONG said that was the scheme that many Imperial Federationists believe in, not that there should be Free Trade in the Empire, but that a tariff discriminating against foreign countries should be adopted.

MR. HILLIARD was of opinion that commercial union would be antagonistic to this scheme of Imperial Federation, and he was opposed to it. As to the lumbering interests, it might be an advantage to a few, but to the provinces at large it would be decidedly injurious. Canada, he said, needed, or in a few years would need, all her own lumber. As an instance of the depletion of our forests, he mentioned that on the route from thirty miles beyond Port Arthur to Selkirk he could not see a single pine tree, or even a stump. He also upheld the argument that the United States' high tariff would necessarily have to be shouldered by Canada. All Canada's overtures in former years towards reciprocity had been treated coldly by the United States, and the result was the National policy. It seemed to him that this commercial union agitation was humiliating. The leading American statesmen pooch-pooched the idea, and he thought the Canadian people were premature in taking up the question.

MR. LONG incidentally made a few remarks about the unfair treatment Canada had always received at the hands of the United States: Mexico, Central America, and Spain too, had suffered from the wrongs inflicted by the United States Government, and in remembrance of all these things it was, he thought, derogatory to the dignity of Canada to discuss the subject.

MAYOR STEVENSON said that from the first inception of commercial union he had deemed the principle impracticable and unworthy of notice, and had never since seen or heard anything that would lead him to alter his opinion. He fully concurred in Mr. Edwards' remarks, and believed that there was a feeling abroad in England tending to closer Colonial alliance. He thought that if commercial union was adopted, and our markets opened to the States, our manufactories would be flooded out. He also stated that articles manufactured in the American penitentiaries, which were not allowed to be sold there, were sent to Canada, and, as American manufacturers' goods, sold at prices that allowed of no competition. That was an instance of how they did things over there. As sure as this principle of commercial union was adopted, he said, if it was afterwards found unsatisfactory by the Americans, they would throw us overboard, and then our country would have to begin over again and win back all the prosperity that it now possesses. Were the American people, who were famous for their shrewdness, going to take Canada into partnership unless something could be made out of it? Rather not, judging from their past conduct. They wanted to annex Canada. They wanted to cry out, "The whole continent is ours."

MR. J. O'MEARA was called upon by the chairman to make a few remarks, but declined, as he had come unprepared to make any statements, but rather to gain information.

MR. EDWARDS added that the only grumbling he heard

against Canada while in England was about the duty on iron, which discriminated against England, and if commercial union was adopted, with its wholesale discriminations, they would become entirely alienated. Any man who advocated Imperial Federation, he thought, should not tolerate the idea of commercial union.

MR. POUSSETTE was of opinion that the policy of commercial union, which tended to annexation, should be scouted by all loyal men. He referred to the tour of Messrs. Wiman and Butterworth, who went about preaching to the people and having no one to answer them. He suggested that this League and other Branch Leagues unite and have an able pamphlet distributed among the farmers of Canada, and thought that it would be a nail in the coffin of the commercial union doctrine. It was universally admitted that the manufacturing industries of Canada would suffer from commercial union. Then he thought that the people of Canada and the United States could not assimilate. Though speaking the same language, and very distantly descended from the same forefathers, yet there was only a limited likeness between them. There was very little Anglo-Saxon about the American. The population of the United States was largely composed of Germans, negroes, and other foreigners, while we in Canada were true Britons.

After a little further desultory discussion, the motion was put and carried unanimously.

Another meeting of the League will be held in the course of a month or so.

THE CONFERENCE BLUE-BOOKS.¹

I.—THE NEW IMPERIAL FLEET FOR AUSTRALASIA.

AT the conclusion of the agreement for establishing the new Australasian Fleet, Lord George Hamilton summed up the situation tersely and well. "It is," he said, "now, I think, nearly two years ago since these proposals were first sent out to Australia. Both Sir Arthur Hood (senior Naval Lord of the Admiralty) and I at that time felt that the great difficulty of coming to any arrangement with Australia as a whole was the great diversity of the wants of the different Colonies, so that it would be requisite for them to subordinate altogether their local feelings and their diversity of wants in order to come together and from a harmonious base co-operate with the Imperial Government. That expectation has been realised." We proceed briefly to review the process by which so happy a result has been attained.

The initial impulse towards an increase in the Australian squadron came from the Inter-Colonial Conference at Sydney in 1881. A resolution there passed to the effect that the naval defence should be strengthened entirely at the expense of the Imperial Government produced a remonstrance from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. But the demand for increased protection of the expanding floating trade grew stronger, and, after some years of correspondence, a scheme was formulated by the Admiralty, and submitted at the close of 1885 by Admiral Tryon to the Australian Governments; the leading feature of this scheme was that the Colonies should bear the whole cost of construction and maintenance of an additional fleet to be provided by the Imperial Government, and to consist of five fast cruisers and two sea-going torpedo vessels, which, after the expiration of the agreement, should become the property of the Colonies. Thus while all parties were agreed as to the necessity for the new fleet, upon the question of who should pay for it they were diametrically opposed.

Admiral Tryon was indefatigable in his exertions to procure the acceptance of these proposals, either in their original or a modified form, and showed great tact and ability in conducting the negotiations with the various Governments. From the first it appeared that the Colonies were agreed as to the uselessness of their becoming owners of vessels which might be obsolete at the end of the term, and preferred to leave them in the hands of the Imperial Government, paying an annual sum for depreciation, instead of bearing the cost of construction. On this basis the Governments of New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia were prepared to advise the acceptance of the scheme, including the whole cost of maintenance for ten years. New Zealand was practically in accordance with the majority, but Victoria stood out firmly against contributing in any shape to the cost of construction or depreciation. No definite expression of opinion appears to have been given by South Australia, but we learn that the Government of that Colony was inclined to support Victoria.

Admiral Tryon made his report in the summer of 1886, and recommended the adoption of a compromise by which the Colonies should pay the cost of maintaining the new fleet, and also 5 per cent. on the cost of construction. It was estimated that the annual depreciation fund would amount to about £31,000, and the charge for maintenance of the seven vessels to about £150,000, which might be reduced, if some of them were placed in reserve, to about £90,000 in time of peace. Having achieved this material advance upon the discordant

¹ "Proceedings of the Colonial Conference." 2 Vols., 9s. 6d. Eyre and Spottiswoode.

views that prevailed when he opened negotiations, Admiral Tryon was shortly afterwards relieved of his command on the Australian station, and the Admiralty showed their appreciation of his advice by instructing his successor, Admiral Fairfax, to renew negotiations upon the basis of the above recommendations, should it be necessary, after the conclusion of the Conference. The subject was brought forward at the first business meeting of the Conference on April 5th, when the whole of the sitting was devoted to its discussion. According to the Government proposals, the Colonies were asked to contribute annually for ten years 5 per cent. on the outlay, £31,500; cost of maintenance (a) in peace, say £90,000; (b) in war, say £150,000. In stating the case, Lord George Hamilton deprecated any desire to drive a hard or niggardly bargain with the Colonies, and reminded the delegates that all public expenditure was scrutinised as carefully here as there; and Sir H. Holland had previously shown that the sinking fund of £31,000 would still leave a deficit of £42,000 to be paid by the Imperial Government, if the capital spent in construction were to be replaced within the ten years. Lord George Hamilton also attached great importance to the success of the scheme as a means of securing "the services of Australian young gentlemen, who could enter the naval service, and there find a sphere for their activity and energy, which he hoped would be beneficial to the Empire, and form an additional and effective tie, binding still more closely together the Colonies and the Mother Country." The Australian delegates then spoke. Some objections were taken by Sir John Downer to the amount of the contributions proposed; but it was shown that the British taxpayer was already responsible for the existing Australian squadron, valued at £850,000 in cost of construction, and at £237,000 for annual maintenance. Mr. Deakin urged that "the shipping of the Colony of Victoria bears an entirely insignificant proportion to the British shipping trade to Victoria," and that the Colony should therefore only be asked for a proportionate contribution. But in a memorandum upon the discussion subsequently issued Sir H. Holland showed that Victoria would only be asked for her quota as part of Australia, and that the amount and value of Australian shipping trading to Victorian ports was considerably greater than British. Sir F. Dillon Bell pointed out the exceptional position of New Zealand as an outpost in the Pacific, and advanced a claim to have two vessels always stationed in New Zealand waters. Finally the discussion was adjourned without any agreement having been arrived at, Victoria and South Australia adhering to their objections to the 5 per cent. sinking fund.

On Monday, April 18th, another whole sitting was appropriated to the same subject, and Lord George Hamilton announced as a further modification of the scheme that the Imperial Government were prepared to relieve the Colonies of any additional cost in case of war, thus limiting their contributions to the estimate on a peace footing of £91,000. The Government, however, felt bound to adhere to their proposal for a depreciation fund of 5 per cent., in view of their having to replace the vessels at the end of the ten years. In stating his belief that this was a liberal offer, Lord George Hamilton dwelt upon the friendly spirit in which the representatives had approached the scheme, and which had confirmed the Government in their desire to use every effort for arriving at an agreement which the Colonial Ministries might willingly and heartily recommend to their Parliaments with a probability of procuring its acceptance. After some further discussion it was agreed that two ships should be always, except in case of emergency, stationed in New Zealand waters, and an adjournment took place to enable the representatives to submit the proposals to their Governments.

Just a week later the Conference assembled to hear the replies from the Colonies, and it is gratifying to find that they were all unanimous in accepting the revised scheme, subject to the sanction of their respective Parliaments. Several important details were at the same time arranged. The Imperial Government undertook to replace any ship which might be lost during the ten years, which should date from the time when the vessels were commissioned; it was stated that they would take two years to build, and that the ratification by the Colonial Parliaments would, if granted, be received within a twelve-month. Sir Samuel Griffith urged that, instead of a fixed contribution or subsidy, the amount payable should be calculated on the actual expenditure in each year, and this important point was willingly conceded. It now only remained to draw up a draft agreement for approval, and on Friday, May 6th, a day ever memorable in the annals of the British Empire, the agreement was submitted and approved by all the representatives. There is only one omission which we should have liked to see embodied, and it is to be regretted that Sir Samuel Griffith's laudable efforts in this direction were unsuccessful. We mean the arrangement of a basis upon which the proportions payable by the various Colonies should be assessed; there seems to be a difference of opinion as to whether "population," or "population; trade, and tonnage," shall be the basis. This will have to be settled by the Colonies themselves, and we can only hope, with Mr. Deakin, that it will not prove a difficult question. The agreement, as it stands, forms a State Paper of unique significance. In presenting it to our readers, we cannot

use words more expressive than those of Sir Patrick Jennings when the subject was closed:—"I am quite sure, speaking on behalf of New South Wales, and, I think, of the other Colonies, that that substantial agreement, sanctioned as it is by an almost unanimous expression of assent, will become an established fact, and that it will bear fruit, and that, marking as it does a new departure with regard to the relations existing between the Colonies and the Imperial Government, we may look back to it as the first link of a chain that will bind us together substantially in the future in all other matters."

TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT AS TO ADDITIONAL FORCE TO BE EMPLOYED FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE FLOATING TRADE IN AUSTRALASIAN WATERS.

The Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Governments of Her Majesty's Colonies of New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia, New Zealand, Victoria, Queensland, and Western Australia, having recognised the necessity of increasing the Naval Force for the protection of the floating trade in Australasian Waters at their joint charge, have resolved to conclude for this purpose an Agreement, as follows:—

ARTICLE I.

There shall be established a force of sea-going ships of war, hereinafter referred to as "these vessels," to be provided, equipped, manned, and maintained, at the joint cost of Imperial and Colonial funds.

ARTICLE II.

These vessels shall be placed in every respect on the same status as Her Majesty's ships of war, whether in commission or not.

ARTICLE III.

The officers and men of such of these vessels as are in commission shall be changed triennially, and of those in reserve as may be considered advisable.

ARTICLE IV.

These vessels shall be under the sole control and orders of the Naval Commander-in-Chief for the time being appointed to command Her Majesty's ships and vessels on the Australian station. These vessels shall be retained within the limits of the Australian station as defined in the Standing Orders of the Naval Commander-in-Chief, and in times of peace or war shall be employed within such limits in the same way as are Her Majesty's ships of war, or employed beyond those limits only with the consent of the Colonial Governments.

ARTICLE V.

Notwithstanding the establishment of this joint naval force, no reduction is to take place in the normal strength of Her Majesty's naval force employed on the Australian station, exclusive of surveying vessels.

ARTICLE VI.

These vessels shall consist of five fast cruisers and two torpedo gunboats as represented by the *Archer* (improved type) and *Katilsnake* classes in Her Majesty's navy. Of the above, three cruisers and one gunboat to be kept always in commission, the remainder being held in reserve in Australasian ports ready for commission whenever occasion arises.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The first cost of these vessels shall be paid out of Imperial funds, and the vessels fully equipped, manned, and sent to Australia.
2. The Colonies shall pay the Imperial Government interest at 5 per cent. on the first and prime cost of these vessels, such payment not to exceed the annual sum of £35,000.
3. The Colonies shall, in addition, bear the actual charges for maintaining from year to year the three fast cruisers and one torpedo gunboat which are to be kept in commission in time of peace, and also of the three other vessels which are to remain in reserve, including the liability on account of retired pay to officers, pensions to men, and the charge for relief of crews, provided always that the claim made by the Imperial Government under this head does not exceed the annual payment of £91,000.
4. In the time of emergency or actual war the cost of commissioning and maintaining the three vessels kept in reserve during peace shall be borne by the Imperial Government.

ARTICLE VIII.

In the event of any of these vessels being lost they shall be replaced at the cost of the Imperial Government.

ARTICLE IX.

1. This Agreement shall be considered to become actually binding between the Imperial and the several Colonial Governments named in the first clause so soon as the Colonial Legislatures shall have passed special appropriations for the terms hereinafter mentioned, to which Acts this Agreement shall be attached as a first schedule.
2. The Agreement shall be for a period of ten years, and only terminate if and provided notice has been given two years previously, viz., at the end of the eighth year or at the end of any subsequent year, and then two years after such date.
3. On the termination of the Agreement these vessels to remain the property of the Imperial Government.

ARTICLE X.

1. The payments named in Article VII. shall be considered as payments in advance, and shall first become due and payable on the dates on which the several vessels are put in commission; and the period of ten years referred to in Article IX. is to be calculated from the date of the first vessel being put in commission.
2. The share of these payments due from each Colony shall be paid annually in London by the Agents-General and the Crown Agents

respectively to such account as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty may direct.

3. The accounts of these vessels shall be closed each year on the 31st March, and the difference between expenditure and £91,000 per annum for maintenance adjusted in subsequent annual payments, should the actual expenditure prove less than that sum.

ARTICLE XI.

Nothing in this Agreement shall affect the purely local naval defence forces which have been, or may be, established in the several Colonies for harbour and coast defence. Such local forces in each Colony to be paid for entirely by that Colony, and to be solely under its control.

ARTICLE XII.

In time of peace two ships, either of the normal Imperial squadron, or of these vessels, shall be stationed in New Zealand waters as their head-quarters. Should, however, such emergency arise as may, in the opinion of the Naval Commander-in-Chief, render it necessary to remove either or both of such ships, he shall inform the Governor of the reasons for such temporary removal.

HERE AND THERE.

THE Post Office authorities announce that in future letters for the East by the Canadian Pacific route should be inscribed *via* Montreal, instead of *via* Vancouver. This will insure letters being forwarded by San Francisco, should any delay be probable in the departure of the steamer from Vancouver. Of course the delay is due to waiting for cargo, and will be avoided as soon as the subsidised service commences.

WE beg to congratulate gentleman cadet A. L. P. Davis, of the Royal Military College, Kingston, Canada, upon receiving his commission in the Imperial Army.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S appointment as a member of the Anglo-American Joint Commission upon the Fisheries Question has been favourably received.

A DESPATCH has been forwarded by the Colonial Office to the self-governing Colonies, asking for the opinions of their Governments upon matters connected with State-directed Colonisation. To Mr. Kimber, M.P., belongs the credit of having procured the institution of this inquiry.

A DEPUTATION from the Chamber of Manufactures in Victoria waited recently upon the Postmaster-General to urge the adoption of penny postage throughout the Colony. Mr. Derham hoped that next year the Government would be able to give the system a trial. He pointed out that revenue stamps and postage stamps being identical, there was no way of calculating the receipts from postage stamps.

THE Australian Colonies have unanimously agreed to observe henceforward as a public holiday the day on which the first British settlement in Australia was founded. January 26th is the anniversary day.

THE rails are laid over seventeen miles of line upon the Delagoa Bay Railway into the interior.

CAPTAIN HENRY P. AIREY, of the New South Wales Artillery, has been promoted to the rank of Brevet Major for distinguished service in Burmah.

A MOTION by Mr. Woods in favour of Intercolonial Free Trade has been agreed to unanimously by the Legislative Assembly of Victoria. The Commissioner of Customs said during the debate that Victoria has everything to gain and nothing to lose by Intercolonial reciprocity, and Mr. Deakin declared he would rather be defeated as a member of a Government in advocating Intercolonial Free Trade than be victorious in opposing it.

AN "Absconding Debtors' Bill," enabling the recovery of debts by residents in other Colonies from persons coming to South Australia, has passed the second reading. A similar measure has been introduced in Victoria.

WE have received the first number of a new monthly Canadian periodical, entitled the *Anglo-Saxon*. It is a quarto eight-paged journal, and will be devoted to the interests of Englishmen in Canada. The prospectus states that it will advocate, among other subjects, "the Unity of the British Empire," and "the joint maintenance of an Imperial army and navy." These two "planks" alone are sufficient to constitute an excellent platform.

NEW SOUTH WALES AND VICTORIAN INDUSTRIES.—With regard to the boasted supremacy of Victoria in the matter of manufactures, we have repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that the statistics of New South Wales show that the number of manufactories, works, &c., in that Colony is actually greater than it is in Victoria. The numbers for 1886 are: for Victoria 2,813, and for New South Wales 3,612. Those which have been opened since 1877 are: in New South Wales 1,256, and in Victoria 510; while the proportion of masters to hands employed is one-third greater in the former than it is in the latter. As regards the number of male employés the figures are 42,289 for New South Wales and 41,542 for Victoria; but nevertheless Victoria can show a preponderance of factory operatives, for she has 7,755 female hands as against 3,494.—*South Australian Register*.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

AUGUST 19—SEPTEMBER 16, 1887.

(Parliament was prorogued on September 16th.)

THE NEW HEBRIDES.

August 23rd.—In the House of Commons, on the occasion of the Diplomatic Vote being taken,

MR. BRYCE said that as to the occupation by France of the New Hebrides, he understood that the Government did not wish to give any information as to the negotiations. He felt bound, however, to direct attention to the subject. The Australian Colonies were sensitively interested in the New Hebrides Question. It was discussed at the recent Colonial Conference, and the discussion was of so vivacious a character that Her Majesty's Government had not printed it in the report. The Australian Colonists trusted the House of Commons to see that their interests were properly safeguarded; and we were bound to put them in the position they would be in if they had representatives in this House. (Hear, hear.) It was only in this way we could reciprocate the cordial attachment of the Colonists to this country. Mr. Bryce then referred to the facts which had preceded the existing deadlock. Coming to the time when news arrived of the French military expedition to the islands, he reminded the House that the French Government admitted that they were bound by the agreement and promised to withdraw their troops, but they claimed a right to protect French settlers. We proposed a scheme of joint naval protection; the French Government sent us a counter-proposal; we replied on the 26th of November last; and since then, as he understood, there had been no further reply on the part of France. But in September last a fresh batch of convicts was sent to New Caledonia, and every fresh batch increased the alarm and anxiety of our Colonists. It had been stated in that House in reply to a question that there was no agreement between us and France bearing upon colonisation, and that was quite true. The settlement of French Colonists was nothing in itself, but each settlement was taken to mean a further step towards annexation. In this state of facts the French Government continued to evade the demands of Her Majesty's Government for an immediate settlement of the question. It was understood that the French Government were endeavouring to mix up the question of the evacuation of the New Hebrides with the questions of the Suez Canal and of Egypt, but he hoped suggestions of that kind would be resisted by the Government. There was a rumour, he trusted unfounded, that Her Majesty's Government had thought of making some concession to France in some other part of the Pacific in return for France quitting the New Hebrides. That would be looked upon with great disapproval by this country, and he hoped that the right hon. gentleman would be able to show that no such bargain was in the contemplation of Her Majesty's Government.

SIR J. FERGUSSON agreed that the question was one which must necessarily attract very much attention in this country, and, beyond that, the degree of anxious attention which it attracted from the Australian Colonies must render it a topic to which attention must be called. That was quite evident. The right hon. gentleman had referred to the discussion which was said to have taken place at the Colonial Conference. For reasons which he need not go into those deliberations had not been published, but he must say that the rumours which had got afloat on that subject had been extremely exaggerated. He thought it was of very great advantage that those intelligent and eminent men did not hesitate to express themselves frankly to Her Majesty's Government as to the feeling of the Colonies which they represented, and if Her Majesty's Government had been at all insensible on the matter they would have been impressed by the manner in which it had been brought to their attention by those gentlemen. He had himself passed six or seven years in those Colonies, and he thoroughly understood and appreciated the feelings of the Colonists upon the subject. But at the same time we must have regard to the feelings of other countries in such matters. (Hear, hear.) It must be evident that other countries, having a sense of power and a desire of expansion, were anxious to occupy the unsettled lands of the world, and we ought to have consideration for their feelings in that respect. With regard to the New Hebrides, it was quite true that certain engagements had been entered into between Great Britain and France as to an occupation. But the French Government held that the French settlements there required the temporary protection of a military force. Her Majesty's Government could not look without fear and doubt upon the continued occupation by a military force of a group which it had been agreed should be neutral, and therefore successive Administrations had urged upon the French Government the necessity of each nation fulfilling its pledge to the other, and the French Government had never denied the weight of their obligations. In the course of the last year some negotiations took place with a view to the protection of the settlements, for, as colonisation went on, there must be some protection for the Colonists of either nation. It was no wonder, however, that the Australian Colonists saw with concern the continued presence of a military force in the New Hebrides, and Her Majesty's Government had not hesitated to represent to the French Government that the continued presence of such a force had given uneasiness to the Australian Colonies and to the people of this country. No connection was admitted by Her Majesty's Government between the question of the New Hebrides and the neutralisation of the Suez Canal. The subject of the colonisation of the New Hebrides formed no part of the agreement between the two countries, and we should be going absolutely beyond our rights if we objected to it. The question was how the settlers were to be protected. He was sure the Committee would agree that it was most desirable that a good understanding should continue to subsist between two neighbouring countries like France and England, and that a friendly rivalry should not be allowed to degenerate into animosity. (Hear, hear.)

FRANCHISE IN THE CAPE COLONY.

August 26th.—In the House of Commons SIR G. CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he had received

representations from coloured natives of the Cape Colony and others that a Registration Bill which had passed the Cape Parliament was really a disfranchising Bill, by which large numbers of the coloured subjects of Her Majesty who were entitled to be enrolled as voters under the law hitherto in force would be deprived of that right; whether the Governor of the Cape Colony had assented to that Bill or reserved assent; and whether the Government would inquire into the matter, and would take care that the power of Her Majesty to disallow that law was preserved till it was ascertained whether it really did disfranchise the major part of the population.

SIR H. HOLLAND: Telegrams have been received showing that some of the natives object to the Act on the grounds stated. The Act has been assented to by the Governor, and Her Majesty's Government are awaiting his report upon it, after considering which report, with the representations of the natives, they will decide whether the law really does contain such a measure of disfranchisement as would justify its disallowance. The power of disallowance remains in force for two years from receipt of the law here.

MANITOBA RAILWAY DISALLOWANCE.

August 29.—In the House of Commons, replying to SIR H. TYLER, SIR H. HOLLAND read a telegram received from Lord Lansdowne on Friday evening:—"Your telegram of the 24th. Have ascertained that the statement is a pure fabrication." That refers to the words alleged to have been uttered by Sir J. Macdonald. "Provincial Act for construction of Red River Valley Railway was disallowed by me on the advice of my responsible advisers on ground that line would tap traffic of the Canadian Pacific Railway not yet fully established or developed, and thereby seriously injure commercial interests of the whole country, which has submitted to large sacrifices in order to unite the Provinces by national road. This question was discussed at great length by the new Parliament in May of this year, and Government policy supported by large majority. Provincial Government is proceeding with the line under Public Works Act. Injunction has been obtained in interests of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but my Government has not interfered except by disallowance. Despatch follows by mail."

WANTED, A CABLE TO BERMUDA.

August 30.—In the House of Commons SIR E. WATKIN asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Treasury still objected to connect the great fortresses, torpedo station, and military and naval establishments of Bermuda with the fortress of Halifax, Nova Scotia, by a submarine cable; whether he had considered that, as the distance was only 750 miles, the expense would be small, and that the annual interest on outlay, if the capital were raised in 99 years' terminable annuities at $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., would be only £3,500, against which receipts for commercial messages would accrue; whether the Governor of Bermuda had long urged the necessity of laying such a cable; whether the War Office and the Admiralty did not entirely concur with the Governor; and whether he could state for what reasons the Government declined to have the cable laid.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Treasury do not object to connect by submarine cable the places named in the question of the hon. baronet. Tenders were invited last year for laying and maintaining a cable, but none of the tenders were accepted, the cost and conditions not being considered satisfactory. The cost would be largely in excess of the amount named in the question, and the Treasury would not favourably entertain capital being raised on 99 years' annuities for such a purpose as submarine cables. The War Office and Admiralty think it would be desirable to have some communication with Bermuda.

ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA.

September 6.—In the House of Commons, during Committee of Supply, SIR G. CAMPBELL having called attention to affairs in New Guinea,

SIR H. HOLLAND said that the Government were not going to hand over New Guinea to Queensland. Any one who took the trouble to read the discussion on, as well as the schedule of, the Queensland Bill, which provided for the expenses of the government of British New Guinea, must see that this country kept New Guinea entirely in its own hands. There was really no foundation for the contention of the hon. member that we were practically going to hand over New Guinea to Queensland. It would not be unnatural that the Australasian Colonies should desire to see in British hands the land on the other side of the Straits, but the feeling was not confined to Queensland as to the desirableness of claiming sovereignty over New Guinea. The feeling was universally felt throughout the Colonies of Australia, and with the exception of South Australia they were all subscribing towards the expenses of New Guinea. Therefore the hon. member was wrong when he assumed that Queensland alone was interested in New Guinea. It was by no means clear that the other Australasian Colonies would be prepared, even if Queensland desired it, to see New Guinea handed over to Queensland. The hon. member had thought fit to go back to the very old complaint of the ill-treatment of Polynesians in Queensland. The hon. member must be aware that a Commission was appointed at their own instigation to examine into the charges, and that the whole system had been changed. These natives had been returned to their own islands, and everything had been done by the Queensland Government within the past year or two to conduct the system on a proper footing. . . . He could not then enter upon a discussion of the Settlements Bill, although he must say that the hon. member's statement of it was profoundly incorrect. He said now, as he had said before, that New Guinea did not come under the head of conquest or cession, and that it was a settlement long inhabited by some British settlers. It was a British settlement, and subject to the Act of 31 and 32 Vict., cap. 151. With regard to the point as to registration of land purchasers in the Western Pacific Islands, that subject was also brought before the Colonial Conference. All other countries were allowing registration of purchases of land by their people—Germans, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese—and why we alone of all countries should

not allow our subjects to settle in these islands did seem to him unaccountable. That change had been made, and he had to assure the hon. member that if it had been done long ago we should have been saved a great deal of trouble in Samoa and other places. (Hear, hear.)

MR. W. A. M'ARTHUR said with respect to the registration of claims to land in the Western Pacific that the want of it had for years stood in the way of the settlement of those islands, he thought it one of the greatest boons that had been conferred upon Australia. (Hear, hear.) Last year he was all through the northern parts of Queensland and saw a good deal of the black labour there, and he never saw a more cheerful or amicable set of men. They were far more independent of their masters and were a great deal better looked after by the inspectors of labour in the Colony than any English labourer that he knew of. The only regret he felt with regard to our possessions in New Guinea was that they did not extend all over the island. He believed the extension of our authority was good for the natives, for Australia, and for the British Empire, and he sincerely hoped that, so far from the Colonial Office being discouraged in the policy they were pursuing they would do their best to extend it as far as possible. (Cheers.)

MR. A. SUTHERLAND asked what was the nature of the registration which the right hon. gentleman had referred to.

SIR H. HOLLAND said that as a rule the land was bought from the natives, and up to the present time there was no means of registering titles to land so bought by British subjects. It was of extreme importance that when land was bought there should at once be a registration of title, otherwise great trouble arose. At the present moment in Samoa there was great trouble arising between German and British subjects.

ZULULAND AND NATAL.

SIR H. HOLLAND said, replying to an inquiry from Sir G. Campbell, that as to the annexation of Natal, he could assure the hon. member for Kirkcaldy that he was labouring under a misapprehension as to the real state of the case. The desire of the Zulus on that point had been examined, and it was not intended that they should be annexed to Natal.

SOUTH AFRICAN CONFEDERATION.

At a subsequent stage of the Committee DR. CLARK said that we ought to lay down some definite lines in regard to our South African policy. At the beginning of the session he suggested that a Commission should be sent out to investigate and report upon all the circumstances of the case, and should try to bring about a Customs union and some form of federation. The Dutch and the English in South Africa had a common aim and object, and they might help each other in developing civilisation there.

SIR H. HOLLAND agreed with the hon. member that a final settlement of South African affairs could best be effected by the hearty co-operation of the Republics, the Cape and Natal, and Her Majesty's Government, but he thought that the first step in bringing about such co-operation ought to come from the other side of the water. Her Majesty's Government would be most anxious to work heartily in that direction if any such offer were made to them.

FROM BECHUANALAND TO THE ZAMBESI.

SIR H. HOLLAND in another speech said the Government proposed to retain what they had. They did not propose to hand over Bechuanaland to any one. The question as to whether the Government were prepared to accept the extension which Sir C. Warren at one time advocated to the Zambesi was one of very great difficulty. As at present advised, however, Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to take any further steps to extend the protectorate beyond its present limits. He did not think it possible to give any further pledge to the House, because these questions changed so frequently and were so complicated, but the Government felt that if they accepted Sir C. Warren's views, and extended the protectorate to the Zambesi, they might find themselves in a difficulty as to questions which might arise respecting boundaries. The Government therefore proposed to retain what they had, and unless forced to do so to take no more.

CRUISERS IN THE PACIFIC.

September 12th.—In the House of Commons, CAPTAIN COLOMB asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether there was any line of British steamers traversing the North Pacific Ocean which could furnish vessels fulfilling Admiralty conditions for armed cruisers of sixteen knots seagoing speed, and what steps were being taken to give effect to the policy of subvention for the protection of the considerable British commerce in the North Pacific, so as to secure in peace the presence of fast merchant steamers suitable and ready for conversion as armed cruisers in those waters on the outbreak of war.

LORD G. HAMILTON.—I am not aware of the existence in the Pacific of any line of British steamers fulfilling the conditions prescribed by the Admiralty for the employment of merchant vessels as armed cruisers. The Admiralty cannot create a line of merchant steamers in any part of the world, but if a line of steamers be established which would be able to furnish the Admiralty with armed cruisers of the requisite speed, strength, and coal endurance, it would be the duty of the Admiralty to entertain any propositions to that effect made to them.

EAST INDIA AND CHINA MAILS.

CAPTAIN COLOMB asked whether any provisions had been introduced into the new ten years' contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Company binding the Company to carry the East India and China mails *via* the Cape in the event of war interfering with the service *via* the Suez Canal.

SIR H. MAXWELL.—In reply to the hon. member's question, I have to state that even a more comprehensive provision has been introduced into the contract, and if the hon. member will refer to the Treasury minute, dated March 21, 1887, annexed to the contract itself, which has been laid on the table of the House, he will find the following passage:—"In the event of war or disturbance on the continent of Europe, the contractors will so arrange the mail service as to meet the exigencies of the situation."

Imperial Federation.

NOVEMBER, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MEMBERS of the League are to be congratulated upon the hearty response which has been already given to the appeal for a three-years' Guarantee Fund. Particulars will be found in another column; a stimulating influence upon other branches can hardly fail to be exercised by the admirable example set by the Kensington branch, whose members have come forward with subscriptions that testify in a most gratifying way to their appreciation of the League's work. The fund will remain open for the present, for the sphere of the League's usefulness is only limited by its resources, and profitable channels exist for the employment of every sovereign that is tendered.

A RECENT leading article in the *Melbourne Argus* shows that public opinion in Australia is as keenly alive as ever to the necessity of firm action in regard to the French occupation of the New Hebrides. It is very pleasant to learn that the old suspicion about apathy in Downing Street has at length been replaced by hearty confidence in the determination of the Imperial Government to maintain an unwavering attitude. Perusal of the following significant sentences in the *Argus* cannot fail to afford the keenest satisfaction to all who are striving to promote sympathy and goodwill throughout the Empire:—"The Colonies are an integral portion of the British Empire, and they ask that their case should be pressed with just the same spirit and determination as if English or Scotch interests were assailed. The belief in Australia is that to a considerable extent the apathy and indifference of the departments has been overcome, that the Ministers are pressing our case as it should be pressed—namely, as if it were England's own; and when Great Britain is sympathetic, the Colonies, in a loyal and generous spirit, will be reluctant to say or do anything to add to her difficulties."

"OUR OWN Correspondent" of the *South Australian Register* ought to be more careful in the telegrams he despatches. Our readers will remember the *canard* in the *Toronto Evening News* which Reuter's Agency thought worthy of transmission to London. No one acquainted with Canadian politics believed it, and it was promptly contradicted as being absolutely and entirely false. But, at any rate, there can be no excuse for cabling the message to Australia as if it were a well-authenticated fact, without mentioning the source of so improbable a rumour; yet this is how it appeared in the *Register* of August 25th:—

SPECIAL TELEGRAMS.

[From our own Correspondent.]

[RECEIVED August 24, 1.30 p.m.]

London, August 23.

AMERICAN AND CANADIAN RAILWAYS.

Sir John Macdonald, Premier of the Dominion of Canada, has threatened to apply for a force of British regular troops to prevent the completion of railway connection between Manitoba and the American system.

[RECEIVED August 24, 8.15 p.m.]

London, August 24.

Sir John Macdonald states that a strong British garrison will shortly be stationed at Winnipeg, to protect British interests.

OF course, this unfortunate telegram is made the subject of an editorial comment, and thousands of readers of one of

the most important papers in Australia will have perused the misleading intelligence. The cause of Australian Federation could not fail to be damaged by so conspicuous a suggestion of strained relations in the Canadian Dominion, and no contradiction ever undoes the mischief once wrought. All this might have been avoided, if "Our Own Correspondent" had named the obscure source of his news, instead of lending the weight of his authority to the statement. The whole miserable blunder illustrates well the Yankee proverb "that a lie will travel from Maine to Georgia while truth is getting her boots on."

WE regret that in our last issue the HON. M. LAURIER was inadvertently mentioned as the Leader of the Opposition in the Quebec Parliament. We should have said the Dominion Parliament, and should have then been able to remark upon the gratifying fact that both the Prime Minister of Canada and the Leader of the Opposition are of one mind as to the advantages of consolidating the British Empire, whatever may be their differences of opinion upon questions of domestic policy.

No doubt some very good reason exists for the new ordinance enacting that coin of the realm shall cease to be legal tender in British Honduras. At the same time we confess to having very carefully studied the proclamation without being able to discover any cause for the change. The complexity of the new forms of legal tender seems as great as that of the old. We could understand the object in elevating other coinage to rank as equivalent to our own currency; but abolishing the British coinage in a British Colony is a measure that ought not, in our opinion, to be taken without overwhelming reasons in explanation of a proceeding apparently so undignified.

WE understand that the Government of Queensland have drawn up a scheme for promoting State-aided village settlements in the Colony, which seems to have been favourably received. One of the greatest difficulties Australian statesmen have to contend with in endeavouring to open up the country is the natural disinclination of the inhabitants to settle in the bush. There is no alternative between life in the towns or settlement in isolated homesteads, where the nearest neighbours live miles away, where there are no schools, no churches, nor, indeed, any opportunities for satisfying the gregarious instincts of mankind. It can hardly be wondered at if the immigrant, accustomed to village life in England, finds the isolation of the bush intolerable, and makes his way as soon as possible to the nearest town. The Government of Queensland will achieve a notable work if it can organise settlement in village communities on a permanent and successful footing; but the task will be no easy one.

THE Imperial Government has been asked to contribute £5,000 towards the proposed Antarctic expedition, provided the Australian Colonies furnish a similar sum each. As the *Times* very truly says:—"In the existing state of relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies, any opportunity of taking combined action for a worthy purpose should be eagerly embraced by both." To suggest that an Antarctic expedition, which promises boundless opportunities of discovery and scientific research, does not deserve national support, is to cast a slur upon the country whose efforts sustained those famous explorers in Northern latitudes, FRANKLYN, PARRY, NARES, and a host of other heroes of the Arctic regions.

MR. J. CASTELL HOPKINS reminds us that the Toronto Board of Trade has passed strong resolutions opposed to

any kind of discrimination in favour of a foreign nation and against Great Britain. We cannot but hope that the deliberate opinion of the second commercial city in Canada will carry greater weight than that of philosophical theorists or American speculators.

"LET me, in conclusion," writes MR. HOPKINS, "venture a warning to those in Great Britain who may be disposed to look with indifference upon such a scheme, and even though I have to encounter the glamour of DR. SMITH'S insidious eloquence and the ability of his powerful pen, I would state without fear of successful contradiction that the day that beholds the Dominion of Canada a portion of an American Zollverein will see the beginning of Imperial disintegration, the loss of Britain's premier Colony, and the commencement of a period of gradual decay, the termination of which would be the destruction of the unity of the British Empire in every part of the world, and the ruin of England's material supremacy. May the policy of prevention, the policy of Imperial reciprocity, and of a world-wide British Commercial Union in a more general sense be adopted before it is too late."

MANY people wondered why the Imperial Conference was always officially designated "Colonial." The question was asked during one of the sittings by SIR ROBERT WISDOM, speaking on behalf of several members of the Conference, and the reason assigned by SIR HENRY HOLLAND was that India was not included.

A GOOD deal has been said on both sides about the value of King George's Sound as a coaling-station, but the most practical piece of evidence we have come across is to be found in the following fact, vouched for by MR. BURT and MR. FORREST at the Conference. At the time of the now famous "war scare," in 1885, when ADMIRAL TRVON commanded the Australian fleet, the first step he took was to detach two gunboats from his small squadron, station them at King George's Sound, and keep them there for three or four months, until all danger of war was over. His object, undoubtedly, was to protect the coal which he saw deposited there from being taken possession of by a possible enemy. This action on the Admiral's part clearly proves that whatever be the theoretical value of Albany as an Imperial coaling station, it will and must be defended at all hazards so long as coal is actually accumulated there to meet the requirements of commerce.

"Now that Germany has got a footing at Samoa, France will be less disposed than ever to evacuate the New Hebrides. And what it all amounts to is that the Pacific is being studded with the outposts of the two great armed camps of Europe. That is what we have to thank our Imperial Government for." We cannot help feeling that the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* is somewhat ungracious in laying all the blame for the presence of France and Germany in the Pacific upon the Imperial Government. It should be remembered that the adherence of New South Wales to the Australian concert in the matter of the New Hebrides is only of recent date, and that no Government would have felt justified in prosecuting resistance to the French claims very far until assured of unanimous support from the Australian Colonies. We think we express the sentiment of the majority in believing that but for the Imperial Government far more serious inroads would have been made by Europe upon Australasia and the Pacific long ago.

It seems only a fitting tribute to the League's exertions in connection with the recent Conference, that one of its most distinguished members should be asked to open the

session of the Royal Colonial Institute with a paper on the subject. A treat is in store for those who are present at the meeting in the Hôtel Métropole on Nov. 8th to hear CANON DALTON discuss matters of which he is so shrewd and competent a critic. For the benefit of those of our readers whose personal attendance is impossible, we intend to give an ample report in our next issue.

MR. JAMES SERVICE, late Prime Minister of Victoria, is well known and respected in this country apart from his reputation as one of the giants of Parliamentary life in the Antipodes. He is also a pillar of the Imperial Federation League, being a member of our General Committee, and an ardent supporter of the unity of the Empire. We understand that MR. SERVICE contemplates returning to Victoria before the end of the year, and that a number of his friends and admirers are anxious to "speed the parting guest" with a banquet before he leaves this country. The date has not yet been fixed, but we believe that the arrangements are in the very competent hands of MR. A. H. LORING and MR. J. S. O'HALLORAN, who have consented to act as Honorary Secretaries in the work of organising the banquet.

THE *Canadian Gazette* states that the Dominion Government has informed HER MAJESTY'S Government that it desires to see the law concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister assimilated throughout the Empire. This is an important step in the direction of Federation, and is especially welcome as being the outcome of a spontaneous desire for unity on the part of our greatest Colony.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made for a great meeting in the Town Hall, Poplar, on the 30th November. MR. SYDNEY C. BUXTON, M.P. for Poplar, will preside, and the meeting will be addressed by MAJOR A. E. WELBY, Royal Scots Greys, and MR. H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER, upon the subject of Imperial Federation. MAJOR WELBY has recently returned from a tour in Canada, and is expected to speak on some of the questions connected with that Dominion.

WE have received from MR. LEWIS APPLETON a copy of a pamphlet on "The Military and Financial Condition of Europe," which he has compiled on behalf of the British and Foreign Arbitration Association. Its object, of course, is to show the crushing nature of the burden that is imposed upon Europe by its present military system. Pending, however, the arrival of the millennium, it will be useful even to military men as affording an apparently accurate summary of the size and cost of the armies and navies of the different European Powers. We learn that States with a total population of 380 millions have standing armies of just over four millions—a curious correspondence this with GIBBON'S estimate that 1 per cent. of the population is as much as any State can afford to withdraw for military purposes from productive employments. Turning—as we naturally do—to Great Britain and Ireland, we learn that the population is 35,000,000, with a standing army of 198,000, or 676,000 when the reserves are included. In the standing army MR. APPLETON has consequently included the English regiments on the Indian establishment, but not our Indian army proper. Similarly the reserves include "neither the militia nor volunteers in the British Colonies." But to compare Great Britain on these terms with Germany or Italy is worse than futile; it is utterly misleading. For our own part, we confess to thinking that if the Arbitration Association would devote its energies to securing a thorough and plastic organisation for the whole of the overwhelming force at the disposal of Greater Britain, it would do more

for the peace of the world than it is ever likely to effect by gently breathing forth a series of Utopian aspirations.

A CORRESPONDENT has written to the *Manchester Guardian* with reference to a question "of great importance to ship-owners and merchants" which has been raised by the Hong-Kong Chamber of Commerce. It appears that in virtue of a convention made between the English and French Governments as long ago as 1856, French mail-boats in English Colonial ports are entitled to all the immunities and privileges of men-of-war. These privileges include freedom from search and freedom of the vessel from arrest under Admiralty Court process. Moreover, a *habeas corpus* of a British Court does not run on board. Since the North German Lloyd has established its Eastern mail services, the German Government has claimed for them similar privileges and immunities, and, naturally enough, the claim has been allowed. Obviously, however, English vessels, whether they carry mails or not—and, in fact, they do carry far heavier mails than all their rivals put together—cannot be allowed exemption from the control of their own Government. It is asserted therefore that the English ships not only suffer in prestige by appearing to occupy a lower rank, but actually are liable to hindrances and delays, from which their rivals (which, in addition to being mail-boats, are very heavily subsidised commercial competitors) are entirely exempt. The Chamber of Commerce admits the justice of the claim for "extra-territoriality" on behalf of French or German citizens on board French or German steamers. Here, however, it considers that the immunities should stop. This contention certainly seems neither unjust nor excessive. When it is a question of inspecting our latest defensive arrangements at Woolwich or Portsmouth, it is of course a rule too well established to be disputed, that foreigners shall be granted exceptional privileges! In this case, however, we cannot but think that they ought to be satisfied with equality. If English mail-boats are granted any special immunities in French and German ports, we at least are certainly unaware of them. That their cargoes have to pay heavy and ever heavier customs dues in those ports, English shippers have only too good reason to know.

WE have received a copy of the House of Commons Colonisation Committee's report. In the Committee's own words—"The pivot of the scheme is the guarantee of interest by the Imperial Government. . . . Some such guarantee is absolutely necessary in order to give security and attract capital." We may take it therefore that, even though the Committee includes among its numbers no less than 135 members of the House of Commons, the scheme is not yet within the range of practical politics. It proposes substantially that the Colony shall give the land and that capitalists shall lend the necessary money on the security of the holding, preferably to emigrants who are prepared to meet part of the outlay from their own resources. We will confine ourselves to two criticisms. The one, that we hardly see the need for the intervention of the capitalist at all. If the State is to guarantee 3 per cent. for thirty years, it may as well finance the whole affair itself. A promise of a maximum of 4 per cent. will hardly attract the capitalist, while its actual payment will make a considerable difference to the settler. Secondly, we are told that the scheme must be wide and far reaching, systematic and national, or else the work might as well have been left to the existing agencies of one kind and another. At a moderate estimate it will cost £1,000,000 a year to supersede the existing agencies; how much more will be needed to carry out a Colonisation scheme on a sufficiently grandiose scale we hardly like to think.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH'S ARTICLE IN THE "CONTEMPORARY REVIEW."

(COMMUNICATED BY A CORRESPONDENT.)

UNDER the title of "The Railway Question in Manitoba" Mr. Goldwin Smith renews his efforts towards the fulfilment of his prophecy, quoted in this Journal at the beginning of the year, to the effect that "in ten years' time Canada would, from economic causes, form part of the United States." This forecast is now nine years old, and Mr. Smith is making desperate efforts during the last year of the period he has allowed himself to secure some show of respectability for his reputation as a prophet.

Mr. Goldwin Smith has recently allied himself to a Mr. Erastus Wiman, whom he describes as "a Canadian resident in New York," and together they are engaged in stumping the country with the object of persuading the Canadian farmer that the only impediments to the establishment of his fortune are the duties which are mutually imposed by the United States and by Canada upon the goods which cross the boundary between them. But there is nothing which entitles him to assume the position of friendly adviser and well-wisher of either England or Canada. He gave up England for the sake of the United States, and has apparently only gone from thence for the purpose of stirring up dissensions among the Provinces of the Dominion with a view to its disruption in fulfilment of his own prophecy, and in this he is acting in concert with certain interested Americans. Mr. Smith appears to have fully realised that his objects are directly opposed to the welfare of the United Kingdom, for he says in his article, speaking of Commercial Union with the States, "If anything were to be done by which injury would be inflicted on England, I would leave it to be done by other hands." He would lay the plot and show the way, but as it is his native country he deprecates the supposition that he would himself strike the blow, though he would see it done without compunction.

Here then we have the two men who have created the cry for Commercial Union, both aliens as regards Canada, the one acting in the interest of his private concerns in New York, the other in the interest, first, of his "Continental theory," to which he has so committed himself that there is no way of escape, and secondly, in the interests, as he conceives them, of the United States, for which he turned his back upon his native country. Neither of these gentlemen has at any time gained the suffrages of a sufficient number of the people whom they are now proposing to instruct, to return them to the Dominion Parliament. Mr. Goldwin Smith was nominated for Toronto with some difficulty at the last election, but did not obtain sufficient support to induce him to go to the poll.

It is important that it should be realised that Mr. Smith is not a Canadian patriot coming forward to save his country from ruin, but an alien academician with one fixed idea, upon the realisation of which he considers that his reputation as a man of judgment and foresight depends, and for the sake of which he will not hesitate to use his powerful and, to the uninstructed reader, convincing pen to wreck a prosperous and united Dominion. He is opposed in this matter to all who have shown real patriotism, by which we understand an honest desire to promote the welfare and to strengthen the position of the country—such men as Sir John Macdonald, Sir Donald Smith, Mr. Blake, Mr. Laurier, Sir Charles Tupper, and all those who have striven to make the Dominion and have knitted it together by that magnificent work the Canadian Pacific Railway.

But lest it should be supposed that the only argument against the proposal of commercial union with the States lies in the exposure of the motives of its advocates, we will consider briefly what are the proposals so far as they have been stated by them.

As we understand them they are—

- (1). Abolition of all duties upon goods crossing the boundary line between the States and Canada and *vice versa*.
- (2). The assimilation of the Canadian tariff for goods imported from all other countries to that of the United States.
- (3). The aggregation or "pooling" of the receipts of both countries under this tariff, and the division of the total between them according to population.

With regard to the first, it is clear that this means a diminution of the revenue of Canada by the amount hitherto levied upon the import of American goods—some seven million dollars—which will have to be raised by Canada in some other way. The Hon. James Young, in a letter published in the *Montreal Gazette*, conclusively shows that this sum cannot, on the basis of last year's receipts of both countries, be obtained from customs, and must be raised by some form of direct and additional taxation.

The second means the imposition of special duties against British goods while admitting those of the foreigner free, and the placing of the tariff arrangements of Canada completely in the hands of the United States. For, treaties and arrangements notwithstanding, it cannot be contemplated that the five millions of Canada will prevent the fifty millions of the States from altering their tariff whenever it suits them to do so. Canada cannot follow the States in a reduction of duties or in Free Trade with the world without adopting a thoroughgoing system of direct taxation. Her revenue as a Dominion, as well as that of her Provinces, is dependent upon her customs receipts, and must be supplied. If she should object to a modification, she will be told that if she does not like it she can withdraw from the arrangement as she did before; but then her manufacturing industries now rapidly developing would have been ruined, and Canada would be completely dependent upon the States for what she required. How, then, could she return to the *status quo*? The whole laborious process of building up her industries by Protection would have to be begun again, and the country thrown back fifty years.

The pooling of the customs receipts appears on the face of it an equitable arrangement, and, as regards the division of the money, it probably is so. But it should be remembered that, as the bulk of the imports would come through American ports, this would mean that the States would annually pay a considerable sum to Canada; and though this would no doubt be quite understood at first, nevertheless payments of this kind without any visible return are apt to fall into popular disfavour, and a proposal to reduce this amount, or to abolish it, would find Canada completely at the mercy of the States.

Moreover, the money is not the only thing to be considered in this connection. Canada has spent large sums and made great efforts in order to secure for herself the benefits of the transport, not only of her own produce, but also of Eastern trade. This transport business gives employment to an increasing section of her population; it utilises her harbours, brings shipping to them, and reduces the cost of communication with Europe. It is perfectly clear that were the duties removed nothing would prevent the American railways from diverting all Canadian goods and all the Eastern trade *via* New York, and shipping it thence to Europe. They could carry at a dead loss for some years—long enough to ruin the Canadian railways and shipping interest—and then their time would come. Canadians would be again at the mercy of the States, and would have to pay any rate which was demanded, with the knowledge that every cent which they paid was going out of the country. Similarly, all imports would reach them *via* New York or Philadelphia, from which ports they would have to pay carriage at monopoly charges.

These are some of the objections which occur at once to the proposal for Commercial Union with the States. Let us now examine the inducements which are held out to those who are invited to adopt it.

The Canadian farmer is the person chiefly appealed to by the speakers who are working this matter. He is told of the wonderful market which awaits him on the other side of the boundary line—"The richest and best as well as the nearest market"—for the produce of his farm; and we hear that startling prices for cattle and grain are being quoted to his delighted ear as obtaining on the other side of the boundary line.

Now, it is well known that there are imported into Great Britain from the United States every year millions of pounds' worth of farm produce of every kind—beef, pork, ham, cheese, wheat, &c. How, then, can there be in that country which sends away such an enormous surplus of food so great a demand for it as to create a market for the

produce of Canada? Obviously the only market for Canadian produce in the States is the market provided by the great pig-killing and cattle-slaughtering establishments of Chicago, the grain elevators of Minneapolis, the canning establishments, and the cheese factories, where all these articles of food are collected and shipped to Europe. But why is Canada to be compelled to send her produce to be prepared and packed in the States, to be conveyed through the States, and to be shipped from United States ports? Why is Canada not to be allowed to do this work herself, to benefit by the employment thus given to her population, and to reap the profit of conducting these highly lucrative occupations within her own boundaries? Canada is to be condemned under these proposals to the position of a purely agricultural country, with only one market—that of the United States, who are to have the sole right of preparing, packing, and selling—entailing three distinct profits—the produce which she has grown.

The other inducement held out is, in Mr. Goldwin Smith's words, "the free inflow of capital, enterprise, and the commercial life-blood of the continent." As regards the first, we have yet to learn that any restriction exists as to the introduction of American capital into the Dominion; but even if there were such hindrance, the United States has not the monopoly of the world's capital, and British capital undoubtedly finds its way freely into Canada.

As regards the second, it is not only a very poor compliment to the people of his present country to take it as a matter of course that they are in need of foreign enterprise to develop their country; but it is an insinuation absolutely devoid of foundation. The Canadian Pacific Railway, even though Mr. Goldwin Smith does condemn it because it does not zigzag up and down the country, but runs straight through to Vancouver, is surely not an undertaking devoid of enterprise. The splendid specimens of minerals of literally every kind shown by Canada at the recent Exhibition in London proved conclusively that the development of her resources is not in the hands of men who lack the initiative to carry it out. The rapidity with which the country at the foot of the Rocky Mountains has recently been occupied with cattle-ranches and horse-farms does not point to any necessity for the introduction of this foreign "enterprise" to make the best use of their land.

If "commercial life-blood" is something which is not capital and not enterprise, we must acknowledge our failure to grasp precisely the Professor's meaning by the phrase; but of this we are assured, and by the scorn with which he treats the Canadian manufacturer we are convinced that the Professor himself anticipates the same result, that a commercial union between Canada and the United States, whatever it may do for the "continent," will effectually destroy first the commercial life of Canada, and very shortly afterwards its national life.

This is his avowed object. "In ten years' time" (from 1878) "Canada, from economic causes, will form part of the United States"—and throughout the latter part of the article, which deals with commercial union, it is perfectly plain that annexation to the States is what Mr. Smith is aiming at.

In several places stress is laid upon the similarity of race between the Canadians and Americans—"kindred population," "English-speaking race," &c.—between whom and the people of the Dominion a fusion is to be brought about "through the operation of attractive forces too strong for political allegiance." It is suggested that these forces are those of consanguinity, but surely the Professor must have overlooked the enormous influx of people of all nations which have so largely affected the nationality of America. The census of 1880 showed that twenty-three million out of fifty were foreigners, or of foreign parents, other than British and Canadian.

Mr. Goldwin Smith says that "the cry not only of patriotism but of loyalty is raised by the protected manufacturer," and proceeds to argue that commercial union with Great Britain would be equally disastrous to the revenue of Canada with a commercial union with the States. But then he does not choose to consider any form of commercial arrangement short of the removal of all tariffs between the two countries. It would, however, be quite possible to make an arrangement between Great

Britain and Canada, by which each would profit considerably, without impairing the revenue of Canada. In any case, however, it is obviously more to the advantage of Canada to give commercial facilities to the country with which she can exchange wants, rather than with the country which must always compete with her.

Mr. Chamberlain is invoked in the course of the article, and prophecy is again indulged in as to what he "will find," "be struck by," and "will carry back" from his visit to the other side of the Atlantic. Mr. Chamberlain has, however, lost no time in declaring his opinion of the ultimate aim of the commercial union proposed. He says that it means annexation to the States, and nothing else. This, as we have endeavoured to show, has from the first been Mr. Goldwin Smith's object, and it is to be deeply regretted that his splendid talents and versatile pen should be devoted, in the hope of fulfilling an exploded theory, to a cause which is fraught with harm to the country of his birth as well as to that of his adoption—a cause which we hold it to be the duty of every Briton and of every Canadian to oppose to his utmost in the interests of both countries.

We have not, in the course of these remarks, entered upon the loyal, or, as it is sometimes called, the sentimental, side of the matter, nor have we touched upon the somewhat important question of the desire of the United States as a whole to enter into commercial union with Canada, of which desire we have not yet seen any evidence.

THE GUARANTEE FUND.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, Chairman of the League, when addressing the general committee for July 6th, stated that without the guarantee of at least £1,000 per annum for the next three years, in addition to existing subscriptions, the executive would not be justified in continuing the operations of the League, and he invited members to communicate to him, at Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, London, W., the amounts which they are willing to guarantee.

The conditions of guarantee are as follows:—

1. The guarantee will not be called up unless at least one thousand pounds is obtained.
2. No payment under this guarantee will be asked for until the accounts for the year 1888 have been audited, when the excess of expenditure over receipts will be proportionately called up.

The increase of subscription, which is steadily taking place, will, it is believed, render it unnecessary at any time to call up more than a portion of the amount guaranteed, but it is imperative that this security should be obtained before undertaking further operations.

Forms of guarantee and all other particulars can be obtained from the Secretary of the Imperial Federation League, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.

The following guarantees have been received by the Earl of Rosebery in response to his appeal.

It is hoped that all will join in bringing this guarantee to the largest possible amount, in order that the liability of each guarantor may be reduced to the smallest, and the work of the League carried on with the utmost efficiency obtainable.

	£	s.	d.
The Earl of Rosebery	100	0	0
S. V. Morgan	75	0	0
William Mackinnon	50	0	0
Sir William Crossman, K.C.M.G., M.P.	50	0	0
κ Walter Morrison, M.P.	50	0	0
H. L. W. Lawson, M.P.	10	0	0
Sir Henry Holland, Bart., M.P.	10	0	0
Sir William Fitzherbert, K.C.M.G.	10	0	0
Sir William Farrer	25	0	0
J. T. Agg-Gardner, M.P.	10	0	0
J. Henry Baylis, Q.C.	1	0	0
C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P.	10	0	0
Captain J. C. Colomb, M.P.	3	0	0
Commander Graham Bower, R.N.	5	0	0
William Westgarth	20	0	0
κ H. O. Arnold-Forster	5	0	0
Elliott Lees, M.P.	50	0	0
Kenric B. Murray	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Sydney Buxton, M.P.	5	0	0
Pandeli Ralli	100	0	0
Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.	10	0	0
W. J. Courthope	2	2	0
Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson, K.C.B.	20	0	0
κ Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart.	50	0	0
General Sir Gerald Graham, G.C.M.G., V.C.	5	0	0
S. Barker Booth	5	5	0
Harold A. Perry	2	2	0
T. D. Galpin	10	0	0
Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., M.P.	1	1	0
Sir Charles Clifford, Bart.	10	0	0
James Rankin, M.P.	100	0	0
Colonel Myles Sandys, M.P.	10	0	0
Wilson Noble, M.P.	20	0	0
Frank Hardcastle, M.P.	5	0	0
κ J. M. Ludlow, C.B.	3	3	0
Colonel E. Coysgarne Sim, R.E.	5	0	0
Gisborne Molineux	3	3	0
Rev. G. F. Browne	5	0	0
Colonel John Watts (Bombay Staff Corps)	5	0	0
F. Faithfull Begg	2	2	0
κ Alderman Sir William McArthur, K.C.M.G.	50	0	0
κ Frederick Young	2	2	0
κ Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.	5	0	0
George D. Harris	5	0	0
Albert O. Rutson	5	0	0
κ James Stanley Little	1	1	0
Robert Gillespie	10	0	0
Alfred Baldwin	2	0	0
Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.	20	0	0
Hon. Henry Holbrook	1	1	0
C. Washington Eves	10	0	0
Donald Larnach	25	0	0
Sir William Foster, Bart.	5	0	0
κ Walter Severn	1	1	0
W. S. Sebright Green	10	0	0
Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P.	10	0	0
Sir Francis V. Smith	5	0	0
Paddington Branch (per Philip V. Smith)	5	0	0
William Ewart, M.P.	25	0	0
Thomas W. Warren	5	0	0
William Stewart	10	0	0
Sir John Coode, K.C.M.G.	5	0	0
κ J. Guthrie	5	0	0
κ John Paterson	5	0	0
κ Sir Algernon Borthwick, Bart., M.P.	5	0	0
κ Colonel Henry W. Lumsden	2	2	0
κ Sir Colley H. Scotland	2	2	0
κ E. Vaughan Morgan	5	0	0
κ Major-General Sir Frederick J. Goldsmid	1	1	0
κ Colonel P. R. Innes	5	0	0
G. B. Longstaff	25	0	0
κ W. W. Cargill	5	0	0
James Parker	2	0	0
A. W. Marshall	5	0	0
Captain P. Going, R.N.	1	1	0
Alex. McArthur, M.P.	10	0	0
Miss Marsh Caldwell	3	0	0
Rev. J. H. Skrine, M.A.	1	1	0
Captain Charles Johnstone, R.N.	2	0	0
S. B. Newall	1	0	0
Professor A. S. Napier	2	2	0
Lionel B. Wells	1	1	0
Sampson S. Lloyd	5	0	0
Baron Dimsdale, M.P.	5	5	0
Colonel Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B.	5	0	0
κ Arthur H. Loring	5	0	0
κ Edward A. Arnold	5	0	0
Robert Beadon	1	1	0
κ James Bailey	5	0	0

Note.—The letter κ signifies a member of the Kensington Branch of the League.

THE STANDARD OF LENGTH.—The Indian Government, at the suggestion of the Chambers of Commerce of the Presidency towns, has addressed the local Governments on the subject of the adoption of the English yard as the standard of length throughout India. In doing so it states that the yard has now practically superseded the ever-varying *gaz* of the native dynasties, and is largely used everywhere.

A PLEA FOR COMMERCIAL UNION BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

ANY person who judges of the interest taken in a public question by the utterances of the press on the subject, will be likely to come to the conclusion that just now in Canada people are more inclined to give consideration to the project of commercial union with the United States than to any proposal looking towards a Federation of the Empire. It is, at any rate, the fact that more discussion has taken place during the last three months in the newspapers of Canada regarding this species of commercial union than has been accorded to the subject of Imperial Federation since that movement began. It is hard to account for this, because neither of the great political parties of the Dominion has shown any disposition to favour unrestricted commercial intercourse with the States. Nor can it be said that any of *our* public men have spoken otherwise than adversely on the subject, for the apostles of the movement are certainly not Canadians. One is sorely tempted to ascribe the present prominence of the project to the unreasoning zeal of its advocates, and their sublime indifference to the obstacles which must prevent its realisation. It is indeed strange to find any man of literary eminence characterising Imperial Federation as impracticable and visionary, and at the same time fostering an agitation for political changes to which the Mother Country could never consent, and of which the advantages to the Dominion disappear even on the most superficial examination.

The advocates of this new political prescription, although extremely exacting when considering anything which others have to propose for the consolidation of the Empire, are very reticent or indefinite concerning the details of their own scheme. But it seems to consist of the following proposals:—To abolish all custom-houses on the frontier, and all restrictions on travel or trade between the Dominion and the States to the south of us; to increase the duties now levied on imports, from Great Britain and elsewhere, to the same rates now levied on foreign imports under the United States tariff; to pay these duties into a common exchequer, and divide the product between the Canadian and United States Governments in proportion to the population of the two countries. It is a difficult matter to treat these propositions seriously. At the outset it is impossible to see how Great Britain could consider, far less consent to them. Nor would it be possible, we believe, to find a Canadian statesman with sufficient effrontery to lay such proposals before Her Majesty's Government, and at the same time talk of maintaining British connection even of the most attenuated description.

But if we pass over these considerations and inquire as to what material advantages the new arrangement would bring to the Dominion, they seem to be very slender indeed. An increased export of coal would probably be caused from Nova Scotia to the States of the Atlantic seaboard, and of iron ore from Ontario to Pennsylvania and Ohio. But on the other hand, the prices of all imported articles would be increased twenty-five per cent., the markets of the Dominion would be flooded with American goods, the capital which has recently been invested in manufactures would be swept away, and the skilled labour of our factories and foundries would have to wander southward. As regards our agricultural products, the change would not create for them any market which is not already fully supplied. As for the financial part of the plan, if it were worth while to inquire, it would certainly be found that the share of revenue falling to Canada would be altogether insufficient to pay the interest on her debt and provide for the provincial subsidies. But besides all this, which has been already fully discussed by Mr. McGown and Mr. Clarke, scores of other questions arise as to the working details of the scheme which the Commercial Unionists have not yet deigned to notice, and which it would be unprofitable now to enumerate. A Canadian who recently visited Philadelphia, and was questioned by a banker there as to his views on Commercial Union, replied, "The scheme is ridiculous. If ever Canada should go in that direction, there can be no half-way betwixt our present condition and complete absorption into the United States." The

American then remarked that that was precisely the statement made by every man of consequence in Canada whom he had consulted. This, then, is what Commercial Union means, simply annexation, which only requires to be mentioned to the Canadian people to be rejected. The truth is that this new movement is only a revival of former agitations for annexation or independence, and is the work of a vociferous minority of restless persons, who look for every sort of salvation in political change.

But the course of these agitators should have its lesson for us. Truly "fools step in where angels fear to tread." Why should we, who are labouring for Imperial union, be afraid to disseminate an antidote to their poison? We, too, are advocates of Commercial Union, but it is with the Mother Country, her Colonies and Dependencies. We maintain that Great Britain should have the preference in Colonial markets, and Colonists the preference in those of the United Kingdom. Most of us can descry higher objects than this Imperial Federation; but there are those to whom, if our movement does not mean advantage in trade, it means nothing. To secure the preference in British markets to inter-British trade requires *the laying of a uniform rate of duty on all foreign imports in every country of the Empire, over and above the ordinary tariff in force there.* On closer inspection it will be found that this is neither free-trade nor protection, but self-preservation.

It is, indeed, only by some such arrangement that the British Empire can be made to present a coherent exterior. Compare the front which it now shows with that possessed by other nations. When the boundaries of the German Empire or the American Republic are reached merchants are made to feel it in a very tangible manner, and given to understand, by the tariff arrangements, that true union prevails in these countries. The members of the British Empire are not united by any such bond. Each has been left to its own devices in this matter, and the result is a medley of Free Trade, revenue, and protective tariffs, at which foreigners smile, but of which they contrive to take advantage. "To keep foreigners from fooling us" was grand old Admiral Blake's motto in former times, but it seems now to be forgotten. The foreigner can sail round Australia, finding a different tariff in every port, but none which indicates to him that he is an alien, or that the country is British. Nor can he find that the British flag has the preference over his in the East or West Indies, in Canada, South Africa, or even in England itself. When the various countries constituting the British Empire agree to favour each other in their commercial intercourse, then they will have taken the first step towards a real and closer union. The only bond between them which other nations will be able to feel and understand, in time of peace, is a tariff in which some consideration is manifested for our own farming, manufacturing, and trading fellow-subjects. Let us have Commercial Union by all means, but let it be a British zollverein suited to the circumstances of the whole Empire.

THOMAS MACFARLANE.

Ottawa, Canada, Oct. 6, 1887.

A SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATE'S SENTIMENTS.

REPORT OF THE HON. JOHN ROBINSON TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF NATAL.

THROUGH the courtesy of Mr. John Robinson, the delegate from Natal at the late Imperial Conference, we have received a copy of the official report which he has made to his Government on his return home. The report is interesting and valuable, not so much because it records what was actually accomplished (for this, as Mr. Robinson remarks, is to a great extent prevented by the obligation of secrecy that is laid upon him), as because it shows the spirit in which the Colonial delegates came and the spirit in which the home authorities received them, and proves that the expectations which Mr. Robinson had formed, high as these were, were abundantly satisfied with the results attained. We could only wish it had been possible to reproduce the report *in extenso*; but it extends over twelve folio pages, and our space is limited. We must perforce content ourselves with quotation, but the text shall at least be as full and our own comments on it as brief as we can.

make them. We follow the numbers of the paragraphs into which the report is divided :—

9. At Cape Town Mr. Robinson called upon the Premier, Sir Gordon Sprigg, "thanking him for the complimentary attention paid me, and conferring briefly with him upon questions of common interest to both Colonies. I feel justified in stating that the head of the Government in the senior Colony evinced every desire to see the relations of the two Colonies placed upon a more harmonious footing than has been the case hitherto. I took it upon myself to assure him of the readiness of Natal to reciprocate in the same spirit."

10. Mr. Robinson sailed for England in the same ship with the two delegates from the Cape Colony. "I derived much advantage from the opportunity afforded of unconstrainedly discussing with them questions of intercolonial policy and interest."

11. "It is appropriate here to state that the friendly relations thus established while *en voyage* with the representatives of the neighbouring Colony continued unimpaired to the moment of our separation after the Conference had closed." "I desire most cordially to acknowledge the loyal and friendly support which throughout the proceedings was accorded to me by my South African colleagues." Mr. Robinson valued this the more from the fact that while out of the twenty-five delegates Australia alone had no less than seventeen, South Africa had only three.

15. "I feel it right to state that I represented, as strongly as I could" (at a private interview with Sir Henry Holland) "the necessity of bringing Eastern Zululand and the Reserve absolutely under effective British, and if possible, Colonial rule."

16. "I ventured to take advantage of this opportunity to assure the Secretary of State of the profound and abiding loyalty of the Colonists, and the gratification with which they would learn that they would share with other Colonies the privilege of rendering direct homage to their Sovereign."

17. "The formal opening of the Conference took place on April 4th. The tone and tenor of the speeches delivered upon this memorable occasion were worthy of the event."

24. "There were two points in regard to which I deemed it my duty everywhere and at all times to lay stress. These were :—

"(1) The extreme value of the coalfields of Natal as an Imperial resource in time of war.

"(2) The fact that the loss of Natal to the Empire would be the precursor of the loss of all Imperial footholds in South Africa. As regards the first of these points, I was surprised to find how little was really known, even in the highest official or parliamentary quarters, concerning the existence of these coalfields, and the completion of a railway to the verge of them. "As regards the second point, I may at once say that the possibility of parting with Natal was in certain quarters suggested to me as being by some regarded as a possible contingency under certain circumstances. I am glad to state, however, that not only the members of Her Majesty's Government, but leading members of the Opposition and men of all parties, repudiated in the strongest and most emphatic terms the supposition that the Mother Country could under any circumstances agree to the severance of any portion of the Empire. If such an idea has been cherished in the past, I feel sure that at this moment it need not be considered as lying within the sphere of practical politics."

25. "It afforded me much pleasure to assure both Her Majesty's Ministers and the Conference (as I honestly could) of the readiness of the Colonists to co-operate with the Empire at large in all measures that might be mutually devised and agreed upon for the local defence of the seaboard." "So far as I could ascertain Natal is the only Colony that has as yet organised and trained a corps of Naval Volunteers.¹ I did not fail, however, to emphasise the fact that the port of Durban is absolutely defenceless."

26. "I think it is not going too far to say that one result of the Conference will be that in a short time the chief colonial seaports of the Empire will be as secure from attack by sea as modern resources and patriotic spirit can ensure."

27. "I felt justified in stating that the Colony would gladly co-operate in any measures that might be concerted with a view to the reduction of both postal and telegraphic rates."

28. "It is pleasant to be able to report that the Australasian representatives appeared fully sensible of the value of South Africa as a point of strength, a place of call, and a coaling station for trade passing eastward." "The quickened interest in the value of her South African possessions on the part of the Mother Country is a factor that ought never to be lost sight of in the direction of local policy."

37. "The South African delegates had three private conferences with Sir Henry Holland and Lord Onslow, when questions of South African policy were discussed with the frankness and freedom which absolute privacy of discussion secures. I cannot but believe that these confidential interchanges of thought, fact, and opinion, on the part of the

Imperial Government and the Colonies respectively, will be found hereafter to have conducted in no common degree to the good of South Africa. I would even go further, and say that my experience in connection with the recent Conference persuades me that it may be possible by similar methods to arrive at a better understanding than exists at present with our neighbours."

40. "The unbounded hospitalities that were on all occasions extended to the delegates enabled me to discuss freely the state of affairs in South Africa, and especially the conditions and prospects of my own Colony with persons of all ranks and positions, and with politicians of all parties. In some respects more abiding results can be produced in this way than is possible under more formal circumstances. Questions can thus be answered and doubts cleared up. I met everywhere with a most earnest desire for accurate information concerning our Colony and its affairs."

41. "If the Conference had borne no other fruit than fuller information all round concerning the Colonies, their circumstances and their aspirations, it would not have been held in vain. For the first time the Mother Country and her offspring over sea were in direct touch. Imperial statesmen have learnt what the Colonists think, want, and feel. Colonists have learnt to estimate more truly the aims and embarrassments of Imperial statesmanship. They have also learnt to know each other. To the several delegates the Colonies of the Empire are no longer abstractions, but tangible realities with which they have a personal connection."

42. "But perhaps the most valuable of the many valuable results of the Conference has been the demonstration that such a gathering is possible; that representatives of countries the most widely separated by distance, and the most divergent in their general conditions, can meet together round a common table for the quiet and orderly discussion of matters in which all have a common concern; that questions of difference or controversy between the Imperial Government and the Colonial Government are capable of easy and final solution when considered and dealt with by such methods and under such conditions. The substantial success that has attended this first Conference makes it certain, I venture to think, that it will prove to have been the precursor of other Conferences; that, in the words of Lord Salisbury, it will be found to have been 'the parent of a long progeniture, and that distant councils of the Empire may in some far-off time look back to that meeting as the root from which all their greatness and all their beneficence sprang.' This hope was expressed ere yet the Conference had begun its work, and when the issue of the experiment was undecided. Had the Prime Minister spoken a month later, he might have been disposed to think that the time of full fruition was not so remote as he had at first supposed."

48. "It only remains for me to acknowledge the many hospitable attentions of which, in common with the other Colonial delegates, I was the recipient during my brief sojourn in England. The kind welcome accorded to us on all hands produced a profound impression never to pass from the minds of those who experienced it. In all circles of society the same cordial greeting was extended, and every effort was made not only to make our visit pleasant and eventful, but to let us feel that the desire of our leading fellow-countrymen 'at home' to knit more closely the ties that bind England to her Colonies was both ardent and genuine."

Paragraphs 49 to 52 give a list of the innumerable public functionaries and public bodies, from Her Majesty and the Lord Mayor of London downwards, who welcomed the delegates; but Mr. Robinson feels that "it would be out of place to detail here the many private hospitalities of which the delegates were the recipients; though unspecified, they are not the less gratefully appreciated." As a contrast to this, we cannot resist printing what Sir Harry Verney said at the last dinner of the Council of the League: "I recollect, some fifty years ago, that a most distinguished Canadian was in England, and Lord Grey was the Colonial Secretary. He had been over here six months, and he said to me, 'You and Lord Grey have been the only persons in England who have invited me to your houses.'"

And here we must, with our heartiest thanks to Mr. Robinson, make an end of quotation from his most welcome report. It is something to know that when the lights are put out and the banquet-hall deserted, and the delegates are back in their own familiar surroundings, one at least of them still feels that the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces of the great Imperial city that we vain would build, have not faded away like some unsubstantial pageant, and left not a trace behind. In his breast, at least, there yet lives the faith that now as ever can remove mountains. If the other delegates have gone home with the same feelings as Mr. Robinson, we can well believe that "the time of full fruition may not be as remote as Lord Salisbury had

¹ Both New South Wales and New Zealand have Naval Volunteer Corps, we believe.—Ed

supposed." One reflection more. Mr. Robinson may be a dreamer, looking forward to an impossible future, though Colonial statesmen are not as a rule supposed to be much given to sentimental dreaming. But his report is presented for the information of the Legislative Council, of which he is a member, and has been by them ordered to be printed and published. Were Mr. Robinson's sentiments entirely alien to those of his fellow members, it is equally inconceivable that they could have elected him to represent them in the first instance, or that subsequently he could have presented to them this report, and that they could have ordered it to be "published for general information."

AN IMPERIAL SERMON.

THE Bishop of Durham's inaugural sermon at the Church Congress was a magnificent testimony to the prominence achieved by the Imperial Federation idea. It shows how the Church of England has realised that its functions have expanded with the expansion of the Empire, and the public will not be slow to draw the conclusion that the same spirit of Federal Government, which has added so vastly to the strength of the Church by combining uniformity of administration with the widest latitude in non-essentials, would prove equally fruitful if it inspired the whole of our Imperial organisation. We quote two passages from the Bishop of Durham's sermon, which will enable our readers to perceive the force of the parallel implied between the history of the English Church and the history of the British Empire. Taking for his text Isaiah xi. 12, "He shall set up an ensign for the nations," Dr. Lightfoot said:—

"A year memorable in the annals of England is fast waning. The golden wedding of Sovereign and people—symbolised by the coronation ring—has been celebrated with due pomp. While the splendour of the pageant was still floating before our eyes we gathered up the lessons which the event has bequeathed to us as Englishmen. In this valuable legacy, among much that we have learnt besides, the one prominent idea, which impressed all thoughtful minds, was the Imperial destiny of England—her world-wide interests and responsibilities. This lesson has done something, let us hope, to counteract our insular narrowness. It has rescued our patriotism from degenerating into a disguised selfishness. Our watchword hereafter must be '*Humani nihil alienum*,' not only as men, but as Englishmen. No statesman henceforth will deserve the name who does not give to this idea a prominent place in shaping his policy. The history of the present reign is an emphatic enunciation of this idea. It is not only that the English race and the English language have spread far and wide, penetrating into every continent and sweeping every sea, but that, so spreading, our Colonists and fellow-countrymen never forget their English origin. There is dispersion and yet there is unity. The centripetal force acts simultaneously with the centrifugal, and regular, energetic motion is the result. The limited extent and the insular position of the Mother Country, the spirit of adventure and the exceptional fecundity of the race—these are the elements which make up the centrifugal force. The stubborn tenacity and the home fondness of the English heart, the conservatism (in the best sense) of the English character—here is the regulating centripetal attraction. This lesson has been pressed upon us from many quarters. One writer has set before us the expansion of England as the great factor in the recent history of the world; another has taught us to regard our Empire as the translation into fact of the old poetic fable of Atlantis, the counterpart to the ideal commonwealth of Oceana beyond the seas. It has not only been dinned into our ears. It has been brought vividly before our eyes by many impressive displays. The wealth of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition was followed by the representative pageant of the Jubilee. The lesson of the Jubilee is perpetuated in the foundation of the Imperial Institute."

Proceeding then to dilate upon the spiritual counterpart to this great temporal epoch, and to show how the Church had kept pace with the expansion of Empire, while he emphasised the magnitude of the responsibilities which, as a natural consequence of that expansion it had assumed, his Lordship summed up and completed the parallel in the following words:—

"The English Church is no longer insular, as the English race is no longer insular. The English Sovereign reigns over one-fifth of the whole human race. Of what monarch or what Power since the world began can the same be said? The great American Republic, too—the most rapid development on a grand scale in the history of the world—is bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. Nor is it only within the limits of

English and American dominions that the influence of the English race is felt. British vessels alone absorb more than three-fourths of the carrying traffic of the world, and America claims a large share of the remainder. Every continent, almost every sea and island, swarms with English and American tourists and travellers. Everywhere, for business or for pleasure, English-speaking people are found. Corresponding to this progress of the English race is the spread of the English Church. Next year, if it please God, will witness another meeting of the Lambeth Conference. The number of the Anglican Episcopate, from which its members are drawn, is fast mounting up to 200. This year is the centenary of the first Colonial bishopric. We have seized the occasion to take an audit of the progress during this period. I need not trouble you with the statistics of the increase. It is sufficient to say that during the present reign alone the number of our Colonial and missionary sees has been multiplied nine or ten fold, and that the rate of increase has been greater in the later decades of this period than in the earlier. The Anglican Communion now comprises within her embrace Churches established, unestablished, and disestablished. She has flourishing branches in every continent of the globe. She acknowledges as her sons converts from the highly developed and immemorial religions of the East, and converts from the rude idol-worship of Africa and the Pacific Islands. The successor of St. Augustine is coming to be regarded as the patriarch in substance, if not in name, of the Anglican Churches throughout the world."

THE USEFULNESS OF THE EMPIRE TO NEW SOUTH WALES.

SIR HENRY PARKES, Premier of New South Wales, speaking not long ago at a place which bears his name made some observations of peculiar interest to Federationists. In the first place we note that the veteran statesman adopts the view we have long advocated, that Australia can no longer consider herself *hors de concours* in respect of political events in the Old World. It will be apparent how powerful are the arguments supplied by this admission in favour of retaining and supplementing the ties which bind the British Empire together; for if Australia cannot afford to be weak, what strength can she for centuries hope to acquire equal to that which she possesses as an integral portion of the British Empire?

SELF-DEFENCE MAY BE NECESSARY.

"I am," said Sir Henry Parkes, "beginning to think that a measure to recognise and re-model our defence forces is one of great importance and urgency. We must be prepared to defend our own homes. We are so peculiarly and fortunately situated upon this great island-continent that it is hardly likely at any time—even in the unknown future—we shall be aggressors. We are too far away from other nations, and we have too much to do; and as the principles of civilisation extend—as I hope they will—we shall never have any disposition to commit aggression. But it is not so certain that some hungry despot from the other side of the world might not be tempted to commit aggression upon us—(cheers)—and therefore I think the young men of this country ought to be trained to arms. I have never believed in the establishment of a regular army in this country, and am one of those who believe that, with ordinary discipline and with training at certain periods of the year, the men of this country could be converted into a powerful fighting army in a fortnight if a necessity arose. (Loud cheers.) If this were done, no nation upon the face of the earth could bring here a fighting power that we could not meet with a corresponding force that would drive them into the sea." (Loud cheers.)

But Sir Henry Parkes did not leave it altogether to his hearers to draw the inference that if aggression from without was a genuine danger, no better shield could be wanted than the protecting arm of the Imperial power. At the conclusion of his speech he spoke out plainly concerning the value of the British connection, and his determination to perpetuate it by continuing to shape the institutions of New South Wales upon the model of the Old Country. Sir Henry knows full well that if united action is ever required, there can be no better preparation for it than by accustoming his own people to conduct themselves in accordance with the traditions of our common ancestry. From identical principles, maintained and respected alike in New South Wales and in the United Kingdom, will spring identical interests and motives to action; a disposition to have the same friends and the same enemies; and, if need be, a readiness to fight loyally for the same cause.

DEBATE ON COLONISATION AT THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

MR. J. RANKIN, M.P., Chairman of the Central Emigration Society, read a paper before the Church Congress at Wolverhampton, on October 6th, in the course of which he said that there was probably no one agency which could exert so much power in this matter of emigration as the clergy. Every clergyman should apply periodically to the Government Emigrants' Information Office, 31, Broadway, Westminster, for information upon all questions connected with emigration. This can be obtained free of cost. Money may be saved individually or by means of clubs. Rules for the formation of village emigration clubs can be obtained from Mr. Paton, Secretary to the Central Emigration Society, 3, Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C. In every school there should be instruction given about the resources, the geography, the climate, and the social condition of our Colonies, and for those who are thinking of emigrating a special class in a night school would be of great advantage. An excellent effort has been made by members of the Church to establish a Church Colonisation Company, with a view of settling emigrants in groups upon suitable lands, so that it may be possible at once to provide for them Church privileges by setting aside a tenth part of all their profits for the erection and endowment of churches. Money so invested will infallibly be the means of helping many to escape to a new life of hope and plenty. The emigration of children in industrial schools and orphanages is by far the best possible method of disposing of them. The method of placing out children in our Colonies in good homes is the best for the children themselves, and the cheapest method of disposing of them. There are about 28,000 children in industrial homes, and a large proportion of these might, with great advantage, be emigrated. The cost of outfitting and conveying a child from this country to a home in Canada is about £15. The Government grant for each committed child in homes established after 1872 is 3s. 6d. per week, or £9 2s. per annum; thus, two years' grant more than covers the cost of emigration. The average time of detention in an industrial school is between four and five years, so that emigration is generally the cheapest way of disposing of the child, as well as the best for the child. The cost of emigrating and outfitting a child from a home or orphanage is less than the cost of maintaining a child for four or five years. Many orphanages are not in the way of carrying on the work of emigration; in that case the best plan would be to pass on any child for emigration to one of the homes which do carry on this work. For workhouse children, of whom there are 50,000, there is no start in life which is so full of hope and promise for them as placing them out in some Colonial family. Workhouse life and training does not fit children for Colonial life, and therefore it is desirable that workhouse children, before being emigrated, should be sent to some proper emigrants' training school or home, and then there would be no objection on the part of the Colonies. Guardians may pay for them out of the rates, so that no money difficulty arises.

The EARL of MEATH said: It is impossible to deny that in the large towns of Great Britain there is a class of men and women—honest, sober, and hard-working—which, owing to the fierce competition existing in certain portions of the labour market, is barely able to earn sufficient to support existence. . . . It is clearly the duty of the Church to endeavour to lighten the pressure of temporal considerations, which is as detrimental to the moral and religious interests of mankind as it is to the physical. Remedies for an acknowledged evil are rarely to be found, except in many directions. Colonisation, or the organised planting of our surplus population as farmers on the unoccupied lands of the Colonies, may very justly be considered one of the most important. It is the duty of the Church to encourage and promote schemes of colonisation. . . . Let the Church accompany her sons and her daughters to distant climes. Colonists are the largest purchasers of British goods, and increased population in Australia, the Cape, and Canada means a larger demand for articles of British manufacture, and consequently greater activity in the workshops of Great Britain, and more prosperous times for both artisans and employers in this country. Therefore, colonisation is one remedy for over-population and undue competition in the labour market, and should be utilised by the Church as a means of fulfilling her mission. (Cheers.)

LORD ZOUCHE dwelt upon the increase in population and the tendency to congestion in big towns. Remedies were to be found in an intelligent and honest resuscitation of agriculture (practically too much to hope for) and making use of our great Colonial empire. Colonisation, to be effective, must be on a large scale, as it was now beyond private efforts. Government should help by giving facilities for a large sum to be borrowed, say two or three millions, to help intending colonists. This sum should be secured by mortgage on their new holdings, and principal and interest gradually paid off. The money might thus be used "over and over again," as had been suggested by

Lord Derby. Lord Zouche then sketched the history and aims of the National Society for Promoting State-directed Colonisation, and dealt with objections. He commended the subject to the attention of all, especially the clergy, who might have influence. He urged the great danger of the demoralisation of the national character from over-crowding, and of the development of an unpatriotic spirit at home, which would lead to our destruction.

MR. STAVELEY HILL, Q.C., M.P., said that he fully accepted what had fallen from previous speakers as to its being worse than useless to send into the Colonies any persons who were either physically or mentally unprepared for the great struggle in which they would have to engage. By so doing they committed an injustice not only upon the Colonies, but upon this country, for they were misrepresenting the powers and capabilities of our working classes. (Hear, hear.) If they were to send out people to the Colonies, let them select the most healthy men, women, and children, persons who were well informed as to the trade and business which they were to carry on. What was the work, and what need be the work, of the Church in this position of things? He thought they should turn their attention to what the Church could do for the benefit of those who went to settle in those lands. What they had to do was to raise high that pure standard of morality which was to be found alone in the teaching of our Great Master, and by the diffusion of the lessons *imitatione Christi* could it alone be kept alive. How soon those without it would fall into worse than savagery, people would know who had seen life in the mining camps of the West. The teacher, however, must make no attempt to damp the energy of Colonial life, as it was possible to share in that energy while he did his Gospel work.

The REV. E. J. FESSENDEN, of Niagara, spoke of the enormous influence England might have in pagan countries through the aid of colonisation. England would never evangelise until she had succeeded in civilisation, and if she did her duty in that respect her power would become very great. What would help the Church of England in the discharge of her duty was loyalty towards the Empire and sympathy for the emigrant. She must seize upon every agency for carrying on her work. After some further discussion, in which the Archdeacon of Gloucester, Rev. J. Bridger, Rev. W. Tomlinson, and Bishop Bromley took part, the proceedings concluded.

A PICTURE OF CANADA UNDER COMMERCIAL UNION.

THE HON. JAMES YOUNG has written a long letter, published in the *Montreal Gazette*, on the subject of Commercial Union. After dealing with the various arguments against the proposal, he concludes with the following graphic picture of the state of Canada, should she ever pledge herself to so disastrous a scheme:—

Now, suppose Commercial Union to be actually in force, what would the position of Canada be? We would be under the continental tariff, nominally controlled by a joint commission, but practically by the States. Our inland revenues would be similarly controlled. There would be a joint purse for the moneys collected, but as our neighbours would put in, say two hundred to our twenty millions, naturally the purse aforesaid would be kept at Washington, and if we did not draw the whole of our *per capita* allowance of revenue from the American capital, whatever deficiency there was at our own ports would certainly be drawn from there. Can any one imagine a more dependent and pitiful position for the Dominion and its Government to occupy? We would occupy a position wondrously like being supported by annual subsidy from the United States, and our Government would be like Samson shorn of his locks. As they no longer controlled the tariff or its revenues, they would be impotent to discharge many of the functions of Government. They would be unable to undertake new public works and improvements necessary to the growth and prosperity of a country like Canada. If an Indian rebellion broke out they would be at their wits' end for money to put it down, and Canada would occupy a position at once painful and comical in case of trouble arising between Great Britain and the States.

Whenever the tariff was changed at Washington our Parliament would have to cry "ditto;" when new rules and orders were issued as to customs, our Government would have to cry "ditto" again; and when they altered their inland revenue taxes, "ditto" would again be our cry. Our merchants and all others affected would have to conform to these changes, and we may rest assured that in a commission composed of ten Americans to one Canadian, their policy would at best not be to build up the trade of Montreal and Toronto at the expense of Boston and New York. If the tariff was raised, we would have to pay higher taxes. If it was lowered, our subsidy might decline so that bankruptcy might stare us in the face, and then, indeed, we might be forced to "look to Washington," whether we liked it or not.

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Imperial Federation.

NOVEMBER, 1887.

OUR PRINCIPLES.

"I THINK our wisest plan would be to advise a steady course that could not be impugned, that could not be regarded as aggressive, and which is sure, if each step is taken upon sound foundations, to lead us upon the right course in the end. These propositions no doubt may be called truisms, but it is very often exceedingly necessary to be very careful in entering upon a new course. You begin with truisms; they are often spoken of lightly, and as if they were nothing; but in reality it is often very desirable to recur to the first principles, and announce your adhesion to them."

We take our text from a speech delivered by Sir William Fitzherbert at the Imperial Conference, and proceed to note its application to the principles upon which the work of the League has been conducted since its foundation. Experience fully confirms the necessity of occasionally recurring to those principles, and parading their unimpaired vitality. Misrepresentation of our aims is still unfortunately rife in some quarters, and equal persistence in contradiction becomes imperative, lest judgment should seem to go against us by default. We regret extremely the necessity thus imposed upon us of devoting to the refutation of errors space that might be far more profitably assigned to the advocacy of uncontroverted reforms; but so long as our opponents insist upon ignoring the plain sentences of the League's constitution, which appear month by month in our pages, we are driven to the thankless task of repeating once more the elementary truths which underlie all our efforts towards Federation.

"That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs." This is the primary article in our charter, and the meaning of the term "local affairs" was carefully elaborated by the late Mr. Forster in the *Nineteenth Century*, of

February, 1885. Taxation, education, customs-duties, marriage laws, State churches, franchise, criminal and civil jurisdiction, public loans, and defensive forces are matters in which no scheme of Federation should interfere or override the rights of Local Parliaments. It is not asserted that none of these rights should ever be delegated to a Federal authority. The institution of the Federal Council of Australasia has already indicated a means of procuring joint legislation on subjects of common interest, without trespassing upon local rights. But just as no Colony is bound by the enactments of the Federal Council, unless the question has been specially referred thither by the Legislature of that Colony, so in the same way no scheme of Imperial Federation would ever be successfully conceived which should endeavour to claim the semblance of unauthorised initiative in dealing with affairs at present controlled by Local Parliaments.

It follows, therefore, that the League has no cut-and-dried scheme for a ready-made Federal Constitution, because it is only by the express desire of the individual members that any branch of public business could come under Federal cognisance. We do not deprecate the formulation of theoretical schemes on paper, believing that such attempts foster study and interest in the conditions of Imperial unity among the would-be constitution-mongers. But while we preserve an undeviating adherence to the principle of maintaining the existing rights of Local Parliaments to deal with local affairs, it is absolutely impossible for us to countenance or support any definite scheme whatever. We do indeed believe that on many subjects appropriated to local control uniformity of legislation and administrative unity would be an unmitigated advantage to all concerned, and our view is shared by a vast number of statesmen and politicians both here and in the Colonies; but a desire for Federal action in these matters must be evinced by the Local Parliaments themselves, even though the idea be first sprung upon the world from the brain of a political philosopher.

The second great principle of the League states: "That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights." Again we turn to the founder of the League for our reasons in demanding a Federal policy; we find it in these words: "As regards internal affairs, the Colonists have self-government. As regards foreign affairs, they are subjects, not merely of the Queen, but of our Parliament—that is, of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, or rather of such of those inhabitants as are voters." The first of the two principles we have been enunciating provides for internal freedom, the second for external strength in the Federation of the Empire. The Colonies and the Mother Country have a common interest in the maintenance of an enormous commerce, in the food-supply of this country and its source in the Colonies, and in the coaling stations, upon which our maritime supremacy depends. We have also in common the precious right to our national existence, to keep our place among the great Powers of the world, and to uphold the cause of Christianity and freedom wherever they are threatened. The defence of these rights and interests is at present in the hands of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom alone; but they are weary of the burden; they have summoned the Colonies to take their share, and the Colonies are gladly and proudly responding to the call. It is indeed certain that without such assistance our mutual danger would be extreme. The Mother Country would be weakened by the fulfilment of her bounden duty of protecting the Colonies at whatever risk to her home defences, while the Colonies would suffer from the enormous difficulties which would be experienced in conducting operations successfully from a base many thousand miles away. If it be once granted that we need the assistance of the Colonies in the defence of our common rights, a joint organisation becomes essential. We cannot honestly ask them to help us in action unless we give them some voice in our policy. Lord Derby's famous despatch has secured them a hearing in questions immediately touching their interests, but they have an equal right to be heard whenever the policy of the United Kingdom is directed towards

objects that may, however remotely, affect their safety and imperil their peace.

We have endeavoured to set forth in plain terms the two main principles which guide the League's action, and we should like to think that no further misrepresentation of our aims would be attempted. We hope the *Spectator*, for instance, will not repeat the fallacy that we contemplate the possibility of England some day being ruled by Australia, but will perceive the necessity of governing the Empire with the help of our great Colonies, if we are to continue to govern at all. We hope to hear no more about Federation being a scheme for taxing the Colonies in the interests of the Mother Country, since we have shown that the founder of the League specifically included taxation and customs duties among the rights of Local Parliaments. Most of all, we hope that in future none of the tentative schemes promulgated by irresponsible enthusiasts will be fastened upon the League. In our task of collecting and disseminating knowledge, and educating public opinion on the subject of Federation, we have many coadjutors, who seek the same goal by diverse roads. We welcome them all, and gladly offer them an opportunity of stating their views; but it must be remembered that the proceedings of the Executive Committee and the editorial matter in these columns contain the only official utterances of the League; and these official utterances have never swerved a hair's-breadth from the principles upon which the League was founded, of non-interference with local rights, and of combination on an equitable basis for the maintenance of common interests.

TERMINATION OF THE NEW HEBRIDES DIFFICULTY.

WITHIN four months the French military posts in the New Hebrides will be evacuated. Such is the definite engagement to which M. Flourens, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has pledged the Government of the Republic. The brevity of the Convention, published in another column, is in accordance with the definiteness of its contents. It was signed on October 24th, and as M. Flourens has "assured himself that the text is in accordance with the common intentions" of the two Governments, it is to be hoped nothing can now interfere with the immediate execution of its provisions. A careful study of the Convention will convince all reasonable persons that a dignified and satisfactory arrangement has been achieved. Had the British Government for one moment admitted the principle of making any concessions, either in Egypt or elsewhere, as the price of the French evacuation of the New Hebrides, we should have felt it our duty to protest in the strongest terms against the bare idea of a *quid pro quo*, where the only question was whether France would keep her treaty engagements. But the neutralisation of the Suez Canal, so far from involving concessions, may be considered as an additional triumph for our diplomacy, and is an arrangement that our Government had pressed upon the Great Powers as "of urgent necessity" more than a year before a single French soldier was landed in the New Hebrides. The definite recognition of the permanent French Protectorate over "*Les îles sous le vent de Tahiti*," including Raiatea, although included in the present Convention, was agreed to in October, 1885, and for five years previously a temporary Protectorate had been sanctioned by a diplomatic instrument, renewed regularly every six months. We are aware that the assumption of that Protectorate was originally unjustifiable, but its definite recognition by the British Government since 1880 was made absolute in 1885, and had ceased to be any longer an open question, even with the most zealous and uncompromising upholders of our rights in the Pacific. In fact, with regard to Raiatea the book had been finally closed before the New Hebrides became a bone of contention.

It is desirable that these facts should be steadily borne in mind, because the concurrent settlement of more difficulties than one between two nations is an event of such rarity as to suggest not unnaturally the idea of mutual concessions. A more reasonable explanation of the two Conventions is that their provisions are matters of mutual interest and benefit to France and to the British Empire; that the two Governments are for the present acting in harmony, and are no

longer actuated by a desire to foster national pride or national jealousy at the expense of international comity and justice. In conclusion, we must be allowed to point out the signal example afforded by the New Hebrides Convention of the unwisdom of prejudging such questions in the light of partial or inadequate information. Only a few days before the Convention was signed, a leading Australian journal reached us containing this unfortunate passage:—

"It is clear that Australians have nothing further to hope for from the negotiations between France and England in the matter of the occupation of the New Hebrides. The history of the French occupation of the islands and of the British action consequent upon that occupation is discreditable to both nations. On the one side there has been a distinct breach of treaty obligations, aggravated by duplicity and misstatement; on the other there has been incredible weakness, vacillation, and disregard of the wishes and interests of Australia. . . . The wishes of the Colonists are not to be weighed in the balance against the risk of offending France. Let but that country threaten to treat the quarrel in the Pacific as a makeweight in connection with the Egyptian question, and the British Ministers forthwith throw up the sponge and abandon the pretence of fighting the battles of the Colonies. The unsatisfactory ending of this episode in Pacific annexation will not tend to strengthen the bonds between Australia and the Motherland."

Let us hope that as the "ending of this episode" has in fact reversed the anticipations of our contemporary, its result may be to draw closer the bonds which would otherwise have been loosened, and promote a feeling of hearty confidence in the Imperial Government when Colonial interests are at stake, which the satisfactory, if tardy, settlement of the New Hebrides dispute has done much to justify.

COLONIAL PATRIOTISM.

THROUGH the courtesy of a member of the League, we have received a pamphlet bearing the title "Public Spirit, an address on Colonial Patriotism," by Mr. H. T. Tamplin, an English barrister practising at the Cape. The pamphlet, we gather from the preface, contains the substance of a lecture delivered by Mr. Tamplin last winter before the St. Andrew's Literary Society at East London, and it is now published at the request of "friends to whose judgment the writer respectfully defers." We mention this particularly, as it is well, when a witness is called into court, to know with what authority he speaks, and what opportunities he has enjoyed for forming an opinion which, from the fact of his being asked to give evidence at all, may be presumed to be entitled to more or less weight.

Mr. Tamplin, though a more convinced and thorough-going Imperialist, is, in one respect, in marked agreement with his brother barrister, Mr. Wise, on whose opinions we comment elsewhere. He laments the narrowness of Colonial interests and Colonial culture; "that the duties of our Legislature are far more parochial than they ought to be cannot," he thinks, "for a moment be doubted." Political life, which should call out the best energies and the noblest feelings of the citizens, tends to become under such conditions a mere game of "grab." In some quarters he observes "a tendency towards enriching, by means of prohibitory tariffs, one section of the community, to the exclusion of the rest;" in others towards the "exclusion of that influx of immigrants which should be desired by a country in which living is cheap and comparatively easy." Local spirit and local generosity is paralysed. If a hospital, a museum, a library, or what not, is required, the question is not, "How much can I do?" "Who will help raise the money?" but the cry is instantly, "Apply to Government. Get a grant." The paternal system of government in vogue at the Cape is in danger of undermining the vigour and self-reliance of the national character. "Let the people of the individual localities take more upon themselves, and they will not fail to realise the greatest advantages, both of a direct and also of an indirect description. Not the least of these would be the relief of Parliamentary representatives, in whom proficiency in the arts of the mendicant would no longer be required." Mr. Tamplin brings one still more serious charge against his fellow-colonists—a charge which, common though it may be in the United States, has never yet, that we are aware, been brought home to any class or body of British

subjects: "It is not, I blush to say, an uncommon observation that the public politics of this Colony are things better left to themselves." We will venture to trust that matters are scarcely as black as Mr. Tamplin paints them. There is at least one point in the Colonists' favour, that they are apparently not unwilling to be told of their faults.

But, admitting that there is even a measure of truth in what he says, Mr. Tamplin's remedy is obvious. He would sweep the Cape Colony out of the stagnant backwater in which it has lain too long into the fresher air and stronger current of a larger national life. South Africa cannot be self-sufficing. "I take it, the most independent soul between Cape Point and the Zambesi has not yet be-thought himself of inaugurating as a toast the sentiment of 'South Africa a nation.' Could the people of South Africa be now left to themselves to fight their own way among the nations? Even the landmarks we have of freedom and progress would speedily disappear at the will of a superior power." At the present moment the South African Colonies are not safe against attack. "Remember, we live in days in which torpedo boats do work upon which a few years ago no one ever speculated. Coalitions between Governments will be effected again, as they have been effected before, and none can say what fate is in store for the British communities outside the limit of the United Kingdom, or what struggles may be theirs before that fate can be determined. . . . But let us be sure of one thing, the less we indulge in idle dreams of assured security, the less we shrink from quickening our own intelligence and that of our neighbours in regard to public affairs, the more self-reliant each individual can become, the better our chances in the day of trial will be. How men or women of Colonial birth can fall into the error of thinking that their position relieves them of the high privilege of enthusiasm for Home and for Empire as well, is to me a mystery. . . . Is it hoping too much, to hope that the people of the Cape Colony will yet rise to the pinnacle of Imperial enthusiasm, which after all is national or public spirit in the widest sense?"

Nor is it only in the matter of Imperial defence that Mr. Tamplin pleads for closer union throughout the Empire: "Let us remember," he says, "that if every tiller of the soil in the Cape developed the producing power of his land to the greatest extent, there could not possibly be such a thing as a satisfactory market in any locality. It is absurd to suggest that consumers are to be found in this country alone. . . . Situated half-way between the Australian Colonies, splendid as they are, and the European markets, I cannot yield up the conviction in my mind that it is in the development of an export trade that the agricultural and national wealth of this country is to be realised."

And so, whether it is a question of defence against a possible foe, or whether it is a matter of mere increase of material wealth, Mr. Tamplin would fain persuade his hearers that they must look outside the narrow bounds of their own Colony. They must be ready to regard it "in relation to the rest of the British Empire, something after the fashion of an English county considered in reference to the United Kingdom as a whole." For our own part we seem to see in the position of the Cape Colony, the child of the Venice of the Northern seas, something of a parallel to the history of Venice. A hundred years ago the Cape was on the high-road of the world's commerce. With steam and the overland route and the Suez Canal, its importance declined, and men began to slight its value. Of late years we have come to see that we have gone too far. It commands, if not the only route, at least what must always be one of the great trade routes to the East, and to-day the Cape has apparently a great future before it. We can only trust that the fortifications which are at present rising round Table Bay at the joint expense of the Home and Colonial Governments may be the visible token of the solid and lasting nature of the bond which unites the widely-severed portions of the British Empire.

ANTICOSTI BLOATERS.—There are about 350 people now resident on the Island of Anticosti, and Mr. Stockwell, the owner, intends to erect a residence on the island next year and reside there. A number of Yarmouth (England) fishermen and curers have settled on the island this year, their intention being to go into the fish-curing business on a large scale. They will, it is said, endeavour to make the Anticosti bloater as famous as the Yarmouth fish.

MORE ABOUT WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

OUR article last month on British interests in Western Australia has attracted a great deal of attention. Under the title of "An Imperial Inheritance" a communication, dignified with large type, appeared in the *Times* of October 18th, which was in fact simply a reproduction of the substance of our article, and was discussed in a long leader the same day. The Editor of the *Times* puts the case in a nutshell:—"Fifty years ago an intending emigrant could choose at his free discretion. Worlds waited his advent and competed for the honour of his occupancy. The field is narrowed now, and though he will be suffered in many quarters, he has usually to enter under conditions. To Western Australia he goes by his own right." That is the fact to remember; to *Western Australia British subjects go by their own right*—not only inhabitants of the United Kingdom, but inhabitants of New South Wales, Victoria, and our other great Colonies, who, though at present fully occupied in developing their own resources, may some day need elbow-room as much as we do at home. Let a generous portion be set aside for Western Australia when she attains her majority, and let the remainder be retained and administered by an Imperial authority for Imperial purposes. The possession of a public domain is a national endowment of priceless value; it diminishes the incidence of taxation; it provides means for the performance of many national duties in a thorough workmanlike manner, which would otherwise be done imperfectly or left undone altogether by grudging taxpayers and ratepayers; it creates a common desire among all citizens for honest administration; it forms a common bond of union for all sections of the community, and inspires a common interest in the property of the State. If any scheme of State-directed colonisation be set on foot, the public domain provides a natural theatre for the experiment, where the ground has not been occupied by legislation based on other considerations possibly inconsistent with the success of the scheme. If an organised system of Imperial defence be admittedly desirable, what more fitting source of revenue could be appropriated to it than the income from an Imperial domain? We have already discovered that the chief difficulty in establishing such a system lies in apportioning the expense between this country and the several Colonies in a satisfactory manner, but the possession of an Imperial fund would obviate the necessity of any invidious assessment.

The advantages of establishing an Imperial Fund to defray the cost of Imperial Defence have been already perceived in the Colonies, and the opportunity of utilising the Crown lands of Western Australia for the purpose has not escaped notice. Two years ago Mr. E. W. Lamb, formerly Minister of Lands in Queensland, proposed that fifty million acres should be set apart by the Imperial Government as the nucleus of such a fund. The suggestion was warmly advocated in the Australian Federal Council by Mr. Service. He had previously been in correspondence¹ with the Government of Western Australia on the subject, and had received an assurance from Sir F. N. Broome that that Government "would probably support such a proposal, on condition that a Federal loan of, say £5,000,000, were raised for the purpose of constructing a railway connecting Perth with Adelaide." The Governor of Western Australia expressed himself also as being "decidedly of opinion that Mr. Lamb's suggestion is valuable, and that if the scheme indicated could be carried out, it would be of great benefit to the Continent."

We are not concerned with the condition indicated by Sir F. N. Broome, for, as Mr. Service very justly pointed out, it had no connection with the original proposal. But here we have all the elements of a successful operation: the United Kingdom and the Colonies both anxious for an Imperial estate; the Crown in possession of an enormous and valuable domain, already marked out by public opinion as the fitting nucleus for such an estate; the particular Colony in which the public domain is situated assenting to the principle, and probably glad to accelerate the time when it will receive a noble share of the inheritance as a free gift on the birthday of responsible government. Surely this is a matter well worthy of attention by the Cabinet, as

¹ See IMPERIAL FEDERATION, April, 1887, page 81.

affording an opportunity of introducing a grand measure of Imperial co-operation, in the interests alike of the United Kingdom, Australia, and the whole Empire.

THE RIGHT HON. J. CHAMBERLAIN UPON THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN has accepted our principles, and right glad are we to make the announcement. Speaking at Birmingham on September 29th, with reference to his appointment as a member of the new American Fisheries Commission, he thus expressed his sympathy with the objects of the League:—"I do not say that the idea of confederation of the Empire is yet within the reach of practical politics; but I do say that anything which can draw closer the ties that connect the Mother Country with the self-governing Colonies is a good thing for every member of the great Anglo-Saxon family, and is an additional pledge and guarantee for the peace and civilisation of the world."

A fortnight later, at a great meeting in Belfast on October 12th, Mr. Chamberlain returned to the subject in language even more emphatic than he had used at Birmingham. His words should be laid to heart by every member of the League, for they not only evince an admirable concurrence with our aims, but form a powerful exposition of the main argument for our existence. "Are we going," asked Mr. Chamberlain, "to blind ourselves to the fact that the tie which connects us to our self-governing Colonies is one of the slenderest description? That it is one that can be broken at the pleasure of any one of those Colonies, and that we should have nothing to say to it? Already our great Colonies have control over criminal law and judicature, and have control over internal taxation. They make their own tariffs; some of them have an army or militia of their own, and now they are getting a separate navy. *The arrangements between our Colonies and ourselves is essentially a temporary one. It cannot remain as it is. Either, as I hope may be the case, it will in the future be strengthened by ties of Federation (cheers), or it will be loosened altogether.* Already you have in the Colony of Canada, the greatest of all our Colonies, an agitation for what is called commercial union with the United States: Commercial union with the United States means free trade between America and the Dominion and a protective tariff against the Mother Country. If Canada desires that, Canada can have it, but Canada can only have it knowing perfectly well that commercial union with America means political separation from Great Britain."

We know no man who, if he sets his mind to it, can do more to impress upon the British democracy the faith to which he has announced his adherence. Believing as he does that the benefits to be derived from drawing the ties closer between ourselves and the Colonies are indisputable, and that these benefits will not be one-sided, but include the whole Empire—believing, moreover, that the ultimate choice must lie between separation and federation, Mr. Chamberlain, judging by his past career and his pronounced convictions, will not hesitate to use every means in his power for winning the masses to his opinion, and persuading them to realise the advantages of closer union.

The process of drawing the ties closer is one in which the League is constantly engaged, and it is impossible to conceive of any methods for attaining the result, which it does not regard with sympathy, and support with hearty co-operation. For this reason we claim Mr. Chamberlain as a fellow-worker, and gladly welcome him to our ranks. If, as he says, confederation is not yet within the reach of practical politics, he can only refer to the final coping-stone which shall crown the work; for every step taken, by which the bonds of union are strengthened or increased, forms an essential part of what we mean by Federation. Of such measures, we have recently seen many achieved within the bounds of practical politics; nor can we doubt that the alliance of men like Mr. Chamberlain affords the surest pledge that the fuller realisation of our aims will not be long delayed.

GOOD FOR CANADA.—It is reported that Professor Goldwin Smith contemplates returning to England with a view to obtaining a seat in the House of Commons.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF MOBILISATION IN AUSTRALIA.

ALL the circumstances of the Australian Colonies favour a combined system of military organisation. The capitals of the four great Colonies of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia are united by railways, and each city forms a focus upon which lines from the interior converge; moreover, these railway centres are also depositories of most of the realised wealth in the Colonies, and from their position on the sea-coast would be the points of attack by any hostile force. It is seldom, indeed, that so vast a territory as Australia is provided with such ample facilities for self-defence arising from the small number of ports to be protected, and the ease with which troops could, if necessary, be concentrated at a given spot.

But although troops and stores could be moved with safety and speed from one end of the continent to the other, we believe that there exists no scheme of mobilisation for use in an emergency. Without discussing the vexed question of the adequacy of the Colonial forces either in point of numbers or efficiency, it cannot be denied that the day might come when Melbourne or Sydney would be in sore need of every man that their neighbours could send them. But what is the state of things at present? The obstacles to united action are so serious, that friction, red-tapeism, and that worst of evils, delay, could hardly fail to supervene at a crisis when every moment was precious. The *Australian Naval and Military Gazette* has recently put on record some of the most glaring faults in this system. "The Government of each separate Colony has absolute control over its own troops; each force has at present its separate Discipline Act and organisation; the Government, at any rate in some cases, has no power to order the men to serve outside their own Colony, and the system of drill is not universally the same." It is idle to argue that at a time of public danger, patriotism would assert itself, regardless of red-tape, and sweep away all hindrances to common action in a day. This kind of "emergency patriotism" is always costly, and not always successful; and even if the necessary Acts of Parliament were passed at a single special sitting, the forces could only realise a high standard of combined efficiency after a prolonged training, for which, according to every estimate of the kind of attack to be expected, time would certainly not be granted. We have not alluded to the important point of precedence among the troops, or to the considerations by which the choice of a Commander-in-Chief would be decided; although these are matters wherein the least want of harmony would gravely imperil the safety of all concerned.

The naval defences of Australia will shortly, we hope, be raised to a reasonable pitch of security, by the ratification of the scheme agreed upon at the Imperial Conference; it remains for the Colonies to take in hand the equally important task of reorganising their military forces. The subject is one which might be properly discussed at the Federal Council of Australasia, provided New South Wales and South Australia participate in the next session. The most urgent requirements stand out in bold relief; the whole of the Colonial troops should be amalgamated into one force, available for service in any part of Australia, but retaining the local distinctions of regiments and providing that the regiments should be recruited and quartered in their own Colonies. Absolute unanimity in drill and pattern of military stores and arms should be insisted upon, and a complete scheme of mobilisation drawn up. We need scarcely urge the obvious advantages of adopting the Imperial pattern of arms and stores, and the British Army drill-book; some day we may again have to fight hand in hand with our Australian cousins against a common foe, and the difficulties of transport and ammunition trains no less than the exigencies of service in the field alike demand that no avoidable impediment shall be allowed to interfere with the success of active operations.

AUSTRALIAN PROGRESS.—In 1837 Melbourne consisted of a wooden church, two wooden inns, three wooden shops, and twenty wooden huts; its population is now 365,000. The population of Australia has increased in the same period from 134,000 to three and a half millions; and the trade from £2,800,000 to £115,000,000. Last year the sum total of the imports and exports of Sydney equalled those of London in 1837.

THE LATE HEAD-MASTER OF UPPINGHAM.

THE REV. EDWARD THRING, who died unexpectedly at Uppingham on the 22nd of October, was certainly the most notable head-master of his day, though his influence was perhaps more widely felt outside this country—in Germany and in America—than in England itself, the lumber-room of antiquated theories and worn-out systems. In the course of a successful reign of thirty-four years at Uppingham, he raised the school from complete insignificance to a place among our best educational establishments, and in certain departments, particularly those of art and music, to an unchallenged pre-eminence over them all. He was a strong and independent thinker on educational subjects, and embodied his views in that most original book, "The Theory and Practice of Teaching," and in numerous lectures and addresses delivered to different educational bodies. In conjunction with the late Dr. Harper, of Sherborne, he originated the idea of a Head-masters' Conference, and in many other ways—as, for example, in the institution of the first public-school mission at Poplar, in the East End of London—displayed a similar power of initiating new movements. One of his most remarkable feats was the removal of the entire school under his charge from Uppingham to seaside quarters in Wales, during an outbreak of fever which threatened its very existence in the spring of 1876. It was, in fact, this quality of generalship that made him so striking a figure in the present generation—a sort of hero among school-masters. The enthusiasm he inspired among boys was extraordinary, and his cheery humour and unclouded sincerity had their effect upon the dullest and most careless. The writer of these lines knew him but slightly, yet carried away, as every one seems to have done, an impression of his many-sided personality which can never be effaced.

He was a fervent believer in the great destiny of England, and laboured hard to instil into all with whom he came into contact some measure of the faith that was in him. He was thus predisposed to the idea of receiving a lecturer in connection with the Imperial Federation League to preach its gospel at Uppingham, and heartily welcomed the proposal when it was made to him last summer. Only a few weeks before his death he wrote to fix the day on which the meeting was to be held, and promised to speak himself on the occasion; and one of his last public donations was a liberal gift to the funds of the Imperial Institute.

H. F. W.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

CHARTERHOUSE.—After some delays, arrangements are now in progress for an address to the Debating Society, which will be given by the Rev. Canon Dalton towards the end of the month. The address will be followed by a discussion.

RUGBY.—A proposal has been received from Mr. C. G. Steel, the President of the Debating Society, for a debate to be held there during the present term, under the auspices of the League.

WINCHESTER and WELLINGTON.—Application has been made to the head-masters to permit lectures to be held or debates organised.

Offers of help in lecturing, opening debates, or giving prizes for essays, &c., to be competed for at the various public schools, will be thankfully received at the League's Office, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.

A set of twelve large pictures, illustrative of our Colonial Empire, is in course of preparation by Mr. L. Speed for use by lecturers.

AN AUSTRALIAN APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH DEMOCRACY.¹

WE have just received a pamphlet bearing the above title, but written as long ago as March, 1885. The author, Mr. Wise, is a gentleman who, after a distinguished career at Oxford, has already, at the early age of about thirty, risen by his talent and energy to the high position of Attorney-General of New South Wales. We will confess at the outset that Mr. Wise's pamphlet, though we cannot but admire the lucidity and ability with which it is written, leaves us in some perplexity. Why, for one thing, should an appeal to the English democracy be printed for private circulation only? We have heard of prophets crying in the wilderness for lack of followers, but a prophet who deliberately remains in the wilderness and forbids his disciples to come out to him! This, however, is by no means our chief difficulty. Mr. Wise complains that English people hear only one side of Australian opinion—that, namely, of the small minority composing the monied and squatter classes. He is naturally anxious, therefore, that his own voice—which he frankly admits represents only the views of one individual, to be taken for what they are worth—should also be heard. "In the absence of an authoritative expression of the opinions of the Australian democracy the opinion even of an individual acquires a certain interest, especially when Englishmen listen only to the other side." In listening to him, however, we have not only to consider how far Mr. Wise is entitled to speak on behalf of the Australian democracy, but also how far the opinions both of Mr. Wise and the democracy may have undergone change and modification in the course of the last two eventful years.

Certainly, whatever may have been the case in 1885, it surpasses our belief that at present the questions "of Imperial Union, Colonial Federation, and Annexation in the Pacific, are just those to which Australians are most indifferent . . . matters of which Australia knows nothing except through the letters of London correspondents." Still, as far as the democracy does form an opinion on these subjects, Mr. Wise thinks, or thought, that it is, or was (we cannot apologise for harping on this point, for the distinction is of vital moment) somewhat as follows:—

With regard to the question of Imperial Union, "Australian sentiment is undoubtedly changing. . . . The recent dispatch of troops from New South Wales to Egypt has brought the question within the range of practical politics. . . . Australian opinion on the matter is by no means unanimous. . . . Sir Henry Parkes is supported in his opposition to the proposal, so far as can be judged by the resolutions of public meetings, by the bulk of the working classes. . . . Still, there is no doubt a strong British sentiment even among genuine Australians." It may also be observed that Sir Henry Parkes has, since then, expressly stated that he was the only man in the Colony who at the time raised his voice against the proposal.

Of the importance of the dispatch of the Australian troops to the Soudan Mr. Wise speaks in no doubtful terms. "It is the first step along a bifurcating road which leads either to Imperial union or to separation. . . . The notion that Australia might remain a Colony of England, and still be neutral if England were engaged in war, has lost what little vitality it ever had." Mr. Wise's sympathies lead him towards union, his practical instincts lead him to expect, though not to desire, separation. For he is persuaded that no foreign power would be allowed, by the jealousies of its neighbours, to attack Australia, if independent; moreover, "since we could, with very little trouble, raise a disciplined militia of 200,000 men, our shores would be sufficiently protected against wanton aggression." We confess that we find some difficulty in reconciling this statement with another which criticises the Soudan campaign on the ground that "our defenceless position is just beginning to excite alarm, when we remove three-fourths of our little army (600 men)." But perhaps the Soudan contingent were like the Fabii of old, *E quis dux fieri quilibet aptus erat*, and were wanted as officers for that magnificent, but surely somewhat shadowy, "disciplined militia of 200,000 men."

¹ By Bernhard Wise, Barrister-at-Law; pp. 22. For Private Circulation Only. Published by W. Dymock. Sydney, 1885.

Being fully persuaded that Australia has no need for protection against aggression, Mr. Wise fairly enough argues that the whole cost of an Imperial Fleet ought to be defrayed by England. But he is wrong in saying that Australia has no mercantile fleet to protect, that all her commerce is carried in English bottoms, and could in case of war be transferred to a neutral flag. In the year 1885 more shipping was cleared in the ports of New South Wales and Victoria under the Colonial than under the English flag. Labouring under a delusion of this sort, Mr. Wise is naturally strongly opposed to the agreement which has since been entered into by which the Colonists pay for the maintenance of a special Australian fleet. "Nevertheless," he concludes, "union with England is worth some sacrifice. . . . The spirit of nationality is growing everywhere with immense rapidity. . . . The spirit of democracy is union, and when that spirit has penetrated the English and Australian peoples, the political problem of a Federal Constitution will be nearer to solution."

We must pass more rapidly over the other two points to which Mr. Wise directs attention. He criticises bitterly and somewhat contemptuously the Enabling Bill that was passed two years back. New South Wales is, he assures us, eager for Colonial Federation, but the desire for Federation in Victoria is only a mask behind which the Protectionists are fighting. We have no intention of interfering in this dispute, as we should probably only meet with the proverbial fate of those who interfere in family jars. But certainly, if the Enabling Bill possesses one half of the demerits that Mr. Wise ascribes to it, it is not likely to have much practical effect in the immediate future. Still, if English journals cannot, and Australian journals will not, discuss this question, it is difficult to see from what quarter legislative emendations can be looked for.

On the question of annexation in the Pacific we must honestly confess that we can hardly think that Mr. Wise speaks for any one but himself. His view is briefly that France and Germany, but more especially France, are entirely welcome to annex any or all of the Pacific Islands in the neighbourhood of the coast of Australia, including therein more particularly the New Hebrides. It is not the business of Australia to undertake the defence of all the oppressed native races in the world, even if it were clear, which to Mr. Wise at least it by no means is, that the islanders would be the better for being brought under the protection of the British Empire. The idea that these petty settlements can form a serious danger to the great continent of Australia is absurd, thinks Mr. Wise. As well might Pondicherry be called a danger to India, or Cuba to the United States. He forgets that Pondicherry was once a very serious danger to the English power in India and that the French are restrained by treaty from attempting to convert it into a second Gibraltar. But let that pass. Mr. Wise further declares that it will be a positive gain to Australia to have foreign neighbours. "We are outside the main current of European thoughts, so that in spiritual and intellectual matters we are somewhat stagnant. . . . France and Germany have each of them political and intellectual ideas which differ from the English; and the observation of new ideas and other forms of life cannot but stimulate a nation's mental growth." Yet again: "Australians have enough to do to annex their own only half-discovered continent; they have neither men to administer nor capital to develop any further possessions. Let the French and the Germans come and do it. Every fresh settler in New Guinea or the New Hebrides means a fresh customer to the markets of Sydney or Melbourne." If by these vigorous arguments Mr. Wise can convert his own Government and that of the other Colonies, we conceive that there will be no one more entirely satisfied than Lord Salisbury, or more ready to give effect to the Colonial wishes. We shall look to hearing more from Mr. Wise ere long.

CANADIAN LOYALTY.—The loyal attachment of the people of the Dominion to Britain was clearly demonstrated at Thousand Islands Park, in the St. Lawrence, recently, when the Canadians present at a missionary meeting there rose in a body and left because of the declaration of the Rev. Dr. Hamlin, a returned missionary from Turkey, that England prevented the Turks from embracing the Christian religion because she feared her millions of Mohammedan subjects in India more than God or Christ.

NEW SOUTH WALES AND AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

SIR HENRY PARKES, Premier of New South Wales, has been visiting Victoria and South Australia, conferring with the heads of the Governments in Melbourne and Adelaide, and making powerful speeches in the course of his tour. The two points upon which he has expressed himself most emphatically are his unswerving devotion to the Mother Country, and his intense desire to see the whole of Australia united.

Here are one or two examples of the first point:—"I have ever set before me," said the veteran statesman, "and the longer I have lived, in the more determined manner I have got before me the type of the Mother Country as the one that we should follow in founding a new nation in this country." And again, "We feel as proudly here—we Englishmen here feel as proudly as any Englishmen can feel within the shores of the Mother Country." And once more, "Among all things let us ever reject anything like narrow-minded jealousy—(Hear, hear)—but rather let us take the broad and national spirit, following the example of our beloved parent, proving ourselves not only to be inheritors of her welcome literature—for Milton, Shakespeare, and Spencer belong to us as much as to the English in the British Isles—not only proving ourselves inheritors of her fame, her civilisation, her refinement, her energy, and her enterprise, but proving ourselves heroic followers of her noble self-instructing fiscal policy; let us be animated by a gladness to be more consistent with our brotherhood in Britain, and let us be ready to carry the old flag down to our children unsullied."

Nor is Sir Henry Parkes less earnest in his unqualified acceptance of the principle of Australian Federation. "Why," he asks, "should we not all be one people of Australia? How can any imaginary line drawn across the territory separate the people of South Australia from Victoria, and a narrow stream separate the people of New South Wales from Victoria? Surely we should have our aspirations to be one people, and I can hardly understand the feeling that comes over me when I speak of my own Colony being separated from yours. We are all of one stock; all having the same national hopes; all struggling to obtain the same ends; and why should we not be one people?"

But, unfortunately, the one legislative step that has been taken towards securing Australian Federation—we refer to the Federal Council—does not find much favour in New South Wales. We have never been able to understand why this is the case, nor does Sir H. Parkes really explain the grounds of his objection; for we cannot accept his explanation that the fact of the Federal Council being constitutionally "inferior to the Parliaments of the different Colonies" is a stumbling-block in the way of its usefulness. The establishment of a single Federal Parliament is put forward as a preferable alternative by Sir H. Parkes, but he afterwards alluded to so many important matters in which combined action is immediately requisite, that surely some authority must be established for dealing with them. However, it is valuable for our readers to know what the Premier of New South Wales thinks, as his argument, even if unsound, is that of the man in power.

"I believe," he said, "I represent a great number of our thinking men who are as firmly in favour of the Federation of these Colonies as any Victorian or South Australian. Our stumbling-block has been of late years that we have thought—I speak for myself especially now—that the sister Colonies of Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, and I think Western Australia, have taken a step which, instead of assisting us in the great work of a Federal Australia, will rather be the stumbling-block. (Cheers.) I, for example, can with difficulty understand how a body created by the Imperial Parliament, which in all its essential legislating positions is more insignificant than the Parliament of any individual Colony—I cannot understand how the principle of Federation can be in the end successfully carried out by a body which is in effect and constitution inferior to the Parliaments of the different Colonies. (Cheers.) If I had to speak to you on the matter of legislation for Federation I should say that it is comparatively hopeless until the time arrives when we can all be in accord, and when, with the consent of the people of the country, represented through their Parliaments, we can agree to establish a Federal Parliament. (Cheers.)"

MISREPRESENTATIVE UNDOUBTEDLY.

THE *Cotton Factory Times* expresses its gratitude to us for calling attention in our last month's number to the flagrant nonsense talked by Mr. John Norton in reference to alleged effeteness and bankruptcy in the English trade unions. In return we have to thank the *Cotton Factory Times* for telling us who and what Mr. John Norton is, and how he comes to have so poor an opinion of trade-unionism in this country. It appears that an International Workmen's Congress met in Paris on August 23rd, 1886, amongst the delegates present being seven representatives of some of the principal trade unions in England. Two days afterwards Mr. John Norton arrived, claiming that he had come to Europe as delegate from the Australian trade unions to the English Trade Union Congress that was to meet at Hull a week or two later. His credentials appeared to be in order, and he was accordingly admitted. As, however, he had taken up his quarters at the same hotel as the English representatives, and as he was only too happy to have listeners, the English delegates learnt a good deal about the life and adventures of Mr. Norton—among other things, that he was not a working man and a trade-unionist at all, but a journalist "who had got himself accredited as a workman's representative, ostensibly for the purpose of exposing the emigration fraud. What his real object was, was also pretty well ascertained, but we need not go further into that. It is quite sufficient to know that even the Social Democratic Federation, who had a representative in Paris at the time, would have nothing to say to him." When, the following week, Mr. Norton's credentials were submitted to the Parliamentary Committee of the Hull Congress, they were examined by the light of the information furnished by two members of the Committee who had been in Paris, and Mr. Norton was not only refused admission as a delegate, but was even denied a hearing altogether.

His suggestion of bankruptcy and effeteness in the English societies is, we take it, therefore quite sufficiently explained, and we have no wish to say another word as to Mr. Norton personally. But we must ask two questions. How came the Australian trade-unionists, if not to select as their representative, at least tacitly to accept, a man who could not possibly have been admitted as a member of the pettiest local lodge? Trade unions have been allowed to speak as representative of the working classes, because the unions themselves have hitherto taken very good care that every one of their members shall be a genuine working man. Candidates for admission, say the rules of one of the great societies which lie before us as we write, "must have worked at the trade five years, and be good workmen," and as far as we are aware every society makes a similar rule. If trade-unionists allow *soi-disant* journalists to pose as carpenters or engineers, they cannot blame the outside public if it refuses to accept the voice of the union as that of a society of typical working men. Another question we should like to have solved is this: Who paid the expenses of Mr. Norton's embassy? We have a notion we have not yet got quite to the bottom of this matter. If any of our Australian readers can enlighten us on the subject, we shall be grateful.

THE NEW NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

The cartoon in *Punch* of October 15th was entitled "The New North-West Passage," and contained a representation of Britannia beckoning her sons along the westward course of the Empire, over the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The cartoon was illustrated by the following fine poem:—

A COLLOQUY ON THE CANADIAN SHORE.

Canada. "Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

Britannia. The Bishop's famous line, dear, bears to-day
Modified meaning; westward runs indeed
The route of Empire,—ours!

Canada. If I succeed
In drawing hither Trade's unfaltering feet
And yours, my triumph then will be complete.

Britannia. Across your continent from sea to sea
All is our own, my child, and all is free.
No jealous rivals spy around our path
With watchfulness not far remote from wrath.

The sea-ways are my own, free from of old
To keels adventurous and bosoms bold.
Now from my western cliffs that front the deep
To where the warm Pacific waters sweep
Around Cathay and old Zipangu's shore.
My course is clear. What can I wish for more?
To your young enterprise the praise is due.

Canada. The praise, and profit, I would share with you.
Canadian energy has felt the spur
Of British Capital; the flush and stir
Of British patriot blood is in our heart;
Still I am glad you think I've done my part.

Britannia. Bravely! Yon Arctic wastes no more need
slay

My gallant sons. Had FRANKLIN seen this day
He had not slept his last long lonely sleep
Where the chill ice-pack lades the frozen deep.
"It can be done! England should do it!" Yes,
This is the thought which urges to success
Our struggling, sore-tried heroes. WAGHORN knew
Such inspiration. Many a palsied crew
Painfully creeping through the Arctic night
Have felt it fill their souls like fire and light.
Well, it is done, by men of English strain,
Though in such shape as they who strove in vain
With Boreal cold and darkness never dreamed
When o'er the Pole the pale aurora gleamed
Perpetual challenge.

Canada. Here's your Empire route!
A right of way whose value to compute
Will tax the prophets.

Britannia. Links me closer still
With all my wandering sons who tame and till
The world's wild wastes, and throng each paradise
In tropic seas or under southern skies.
See, Halifax, Vancouver, Sydney, set
Fresh steps upon a path whose promise yet
Even ourselves have hardly measured. Lo!
Far China brought within a moon or so
Of tea-devouring London! Here it lies,
The way for men and mails and merchandise,
Striking athwart your sea-dividing sweep
Of land; one iron road from deep to deep!
Well thought, well done!

Canada. No more need you depend
On furtive enemy or doubtful friend.
Your home is on the deep, and when you come
To the Dominion's land you're still at home.

Britannia. And woe to him the Statesman cold or blind,
Of clutching spirit or of chilling mind,
Pedantic prig or purse-string tightening fool,
Who'd check such work and such a spirit cool!
Yours is the praise, and may the profit flow
In fullest stream, 'midst your Canadian snow
A true Pactolus. Trade's prolific fruit,
Should freely flourish on our Empire Route.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as the lecturing season has now commenced, and the map is much in request.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1886 has been compiled, and is now ready for binding with the volume.

A NEW pamphlet, entitled "The Imperial Conference of 1887," is now ready, price 2d. Post free, 2½d. In accordance with the terms of membership, the pamphlet has been sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

SCOTLAND IN THE PACIFIC.

THE EARL of ROSEBURY'S speech at Castle Douglas on Oct. 20th contained the following remarks upon the New Hebrides question:—

I want to take you to a Scottish question for a few minutes, only two or three minutes, which never has received any attention in Scotland at all, but which is as much a Scottish question as any that could be discussed in this hall, and which I think deserves your serious attention. It is connected with the foreign policy of this country. I do not know whether any of you know much about the New Hebrides in this country. They are a remote group of islands in the Southern seas; but they have absorbed some of the best energies of Scotland, and those energies seem likely at this moment to be rendered fruitless, I will not say by the inaction of this Government, but what looks suspiciously like the inaction of this Government. I want to direct the attention of this country and this nation to this subject, because I hold, as Scotchmen, we are greatly to blame for not putting it more forward. There was a convention between Great Britain and France that the territory of the New Hebrides should be respected by both; but in May last year the French Government of New Caledonia, which is New Caledonia only in name, despatched a military expedition to the New Hebrides on the pretext of avenging some murders that had taken place in that part of the world, which murders do not seem to have been satisfactorily established, and that military expedition to the New Hebrides, which has remained there ever since, so far as we can learn, has not taken any measures to avenge those murders; but what it has done is this—to set up in all the islands the Tricolour flag of France, to build permanent barracks, and to establish, so far as we can gather, a permanent occupation of these islands. Now, gentlemen, in my opinion, there was no remonstrance that the Government should have spared in order to prevent anything so discreditable both to this country and to France. (Cheers.)

We, the late Government, sent a strong remonstrance to the French Government, and not merely did that, but gave orders that a British ship of war should remain in these islands as long as a French soldier remained there. (Cheers.) That was the course we took. I believe if the same course had been pursued after the occupation of the New Hebrides had unhappily taken place, we should have had the neutrality of the New Hebrides respected. (Cheers.) But I say again deliberately I will not blame our Government because we cannot obtain any information as to what our Government is doing; but the result is that the French are there, and they have coloured the New Hebrides by their occupation. Now, I will tell you how this affects you. The New Hebrides are not Scotch, as New Caledonia is, merely in name. They have been entirely civilised by Scotch efforts; for you have fourteen Scotch missionaries there at this moment, and the missionaries of your faith sent there to civilise these poor islanders are universally respected by them. In that work of missions you have spent £170,000—or the people who have sent these missionaries have spent £170,000 in the last thirty-five years. (Cheers.) That was a civilising influence in the country, and yet, owing apparently to the apathy of our Government, the French will be allowed utterly to dismiss those missionaries, and to undo the good work to which Scotland has set her hand. This is a matter which geographically is a long way from you, but, speaking as a Scotsman, it is near to you, because it holds your faith; and I do hope that a voice will go from Scotland protesting against this occupation, and which shall say that the sluggish wheels of the Government machine in this country shall be oiled till it passes over and carries away this French occupation.

THE UNITED STATES PRESS ON THE ANNEXATION OF CANADA.

THE following interesting summary of the comments of United States journals upon the proposal for Commercial Union with Canada has been tabulated by a writer in the *Canadian Gazette*. It shows that annexation is looked upon as the practical outcome of Commercial Union, and even Professor Goldwin seems to admit this in his latest utterances.

Buffalo Commercial.—"By Commercial Union United States tariff regulations will be extended to include Canada, Europe will be shut out, and, so far as all practical trade relations are concerned, Canada would become a State of the American Union."

Buffalo Courier.—"Since the Canadians show so much favour to the project of Commercial Union, it seems reasonable to assume that the idea of political union will soon cease to be obnoxious to them."

Buffalo News.—"The Tories are in control of the government of Canada, and the keeping up of a close British connection is one of the prime articles of their faith. Between that and their dread of political annexation to the United States they will find it very hard to adopt Mr. Wiman's views."

Syracuse Standard.—"Mr. Butterworth scorns the idea

that Commercial Union means political union. It means nothing else. We want no Commercial Union without political union."

Chicago Times.—"Neither of them (the Commercial Unionists) explains how the kind of Commercial Union they advocate is compatible with the maintenance of the existing political status of the two countries."

Philadelphia Record.—"No scheme which would give to Canada an equal voice in the determination of federal taxation could be considered. She would have to accept the position of a State in the Union, with only such power in the determination of the tax rate as her comparative population would entitle her to. How this could be effected without representation in Congress is a matter hard to determine."

St. Paul Pioneer Press (one of the ablest journals in the North-Western States) finds in what it erroneously believes to be the present feeling of Canadians indications of the beginning of United States rule in the Dominion, which leads it to observe that "the development of a new era in Canada, which may be fraught with wonderful consequences to our own country, if our legislators are wise enough to see their opportunity, is one of the most interesting movements of the day."

HERE AND THERE.

THE Anglo-American Fisheries Commission has been constituted as follows:—British Commissioners, Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, G.C.M.G., and Sir Lionel Sackville West (British Minister at Washington). United States Commissioners, Mr. Bayard, Mr. W. L. Putnam, and Mr. James B. Angell.

As a practical testimony to the advantages of the Canadian Pacific route to the east, we learn that a letter posted in Yokohama on September 14th was delivered in London on October 17th. By the Suez Canal route the time occupied in transit would have been six weeks.

THE Canadian Government Ammunition Factory at Quebec will in future manufacture all the shells for muzzle-loading guns in the Dominion batteries.

A BILL imposing a £10 poll tax upon Chinese entering the Northern Territory has passed the third reading in the Legislative Assembly of South Australia.

THE Government of New South Wales has offered a bonus of £25,000 to any one who can devise a successful scheme for the extermination of rabbits in the Colony.

A BATTERY of four Krupp guns has passed through Durban for conveyance to the Transvaal.

THE *Times* correspondent telegraphed from Sydney on October 11th, that a banquet had been given to Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., at the Town Hall, Sydney. The Mayor presided, and the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, eight members of the Ministry, the leader of the Opposition, and a large number of Members of both Houses of Parliament were present. It was announced that a penny postage rate would probably be established throughout Victoria and New South Wales in 1888.

THE new Ministry of New Zealand has been constituted, with Hon. H. A. Atkinson as Premier, Colonial Treasurer, and Postmaster-General; Hon. G. F. Richardson as Native Minister, Minister of Defence, Minister of Lands, and Minister of Mines. Evidently pluralists are not viewed with disfavour in New Zealand.

VICTORIA has just made a considerable addition to her defences—eight Nordenfeldt machine guns, a quantity of electrical apparatus, and 10,000 rounds of Martini-Henry ammunition having arrived from England.

THE funds received and definitely promised for the foundation and maintenance of the Imperial Institute amount to over £400,000. This sum is represented by the following contributions, stated approximately:—From different parts of the United Kingdom, £220,000; from the Colonies, £80,000; and from the Indian Empire, £100,000. More than two-thirds of the full value of the subscriptions notified have been received and invested.

THE first Intercolonial Medical Congress of Australia was held in Adelaide in September. Representatives were present from all the Colonies except Tasmania and Western Australia. Dr. J. C. Verec filled the Presidential chair.

THE third 18-ton gun has been placed in position in the armoured casemate battery at George's Head, Sydney. The armament of this battery, which is a valuable addition to the defence works of the harbour, is now complete.

THE committee of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce have agreed to co-operate with the representatives of the Presbyterian Church in the establishment of regular steam communication with the New Hebrides. It is considered that such a service is bound to encourage British settlers in the islands, and to foster a friendly feeling on the part of the natives towards Australia, and tend to secure the trade of the islands.

DRAFT OF THE NEW HEBRIDES CONVENTION AND DESPATCHES.

THE following is Lord Salisbury's despatch accompanying the draft Convention relating to the New Hebrides, signed at Paris on October 24th. We also give the text of the Convention and M. Flourens' acceptance of it.

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY TO MR. EGERTON.

Foreign Office, October 21, 1887.

SIR,—I enclose to you the draft of a Convention with respect to the New Hebrides, which is the result of the various communications and conversations that have passed upon the subject. The controversy has lasted longer than was anticipated, and has created some disquietude in the minds of Her Majesty's subjects in Australia; and I hope that by accepting the enclosed proposals the French Government may be able to bring it to a satisfactory termination.

In the year 1878 the Marquis d'Harcourt, then French Ambassador of this Court, verbally assured Lord Derby that France entertained no intention of annexing the New Hebrides, and received from Lord Derby a corresponding assurance in return. When in the beginning of last year two of the islands of this group were occupied by a small French force a general apprehension was created, especially among the colonists of Australia and New Zealand, that a policy was in contemplation not consistent with the assurances the Marquis d'Harcourt had been instructed to convey. The French Government have, however, constantly assured us, in a categorical manner, that they entertained no projects of annexation, and that they were prepared to remove their troops as soon as sufficient security was given to them that the lives and properties of French settlers upon the islands would be protected from attacks by the natives. The provisions of the draft Convention which is enclosed seem well calculated to effect the objects which both Governments desire. But the acceptance of it by Her Majesty's Government must be entirely conditional on an undertaking by the French Government that the evacuation shall not be postponed beyond a fixed date.

The French Government are anxious that this opportunity shall be taken to release them from an engagement entered into in 1847, to the effect that they would not assume the Protectorate of the island of Raiatea, near Tahiti. The desirability of acceding to this proposal, under certain conditions, has for several years been admitted by Her Majesty's Government. In the autumn of 1880 it was proposed to make this concession simultaneously with a Convention which was being negotiated for the settlement of the disputed fishery questions in Newfoundland. In view of the probability of this Convention being concluded, Lord Granville, in October, 1880, consented "to a provisional French Protectorate over the island for a strictly limited time." The agreement for that purpose was renewed at the end of six months, and since then has been renewed every six months up to the present time. The Newfoundland Convention, which was to have made the French Protectorate of Raiatea definitive, was signed in October, 1885, but it contained a provision that it should not be ratified until it had been accepted by the Legislature of Newfoundland. Before its signature it had been submitted to that Colony, and, in its ultimate form, was not objected to by them. There was no ground to apprehend its final rejection. After its signature, however, an objection, which proved in the judgment of the Colony fatal, was taken to an article in it which gave the French fishermen liberty to purchase bait in the Colonial waters; and during the present year a Bill has passed the Legislature of Newfoundland, and has been approved, which is directly at variance with the stipulation as to the purchase of bait contained in the Convention.

The result of this failure upon Raiatea has been that, contrary to all expectations, the French Protectorate has never been made definitive. It does not, however, appear to Her Majesty's Government desirable, or indeed practicable, to remit to an aboriginal administration an island which has been for seven years under French government; and on this account, as well as in view of the peculiar circumstances attending the failure of the Convention of 1885, they are willing to transfer the stipulation in question to the present Convention, subject, of course, to the undertakings given in a *note verbale* to Lord Lyons on the 24th of October, 1885.

I am, &c., SALISBURY.

DRAFT OF THE NEW HEBRIDES CONVENTION.

Article I.—Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique consent à procéder à l'abrogation de la Déclaration de 1847, relative au groupe des îles sous le vent de Tahiti, aussitôt qu'aura été mis à exécution l'accord ci-après formulé pour la protection, à l'avenir, des personnes et des biens aux Nouvelles Hébrides, au moyen d'une Commission Mixte.

Article II.—Une Commission Navale Mixte, composée d'officiers de marine appartenant aux stations Française et Anglaise du Pacifique, sera immédiatement constituée; elle

sera chargée de maintenir l'ordre et de protéger les personnes et les biens des sujets Français et Britanniques dans les Nouvelles Hébrides.

Article III.—Une Déclaration à cet effet sera signée par les deux Gouvernements.

Article IV.—Les Règlements destinés à guider la Commission seront élaborés par les deux Gouvernements, approuvés par eux et transmis aux commandants Français et Anglais des bâtiments de la station navale du Pacifique, dans un délai qui n'excédera pas quatre mois à partir de la signature de la présente Convention, s'il n'est pas possible de le faire plus tôt.

Article V.—Dès que ces Règlements auront été approuvés par les deux Gouvernements et que les postes militaires Français auront pu, par suite, être retirés des Nouvelles Hébrides, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique procédera à l'abrogation de la Déclaration de 1847. Il est entendu que les assurances relatives au commerce et aux condamnés qui sont contenues dans la note verbale du 24 Octobre, 1885, communiquée par M. de Freycinet à Lord Lyons, demeureront en pleine vigueur.

M. FLOURENS TO MR. EGERTON.

Paris, October 22, 1887.

SIR,—I have received communication of the despatch which Lord Salisbury has addressed to you on the subject of the Convention relating to the New Hebrides and Leeward Islands of Tahiti which has resulted from communications between the two Governments. The despatch is accompanied by the text of the Convention agreed on between the Governments. I have assured myself that the text is in conformity with our common intentions, and I give my approbation to it.

It shall therefore be understood that the two Governments will take their measures that the regulations destined to guide the Mixed Naval Commission contemplated by Article No. II. should be elaborated and approved within a *maximum* period of four months, to date from the signature of the Convention, and I take the engagement in the name of the Government of the Republic to cause the evacuation of the New Hebrides by the French military posts at the expiration of this term, if it be not possible to do so earlier.

Accept, &c.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

CLAPHAM.—On October 4th the first meeting of the Clapham Parliament was held in the Town Hall. After the reading by the Speaker of the Ministerial Address, Major Bird, amidst loud cheers, rose to move its adoption. The second paragraph dealt with the first Conference of the representatives of the British Colonies recently held in London. He felt sure that all would agree that if anything could be done to strengthen the ties between the Colonies and the Mother Country (hear, hear), and if the Ministry could bring in a measure with that object in view, it would receive the careful consideration of all sides of the House.

Mr. Bailey seconded. On the question of Imperial Federation, dealt with in the second paragraph, he said it was an interesting one, and which would be regarded by members of all shades of opinion as one that would inevitably come to the front. The first form that Federation would probably take would be one of common defence against a common enemy. For his own part he would be glad to see an Imperial Parliament in which every Colony was represented on an equal footing with every county in Great Britain and Ireland.

The debate was subsequently adjourned.

LONDON.—A debate was held at St. Luke's Working Men's Club on the 10th October, under the auspices of the Imperial Federation League, the motion put forward being:—"That Imperial Federation is desirable in the interests of the whole nation."

The meeting may well be called representative, the speakers being employers of labour and employes, as well as members of the clerical, medical, and legal professions.

The opener, Mr. W. Scott Scott, said that it was not his duty to propose any particular scheme of Federation, but rather to ask the meeting to consider whether Imperial Federation in any form was desirable.

He then proceeded in a most able and eloquent manner to point out the great and necessary benefit which must arise from a closer union of our great Empire.

A spirited discussion followed; after which the motion was put to the vote, and carried unanimously amid applause.

It is hoped that this discussion will have the desired effect of helping to ventilate the question of Imperial Federation among the working classes of East London.

THE CONFERENCE BLUE BOOKS.¹

II. COALING STATIONS. III. KING GEORGE'S SOUND AND THURSDAY ISLAND.

In our last issue we summarised the proceedings of the Conference, which resulted in the agreement for a new Australasian fleet, at the joint expense of the Mother Country and the Colonies. To-day we present our readers with a review of the work done by the Conference in connection with other important matters bearing upon Imperial Defence.

II. Coaling Stations.

On April 22nd Mr. Stanhope, Secretary of State for War, made a valuable statement concerning the condition of the coaling stations selected for defence in different parts of the world. He began by excluding the Imperial fortresses of Malta, Gibraltar, Halifax, and Bermuda, maintained on account of their strategic value to the Empire, and confining himself to consideration of places supposed to be fortified solely for the purpose of preserving a supply of coal for the navy and mercantile marine along the main routes of trade. It will be seen, however, when we enumerate the coaling stations in question, that many of them also possess great strategic value, as in the cases of Aden and Hong Kong, so that the distinction is not universally applicable.

Dealing first with the route between the United Kingdom and the Cape of Good Hope, a distance of 6,000 miles, we find that the Royal Commission of 1879 (from whose reports extracts are given in the Appendix to the Conference Blue Books), recommended the fortification of Sierra Leone and St. Helena, the former being 3,000 miles, the latter 1,700 from the Cape. Mr. Stanhope was able to announce that the works and armaments of both these stations would be completed by the close of 1887 at the sole expense of the Imperial Government. It may be noted that in 1881 the Royal Commission spoke of Sierra Leone as "absolutely without defence," and St. Helena as an open roadstead where no security existed against an attack by modern artillery.

For the protection of British trade upon the Indian Ocean, amounting to £200,000,000 a year, the defence of Mauritius, Aden, and Colombo was recommended by the Royal Commission. Mauritius lies half-way between the Cape and Ceylon, and its proximity to the French settlements in Réunion and Madagascar give it a special importance, apart from its position on the route of commerce, and the value of its own trade amounting to nearly £6,000,000 annually. The cost of the works (£55,000) has been voted by the Colony, and a powerful armament, estimated at a like figure, has been ordered by the Imperial Government. There has been lamentable delay in voting the necessary money, but great activity is now being shown, and the submarine defence is almost completed.

The importance of Aden at the entrance of the Red Sea would be enormous should any hostile vessels make their way eastwards through the Suez Canal. The large expenditure of £300,000 has been undertaken jointly by the Home and Indian Governments in securing Aden; and Mr. Stanhope states that "the works are in rapid progress, and could be completed very rapidly if an emergency arose." At Colombo, the Colony has recently voted just £25,000 for works, and the Imperial Government is to spend £53,000 upon guns, which Mr. Stanhope "hopes to have ready in time, and has made a commencement with."

The commodious harbour of Trincomalee has also been retained as a naval establishment, and here the works are in progress at the sole cost of the Home Government.

Turning to the routes eastward from Ceylon to China and Australasia, Singapore and Hong Kong were selected by the Royal Commission, and are acknowledged by Mr. Stanhope to be positions of great military, commercial, and political importance. The trade of Singapore alone amounts to £24,000,000 annually, and of Hong Kong to £5,000,000. At the latter place the Colony has voted £116,000 for works, and the Home Government £155,000 for guns, and £52,000 for submarine mines, while at Singapore the Colony pays £81,000 for works, and is presented with an armament worth £117,000, and submarine mines, £30,000. Mr. Stanhope was able to state that almost the whole of these powerful defences will be completed by March, 1888.

In the West Indies, two places have been selected for defence as coaling stations—Port Royal, in Jamaica, and Port Castries, in St. Lucia. The possibility of the Panama Canal being completed has evidently been considered, when the value of Jamaica, as the nearest island to it, would be vastly increased. In both these cases the whole expense will be borne by the Imperial Government, estimated at about £150,000 for Jamaica and £50,000 for St. Lucia. Mr. Stanhope, unfortunately, does not hold out any definite hopes as to the date when these works will be completed.

It remains to mention what is being done in the case of Esquimalt, British Columbia, which has suddenly assumed great importance since the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and was not even mentioned by the Royal Commission.

The Dominion of Canada has undertaken to construct the works, the Imperial Government giving an armament worth £30,000, of which Mr. Stanhope says that about £8,000 or £9,000 will have been spent by the end of this year. We venture to hope that a much more elaborate system of defence than is here indicated will be designed for the protection of the Canadian Pacific Coast. Bearing in mind Sir Alexander Campbell's statement that Esquimalt is supplied with coal from Nanaimo, where the only good coal upon the Pacific coast is produced, and that the mines there are fully exposed to attack, it seems indispensable that some plan should be organised for its protection. But the directions in which British Columbia will develop in the future are still so indefinite that it may be wise to run the risk of attack for a few years rather than sink money in a costly scheme which might eventually prove inadequate or mistaken.

The defences of Table Bay and Simon's Bay formed the subject of a special arrangement with the representatives of the Cape Colony.

In concluding his statement of the actual works in progress, Mr. Stanhope acknowledged that the varying conditions of trade might easily bring into prominence the necessity for additional coaling stations in other parts of the world. It was possible, for instance, that one might be needed in the Eastern Pacific, a suggestion that emanated from Sir F. Dillon Bell. But at present there was plenty of work in hand, and until that was completed the Government would be unwilling to undertake fresh responsibilities. At the same time, the important positions of King George's Sound and Thursday Island fully justified discussion at the Conference, and much time was devoted to the question of their fortification.

III. King George's Sound and Thursday Island (Torres Straits).

The papers in the hands of the Representatives when the defence of these places came before the Conference on April 21st, showed that the necessity of fortifying them had been fully recognised both by the Colonies and by the Imperial Government. In 1885, Lord Derby, influenced apparently by the recent war scare, offered to send out an armament and submarine mine defence, if the Colonies would place King George's Sound in a state of defence, "on a scale sufficient to deny to an enemy's cruisers the use of the harbour and the coal stored there," pending a permanent scheme of fortification. In his despatch Lord Derby quoted General Scratchley's opinion that the protection of King George's Sound "is of vital importance for the general security of the Australian Colonies in time of war." About the same time Admiral Tryon wrote to the Governor of Victoria that personal inspection had convinced him of the importance and convenience of the harbour at Albany, both in a military and commercial sense; that the coal stored there, and at Thursday Island, was "in a condition that simply invited an enemy to come and help himself, and that at our very threshold in both directions, so that he would arrive at our doors with full bunkers, and therefore with a full capacity for mischief." The Admiral further pointed out that from the position of these ports they must necessarily receive less protection from cruising than places situated in the centre of the coast, and in urging the necessity of making them ports of refuge and defence, he declared that there were no other positions, geographically and strategically so important in the whole of the Australian littoral.

Considerable correspondence was evoked by Lord Derby's Despatch, the result of which was anticipated by Mr. Service, then Premier of Victoria, who wrote:—"I cannot but entertain the gravest doubts as to the possibility of arriving at any satisfactory determination in the matter in combination with the other Governments interested *through the medium of correspondence only.*" Mr. Service suggested that some authoritative body should be constituted to deal with this and other matters of general concern, and such a body was found in the Federal Council of Australasia, which, at a meeting on February 2, 1886, representatives being present from Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia, and Fiji, passed the following resolution:—"That this Council, considering that the undefended position of the important strategical points of King George's Sound and Torres Straits would be a source of great weakness in the general defence of Australasia in time of war, and that the protection of the Sound and Princess Royal Harbour and Torres Straits is of vital importance for the general security of the Australasian Colonies, is of opinion that some united action should be taken by the Imperial Government and the various Colonies, with a view to their arriving at a decision which will enable the question to be dealt with at the next session of the Federal Council."

The matter seems then to have been allowed to drop until it was brought forward at the Conference fifteen months later. Sir Henry Holland summed up the situation by emphasising the twofold nature of the demand for defences at King George's Sound and Thursday Island—(1) to prevent an enemy seizing and establishing himself at these vital strategic points, (2) to provide protected coaling stations for the Australasian trade. He submitted detailed estimates of the expense to be incurred

¹ "Proceedings of the Colonial Conference." Two vols., 9s. 10d. Eyre & Spottiswoode.

in each instance, amounting to £12,700 for works at King George's Sound, and £14,800 for works at Thursday Island; a permanent garrison of thirty men at the former and fifty at the latter would be required, capable of being raised to a larger number in war. The Imperial Government would contribute an armament of heavy muzzle-loading guns capable of piercing eight inches of armour plating, but "falling off in accuracy at ranges exceeding 2,500 yards," and also a submarine mine defence, the total value being estimated at £12,700. It was further proposed that the arrangements should be re-considered at the end of ten years.

In the discussion which followed Sir H. Holland's statement, two main objections were taken by the representatives; the first alluded to the obsolete nature of the armament, and an unanimous wish was expressed for the new type of 6-inch breech-loading guns. This would involve an addition of £15,000 to the expense. General Nicholson (Inspector-General of Fortifications) gave his opinion that the armament originally proposed would be "equal to the probable strength of any attack which might be brought to bear," although he "could not help saying that a certain number" of the new guns "would be more satisfactory." But the representatives would have nothing to say to the old muzzle-loaders; and as Mr. Stanhope (Secretary of State for War) said that he could not, as at present advised, suggest any other mode of fortifying, the point remained at issue.

A larger question was raised by the second objection to which we have alluded: Sir H. Holland announced in his statement that "the Government were not prepared to undertake the cost of defences on Australasian territory in view of the large expenditure they were incurring on the coaling stations, on which the lines of communication with the Mother Country would depend in war." And Mr. Stanhope reminded the Conference that "it had never been admitted by the Imperial Government that they were bound to go to any expense whatever for the defence of any positions upon the continent of Australia." Therefore even the proposed contribution of an armament was made as a matter of goodwill rather than of obligation. This attitude raised a series of vigorous protests, and, we think, justly so. Admiral Tryon's and General Scratchley's reports were quoted in proof of the Imperial importance of the position. On what grounds, it was asked, did King George's Sound and Thursday Island differ from other Imperial coaling stations? It was argued that Western Australia was not even a self-governing Colony, and, although Sir H. Holland replied that it was not a Crown Colony, as the Government had not a majority in the Legislative Council, he might have been referred to the case of Jamaica, where the whole cost of the fortifications is being borne by the Home Government; for, although the constitution of Jamaica allows the Government a majority of one, we believe they do not at present exercise their full right, and are content to remain in a minority. Sir James Lorimer seems to have expressed the general sentiment when he said, "We have all been under a misapprehension;" and Sir Graham Berry had "never heard it denied till to-day that the Imperial Government simply required the assistance of the Australian Colonies in the work of fortifying King George's Sound. All the propositions had been made with a view of sharing with the Imperial Government that which is really and truly an obligation." Sir Patrick Jennings quoted the views entertained by New South Wales from a despatch of Lord Augustus Loftus to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1885, stating that the works at King George's Sound and Thursday Island had equal importance for Imperial and Colonial interests, and should be undertaken at the joint expense of the Imperial Government and of the Australian Colonies. The result of the sitting was valuable, as Sir H. Holland insisted, in spite of this difference of opinion. It showed, he said, the extreme advantage of having the matter frankly discussed—of meeting face to face, and so seeing what ground they were standing upon; the removal of misunderstandings was a valuable privilege of the Conference, and cleared the way for a satisfactory settlement.

On May 2nd another long discussion took place on the same subject. The delegates from Western Australia had advanced the matter a stage by circulating a paper offering to recommend a contribution by that Colony of £5,000 out of the £12,700 required for the works at King George's Sound, and £1,500 out of the annual charge of £6,000 for maintaining the garrison, provided the Imperial Government would supply an armament of the new breech-loading type. This generous and patriotic offer was very favourably received by the Conference, and Sir Henry Holland gave guarded indications that the Imperial Government would be willing to reconsider their proposal. In a memorandum issued a few days later, he stated that although Her Majesty's Government were "unable at present to go beyond the terms of their original offer," he had received a letter from Mr. Stanhope permitting him to state that the Secretary of State for War "was personally favourable to the desire so strongly expressed by the Colonial delegates for a breech-loading armament for the defence of King George's Sound, and would at a favourable opportunity state this view to the Treasury." "I

also," said Sir Henry Holland, "personally entertain the same view." It would be interesting to learn on what grounds the Cabinet dissented from a proposal personally favoured by two Secretaries of State in a matter directly concerned with their own departments. But an unexpected obstacle to the unanimity of the Conference—one which we cannot help thinking must have influenced the Cabinet in their subsequent consideration of the question, and thus probably stopped the achievement of this important step in connection with Imperial Defence—was the uncompromising attitude adopted by Sir John Downer, who said "he was not prepared to assent for one moment to the proposition that the mere supply of the armament, even of the improved type, by the Imperial Government would be all that could be reasonably and fairly expected." He complained that the proposed arrangement was based upon no principle of assessment, and demanded a comparison, "in a careful and scientific way," of the relative advantages to be obtained and the relative dangers to be faced by the Mother Country and the several Colonies. As Sir John Downer made no attempt to suggest a method of comparison, we cannot but regret that he should have interposed this objection at a stage when complete agreement so nearly prevailed. We can only hope that if the Australian Federal Council takes up the question where the Conference dropped it, South Australia will not withhold her assent from an arrangement that seemed to be generally approved.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH PROVES TOO MUCH.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Mr. Goldwin Smith, in his reckless endeavours to secure the fulfilment of his theory that Canada must be absorbed by the United States, appears to stick at nothing. As he cannot induce Canada to turn its back on the British Empire *en bloc*, he is doing his utmost, by stimulating grievances against the Dominion Government, to break up the Dominion, on the chance of obtaining some of its fragments with which to save the reputation of his theory.

Mr. Smith's article in the *Contemporary Review*, nominally on the Railway question, is a bitter attack upon everything done by the Government which has made the country of his latest home. No one item of their policy is overlooked which can by any means be twisted into a grievance for Manitoba. Even the Prime Minister and the High Commissioner are made the subjects of an unworthy innuendo upon the honesty of their action, based upon the fact that their sons, who are the leading solicitors in Winnipeg, are the solicitors to the Canadian Pacific Railway in that district. Manitoba is made to tell herself how much better off she would be were she free from the Dominion, in a paragraph which implies a charge of wholesale neglect and corruption against the Ottawa Government from the Governor-General downwards.

And why this intense bitterness and violence of language against the Government from one who is a stranger in the land, and not even resident in Manitoba? The answer which can be read between the lines throughout the article is, that it has committed the unpardonable sin of making Canada an independent Dominion and a Nation, when it should be humbly fulfilling the destiny laid down for it by Professor Goldwin Smith as a part of the United States.

In his attack upon the system which has made Canada what it is, Mr. Smith, however, bears important testimony to the great benefit which the duties on imported goods from America have conferred upon Manitoba itself, in whose interest, according to his views, the article condemning those duties is written. Mr. Goldwin Smith complains that "till lately they had to pay a tax on imported coal, which at one time raised the price to over three pounds sterling a ton." Turning back a page to the point at which the natural advantages of Manitoba are described, we learn that "till lately" does not refer to the tax having been removed, but to the fact that "the great question seems now to have been settled in her favour—good coal both hard and soft having been found."

If it has taken seventeen years to find this good coal in Manitoba with imported coal at three pounds a ton, how long would it have taken to find it with American coal poured freely over the frontier? This is a rule-of-three sum which would probably be variously solved, but it cannot be doubted that but for the duty on American coal, which is held up by Mr. Smith as such a gross injustice, Manitoba would still have been dependent upon the States for her fuel, and without that discovery which has already made her prosperity a certainty.

Of course Mr. Goldwin Smith does not mention the fact that the Manitoban Government directly shares in the revenue derived from the duties received for the whole Dominion, neither does he suggest how the defect caused by their removal might be supplied. The former would detract from the feeling of grievance, and the latter would mean "direct taxation," which is an ugly alternative to the Canadian mind.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WINNIPEGOSIS.

Imperial Federation.

DECEMBER, 1887.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE following telegram, which appeared in the London evening papers on the date of its despatch, seems to bring us very near to Victoria in time and distance, while its contents are another proof of the identity of interests between ourselves and our Australian fellow-countrymen :—

MELBOURNE, November 24.

The HON. DUNCAN GILLIES, the Victorian Premier, introduced in the Legislative Assembly last night the Australasian Naval Forces Bill, giving effect to the decision of the Colonial Conference on the question of Colonial Naval Defences. The Bill was unanimously passed through all its stages, and sent up to the Legislative Council. The fact of the passing of the Bill was at once telegraphed to the other Colonies.

The Bill was unanimously passed through all its stages at one sitting! The first tangible piece of Federal legislation ever proposed in the British Empire has indeed been fittingly honoured. What a refutation of the cynics who think Australia wants to "cut the painter!" And what a glorious piece of news for members of the League to wind up the year with!

ONE of the last published works by the late MR. THRING, an address to the teachers of Minnesota, U.S.A., contains some striking words upon the Unity of Nations, which his clear and sagacious intellect believed to be inevitable. We regret that the limits of our space restrict us to a single quotation :—"The governments of the future will be grand combinations of the more enlightened peoples for common welfare. A brotherhood of nations is intended to be formed, a union over vast areas will take place, and the great English-speaking race throughout all the world will feel their kindred, will know their power, and enter on their inheritance of peace."

Two valuable pamphlets have just reached us from the offices of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, upon both of which we hope to have something to say next month. One contains a most interesting account of the League's history in Canada, with a record of uninterrupted progress and important information concerning the Canadian Branches. The other is a paper read before the Montreal Branch by MR. ARCH. MCGOUN, Jun., upon the Commercial Union question, and since published; it contains the most complete exposition of the subject that we have yet seen. Both these pamphlets are admirably printed, with the League's well-known design on the cover, and point to a measure of enterprise and prosperity among our Canadian members that should stimulate Branches at home to emulate their commendable activity in a spirit of friendly rivalry. We may add that MR. MORGAN'S lecture at Montreal on October 24th has already been published by the Canadian League, and a copy has just reached us!

"I HOPE we are on the eve of an arrangement," said LORD GEORGE HAMILTON at the Guildhall Banquet on November 9th, "with the largest group of Colonies, by which a special squadron, supported by Colonial funds, will be added to the naval defence of the Empire." This refers, of course, to the Australian fleet suggested by the Conference, for which Parliamentary sanction is now awaited. May we

not hope that MR. STANHOPE will keep the War Office on a level with the Admiralty in this policy of co-operation with the Colonies? Our paper in another column, on the discussion of military matters at the Conference, shows that Australia is equally anxious for combined efficiency by land and by sea. We should like the War Office to come forward with a judicious scheme for connecting the Colonial Forces with the regular army, or at any rate establishing some recognised link between the military authorities at home and in the Colonies; at present we believe the severance to be absolute.

AN important step in the direction of Imperial unity has just been taken. The Admiralty have resolved to establish a training-ship for naval officers at Sydney, on the same footing as the *Britannia*. Hitherto cadets from Australia, having passed their entrance examination in papers sent out from England, were required to come to this country and study on board the *Britannia*. In future the examination and the subsequent period of training will be entirely assigned to the new establishment at Sydney. At the end of their two years' course, the cadets will be drafted into those vessels of HER MAJESTY'S Navy that constitute the new Australasian squadron, to be maintained by the Colonies in their own waters. But a certain portion of the young sailors will be offered full commissions, and drafted for service on the same terms as cadets from the *Britannia*.

WE are particularly glad to find that this admirable change is announced as being made "in pursuance of the policy which has been adopted at the Admiralty of encouraging cadets of Colonial families to enter the Royal Navy." If the policy is steadily and persistently worked out, the accession to our naval strength will, as time goes on, be enormous. Australians will feel more and more that the Royal Navy is their navy, the bulwark of the whole Empire, the first line of an all-embracing Imperial defence. When their sons and brothers are sailing under the white ensign, they will have the same personal pride in seeing the British fleet mistress of the seas that has long filled the hearts of our sailors kith and kin at home. The sacrifices that England never grudged to enable her brave crews to perform the duty she expected from them will be as cheerfully accepted by the Greater Britain of to-day.

ONE change, however, will surely have to be made in the Admiralty programme. We shall be very much surprised if, instead of to a certain portion only, full commissions are not offered to every one of the Australian cadets. The roving, adventurous spirit that characterises the British sailor is not confined to England, and may even be intensified in the young blood of the South. Fancy a youthful NELSON or HOWE joining the Navy for service with the Channel squadron only! Can it be supposed that a coasting tour in Australian waters will satisfy the ambition of the most enterprising scions of the British race? Young Australia, that comes to Europe so readily for a year or two's schooling or University instruction, will want to see the world when it sets foot on the quarter-deck.

IN our last number we noted that the English coinage would shortly cease to be legal tender in British Honduras. We now learn that, from the beginning of the new year, Newfoundland will adopt the decimal system. Some preparation for this change has already been made by the issue of two-dollar pieces in gold, and by the banks taking up the issue of two-dollar notes. As this course brings Newfoundland into harmony with Canada, and so is one step further in the direction of unity with the Dominion, we cannot

affect to regret it. Agreeing as we do most fully with the *Canadian Gazette* (to which we are indebted for the facts) that the currency of the Mother Country is both antiquated and cumbrous, we are inclined to hope for unity at no distant date, not by the return of the Colonies to their abandoned pounds, shillings, and pence, but by the conversion of the United Kingdom itself to decimal coinage. For the use of China, Japan, and the Straits Settlements, where dollars are already current coin, our own mint has recently issued a double florin. Further, to show how public opinion at home is ripening, we may remember that a deputation which waited upon the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER last season presented a petition from sixty-eight out of the sixty-nine Provincial Chambers of Commerce in favour of a decimal currency being introduced forthwith. Once convinced of the practical utility of the change, a generation that has revolutionised its Parliamentary representation and swept away immemorial institutions, such as the Courts of Exchequer and Common Pleas, will hardly show much tenderness to that mushroom upstart, the British sovereign, whose introduction many persons still alive can distinctly remember.

OUR good friend and constant supporter, MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P., has been fighting our battles on the other side of the Atlantic. No sooner had he landed in New York than he proceeded, not only to educate in the principles of the League a reporter of the *New York Herald* who interviewed him, but also dexterously to claim his sympathy by stating that the Imperial Parliament for exclusively Imperial affairs which he advocated, would be something on the lines of the Federal Government of the United States. On October 24th he delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation in the rooms of the Natural History Society in Montreal. According to the *Montreal Gazette* "the subject was treated by the lecturer in a masterly manner, and his views on the question, cloaked in eloquent language, were broad and patriotic." Here MR. MORGAN once more advocated the establishment of an Imperial Parliament to deal exclusively with Imperial subjects, such as foreign and Colonial affairs, army and navy, ocean postal service, &c. As for funds, he said, "the mode so far most generally approved would appear to be by the imposition of a small discriminating duty on foreign imports, from which products of the Empire would be exempt." In answer to this MR. HUGH MCLENNAN said he believed that if England once made a suggestion that she would open her arms to interchange commerce with the Colonists, there would not be a hall in Montreal large enough to hold an Imperial Federation meeting to discuss the question. We may congratulate MR. MORGAN on having been able to produce, on so threadbare a subject as the progress of the Colonies, a fact which is probably not only new, but startling to most of our readers. In importance, he said, the Bank of England, the Bank of France, and the Bank of Montreal are the three greatest in the world.

REFERRING to our article upon MR. CHAMBERLAIN last month, a correspondent reminds us that it is not only in the two speeches we mentioned that the right hon. gentleman has expressed himself in favour of Federation. In a speech delivered at Rawenstall by him, on 8th July, 1886, the following passage occurs:—"I hope we may be able, sooner or later, to federate, to bring together, all these great dependencies of the British Empire into one supreme and Imperial Parliament, so that they should be all units of one body, that one should feel what the others feel, that all should be equally responsible, that all should have a share in the welfare, and sympathise with the welfare of every part."

ACCORDING to Canadian newspapers, a Scotch artillery team was anxious to visit Canada this autumn and take part in the recent meeting at the Isle of Orleans, but the War Office delayed so long before answering its application for permission that the visit became impossible. If the fact be as stated, which we are very loth to believe, we are certain that it is not necessary for us to appeal to the VICE-CHAIRMAN of the League to see that such an unfortunate occurrence does not happen again. From a military as well as a political point of view, intercourse and competition between Home and Colonial riflemen is an unmixed advantage. It is said that permission for next year has already been given, and that the Scotchmen are fully determined to avail themselves of it; further, that it is more than possible that an English team will follow their example.

THE *Winnipeg Call* points out that in Canada last summer they have enjoyed a comfortable temperature, and weather admirably suited to the advancement of the crops, while the United States has in many parts been parched and scorched. Scarcely a death from sunstroke has occurred in Canada, while in the States hundreds were smitten down daily. A writer in the *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, who has been travelling over the Canadian Pacific, sees much the same facts when he looks at the matter from the American side. The energy, he says, which has produced this marvel of human skill, ingenuity, and bravery in discomfiting the apparently insurmountable difficulties prepared by nature for man, is but an expression of the character which animates the people throughout the whole vast continent of British North America. Life is no pastime here; it must accept stern conditions, and continue only by the constant exercise of vigilance and toil. It is in just such countries that all that is best in civilisation has been observed. We are likely to see a people whose mark upon history will be broad and deep.

A LARGE section of MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S constituents clearly approve their member's adhesion to the cause of Imperial Federation. The Conservatives of the Western Division of Birmingham have just presented an address to the Prime Minister, which contains the following passage:—"In regard to the movements of opinion in Canada, we would respectfully urge upon your lordship that the true way in which to avoid losing that advancing Colony as a market for British goods is to further the movement for Imperial Federation, and to promote the tendency to secure a Commercial Federation which, while accepting the products of our Colonial Empire on advantageous terms, shall make it their interest to purchase increasingly the manufactures which the Mother Country is especially fitted to supply." This can hardly fail to be especially gratifying to our Canadian members, who passed an almost identical resolution some time ago. With such a strong feeling in Birmingham, in favour of "furthering the movement for Imperial Federation," we should suggest that the best means of doing so is by the formation of a Branch of the League in the great Midland metropolis.

WE congratulate PROFESSOR STOKES, a member of the General Committee of the League, upon his election to Parliament for Cambridge University. PROFESSOR STOKES, as all the world knows, is President of the Royal Society, and in his day was Senior Wrangler. His presence in Parliament will be of special importance in furthering the interests of the League, to which he has constantly devoted considerable attention.

DURING an enforced detention of ten days at Thursday Island in September, LORD BRASSEY had a splendid opportunity of becoming acquainted with the strategic value of that remote spot. The dispute as to the width of the navigable channel is set at rest by LORD BRASSEY's statement that it is "scarcely a mile." There is, he thinks, no immediate prospect of the island attaining importance as a place of trade, except as an entrepot for the produce of New Guinea. But considering that vessels aggregating 300,000 tons were sighted from the signal station last year, it is clear that the maintenance of a safe passage through Torres Straits is of the utmost importance to the growing trade between India, Malaya, China, and Australia. LORD BRASSEY asserts that "inexpensive works, armed with a few long-range guns," would suffice to deny the anchorage, and apparently the passage through the channel, to a hostile cruiser. We cordially agree with him that there should be no delay or hesitation in taking this really urgent work in hand.

THE farewell dinner to the HON. JAMES SERVICE, who has just been elected a member of the Executive Committee of the League, bids fair to be a brilliant gathering. LORD ROSEBERY will preside, and SIR HENRY HOLLAND, the EARL of ONSLOW, and SIR ROBERT HERBERT have expressed their desire to be present. One hundred and fifty tickets have already been disposed of, and as we understand that the accommodation is limited, members of the League wishing to attend should lose no time in making application to MR. A. H. LORING, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W., who is one of the honorary secretaries. The dinner will take place at the Hotel Métropole, at 7.30 p.m. on Wednesday, December 7th.

WE are glad to find the *Montreal Herald* declaring that if "Commercial Union means that the Canadian tariff will be regulated from time to time by the United States, the Canadian people will have nothing of the kind." But how is such regulation to be prevented? Certainly not by the *Herald's* proposal. "The Custom Houses," it says, "can be maintained along the border, and entries made of free goods and dutiable goods, as at present, the duty-paying goods, of course, being to and from other countries than the United States and Canada. In this way the tariff of each country against the outside world can still be maintained at whatever figure either country chooses to have it, and there can be no complaint of a foreign Power regulating tariff legislation in either country." The idea apparently is that the United States may lower their duties upon British goods without compelling Canada to do the same. But how does the *Herald* propose to provide against the contingency of British goods forsaking Montreal and entering the United States; thence, in due season, crossing the border—as American goods, of course? Does the *Herald* think Yankee merchants and middlemen not smart enough to play that little game?

CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB never forgets, either in or out of Parliament, to say a word in season on behalf of Imperial Federation. No part of a powerful speech recently delivered to his constituents at Bromley was more heartily applauded than his reference to "the great and silent change" which has been worked in the Empire by the convocation of the Imperial Conference, and when he spoke of it as being "the first step necessary to bind British hearts together," the enthusiasm of his audience knew no bounds. It is by the suffrages and in the interests of working-men that Imperial Federation must stand or fall. We rejoice, therefore, to see this evidence of the welcome accorded to our principles and one of their ablest exponents, by a thoroughly popular constituency like Bow and Bromley.

AN UNITED EMPIRE.

MR. TOKER, editor of the *Daily Evening Review* in that city, has been reading a paper, of which a report is given in another column, entitled "An United Empire" before the Peterborough branch of the League. Peterborough, we may mention for the benefit of our stay-at-home readers, lies on the north side of Lake Ontario, being situated, according to Canadian geography, north of Northumberland, east of Durham, and west of Hastings! His audience will need to be either very dull or very unscrupulous if they misrepresent the aims and objects of the League in future. "We do NOT want to crush our home industries beneath the weight of too onerous competition, even from Great Britain. We do NOT ask Canada to undertake heavy expenditure for objects in which she is little interested. We do NOT wish to send a handful of representatives to be outvoted in the Parliament at Westminster. We do wish to favour commerce between the different members of the Empire in preference to foreigners."

Mr. Toker makes one or two strong points, as, for instance, where in combating the theory that Canada might be required to pay for a Zulu war, he reminds his hearers that the Indian Government, not the English, at present pay for purely Indian wars, while in Egypt they have divided the cost between them. Again, he thinks that there can be no immediate necessity to formulate a constitution for an Imperial Council. The Agents-General can be left to draft Bills in concert on subjects of common interest, and then each Colonial Legislature can pass them subsequently by the ordinary process. We venture to support Mr. Toker's argument by an instance, not drawn from what the French call *la haute politique*. It is precisely on this principle that one of the most important and successful boards of conciliation in the whole world works. We refer to the Railway Clearing House. Every question of railway policy, from a general revision of the tariff to a settlement of the terms on which showman's vans are to be conveyed, really comes before that body for decision. The decision of the majority binds no railway that chooses to announce its dissent; practically, however, the moral pressure in favour of uniformity not only is almost irresistible, but also becomes greater year by year. But in any case, the decision arrived at in the Clearing House is adopted (if it be adopted) by the board of each railway for itself, and published to the world as the independent decision of that railway alone. The parallel is the more useful for this reason that, just as the British Empire includes England on the one hand and Fiji or Hong Kong on the other, so in the Clearing House Conference, the North-Western and the Festiniog Railway each send one representative, and they meet nominally on equal terms. Mr. Toker, too, makes what all must consider a very fair demand when he urges that a representative from Canada and Australia should have a seat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

When he comes to commercial questions, he will hardly meet with equally unanimous approval. He announces boldly that he is in favour of a moderately discriminating tariff against foreign goods, and speaks in support of the proposals of Mr. Macfarlane, published by the Montreal branch of the League, that "throughout all parts of the Empire a special extra duty of 5 per cent. shall be levied on all foreign imports without in any way interfering with existing local tariffs." This, it is calculated, would produce a sum of about £18,000,000, of which Great Britain would contribute (or more accurately would levy at its ports) about £16,000,000, and Canada only £500,000. According to Mr. Macfarlane's scheme, the special duty would form a separate Imperial fund available for the navy and coast defences. Probably neither Mr. Toker nor Mr. Macfarlane thinks that the time is yet quite ripe for proposals of this kind. We shall, however, do well to remember that Prince Bismarck who, far though he may be from the Anglo-Saxon type of a constitutional statesman, has at least known how to make a small State great, has found by experience that indirect taxation specially allocated to Imperial purposes is preferable to contributions rateably assessed on the several States. There is an old proverb which says "that is not lost which a friend gets," but for all that we could fancy that when in the future an Imperial fleet is required to patrol the route from Brisbane to Van-

couver, Queensland at one end or Canada at the other, if assessed directly for its support, might be inclined to subordinate strategic to local considerations, and insist that the fleet was always to be kept at its own end of the line—but this is all still in the future. Meanwhile, in thanking Mr. Toker for his lecture, we must confess that we believe he has not exaggerated, when he says that “there is a widespread and growing desire in Canada, in Great Britain, and in other parts of the Empire for some measure of discrimination in favour of each other and against foreign nations.”

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

“THE existing status between the United Kingdom and her dependencies and Colonies cannot, from the very nature of the case, be continued for many years. We are gradually yet surely nearing the parting of the ways.” So writes Mr. Silas Alward, D.C.L., a member, we believe, of the New Brunswick Parliament, in an address delivered a month or two back on the occasion of an Academical celebration of the Queen’s Jubilee. Mr. Alward goes on to point out that it is impossible to imagine that great nations equal to the Mother Country in wealth, population, and importance, as Canada and Australia undoubtedly will be before another fifty years have elapsed, will remain in their present condition of tutelage, and continue to wear the badge of colonisation. “Can it be supposed,” he asks, “that we will for many years consent to import our Governor-General, carry our cases of appeal three or four thousand miles across the sea to be decided by judges no better qualified than our own to determine our rights, or submit to the possibility of our interests being sacrificed by the parent State in making treaties with foreign countries in matters directly concerning us? Such a proposition needs only mention to ensure its refutation.”

One of two courses, therefore, seems open to the Empire, “either disintegration or integration in an Imperial Federation.” Disintegration means for Canada either being “left to build up an independent nationality, or driven to seek political alliance with the sixty millions of people living to the south of us.” Independence Mr. Alward dismisses as unworthy of consideration. On the question of union with the States he points out, as has been done before by others, that free exchange of raw products may be desirable, but that it is impossible to suppose that the manufacturing districts of Ontario, for instance, will consent to be exposed to the crushing competition of New England or Pennsylvania, with their vast resources and huge accumulations of capital. Moreover, he asks, how, in default of customs duties, would sufficient revenue be raised to meet the burdensome obligations that have been incurred? But Mr. Alward goes further than this, and positively objects to become a citizen of the United States, on the specific ground of his attachment not so much to Britain as to British institutions. For the benefit of those who, like the editor of the *Aberdeen Free Press*, may be inclined to think that “the laws and political institutions of Canada and the United States are for practical purposes the same,” we will transcribe verbatim what Mr. Alward says on this point. “For years the people of this country struggled to secure the great boon of responsible government. Will we, their descendants, consent to form a political alliance with a country where there is no executive responsibility as understood and practised in England and Canada? We admire the Americans for their wonderful enterprise and energy; we willingly accord them fitting meed of praise for their many excellent traits and characteristics, and find much to extol in their enlightened form of government; yet, for all this, we are so wedded to British institutions, that nothing but the most violent wrench could force us from our allegiance.” Of course Mr. Alward may be right or he may be wrong in his opinion. We in England may be paying too dear for responsible government; and the American system of an executive irresponsible to Parliament and irremovable by it may be a better system than our own; but certainly no one who remembered the year-long deadlock between President and Congress that culminated finally in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, could possibly suppose that the political institutions of the two countries were for practical purposes the same.

“Is there, then,” asks Mr. Alward, “any practicable scheme of Federation, or is it the day-dream of a visionary, unworthy serious consideration?” Mr. Alward’s answer is that political union is at this stage of development premature. As for fiscal union in an Imperial *Zollverein*, “as yet the day seems far distant. . . All the tariffs of the self-governing Colonies differ not only from the Mother Country, but from each other, no two being formed on similar lines. But,” he continues, “if neither a political or customs union seems practicable, what may be said of the *Kriegsverein* or combination for purposes of defence? Certainly this form of union seems not only desirable, but feasible as well. . . . By contribution equally borne by all the subjects of the Empire an amount could easily be realised to fortify the coaling stations, strengthen the strongholds, and equip swift cruisers to protect its commerce on all the commercial highways of the world. Such a union would raise the status of every Colonist, and inspire a sentiment of common citizenship akin to that of the *civis Romanus*. There would then be but one army, one navy, and one flag—our army, our navy, and our flag. We would then be sharers in all the glories of the realm. . . . Under such a union all distinction would be done away with between Colonist and Englishman, service in both army and navy being open to each on like terms. . . . Such a combination for mutual defence might, under the altered circumstances which the years bring, pave the way for a closer union, just as the German *Kriegsverein* led to the Customs Union of 1867, which in its turn led to the Federation of the German States under the Empire.” We have no wish to add one word to the eloquent language in which Mr. Alward has set forth what is nothing more or less than the programme of our League. We would only point out that since Mr. Alward’s address was written the joint agreement for the new Australasian squadron has been brought into being, and the arrangement between England and Canada for subsidising the north Pacific packet service, which in war time is to form the nucleus of a fleet of armed cruisers, has been signed. Like Mr. Alward, however, we trust that this is only a beginning, and we are confident that we are justified in considering:—“What we have done but the earnest of the things that we shall do.”

COMMERCIAL UNION THE RUIN OF CANADA.

THE Dominion Government of Canada has spoken out plainly on the Commercial Union question; it is barely twelve months since a General Election returned them to power with a sweeping majority, so there can be no question of their right to speak for the people. It is, indeed, a welcome relief to turn from the unpatriotic fallacies of Mr. Goldwin Smith to the manly words of Sir H. Langevin. The telegram is of sufficient importance to be quoted in its entirety:—

TORONTO, Nov. 23.

Sir H. L. Langevin, Minister of Public Works, and the Hon. J. A. Chapleau, Dominion Secretary of State, were entertained last night at the Conservative Association Club at Montreal, and met with a most cordial reception.

Sir H. Langevin, who was the first to speak, said that the stories recently circulated of disunion in the Cabinet were without foundation, and only invented to injure the party. Referring next to the policy pursued by the Government, the Minister said:—

“Its national policy has given Canada the prosperity it enjoys to-day. The adoption of a commercial union with the United States would be the ruin of our industries. We should abandon our position as an independent people, and lose the protection of great Britain, so generously given in the past. Our industries are still in their infancy, and we must, therefore, maintain our policy of protection. The whole history of our race is against the abandonment of our allegiance to England. What has England done that we should now turn our shoulder against her? We have always been opposed to absorption by the United States. The Government has opposed commercial union, and the recent by-elections have shown that the people are with us.”

The Hon. J. A. Chapleau also spoke, confirming the unity of action and full accord of the Cabinet. He condemned in unmeasured terms the recent Quebec conference of provincial Ministers, the great object of which had been to extort by unconstitutional means large subsidies from the Federal Treas-

sure. The conference, he declared, had dealt with many subjects not within their powers, and by proposing an appeal to England its members placed themselves outside the Constitution, as the Home Government could not grant the proposed changes without the consent of the Federal Government. The Secretary of State, in continuation, ridiculed the proposals of the conference to abolish the Legislative Councils and remove the veto power to Downing Street. The proposal to reform the Senate was also impracticable under the present system, and would destroy the independence of the Senators.

In conclusion, he strongly condemned commercial union with the United States, which, he contended, simply meant annexation. It would be the lion associating with the lamb, with the result that the lion would swallow the lamb. The whole scheme, in fact, was impracticable, and would never be endorsed by the people. The speaker's remarks were received with great applause, and the gathering dispersed after giving cheers for the Queen and the Dominion Ministers.

THE FAIR TRADE SCHEME OF COMMERCIAL FEDERATION.

THE Fair-Traders having been challenged by Lord Randolph Churchill to a definite declaration of policy, replied by a letter from Mr. S. Cunliffe Lister, President of their Association, which was published in the *Times*. We quote the passages in which the trade of the British Empire is discussed, in pursuance of our plan of ventilating all schemes for its furtherance, by whomsoever advocated.

"If there be one point more than another which Fair-Traders believe they have impressed upon the public mind, it is this very question of Commercial Federation between the Mother Country and her possessions, by which British industry could not be placed under the disabilities you mention either in India or Ireland. Throughout the whole of your speech you appear to have borne this in mind yourself, for you have only spoken of foreign manufacturers and foreign goods.

"The Fair Trade policy—and I believe this is generally known and understood—is based on having the resources of our Empire to rely upon for such supplies of necessities as the United Kingdom may require from external sources, and to find work and labour for our people in the full return trade such policy would assure. It is because our Empire can feed the Mother Country, and, with such a market at its disposal, give an adequate return trade, that we are better enabled to retaliate on foreign tariffs and say that we will no longer give a free market place. The United States, embracing an immense territory, with every description of climate, is self-sustaining, and can, therefore, exclude foreign supplies by a high tariff. The British Empire is in a still more commanding position, and beyond its boundaries we need not travel for the supply of all our wants. Let us have Free Trade within the Empire, or as nearly thereto as may be possible, and no longer should we be dependent upon the foreigner who refuses to deal with us. Any questions of detail arising out of special circumstances, such, for instance, as the national danger of corn lands going out of cultivation generally, or the fall of silver, would have to be dealt with separately as they arose; but points of this character in no way affect the general principle of 'Free Trade (as far as possible) within the Empire, and protection against the world.'

"In conclusion, let me point out that it is this Commercial Federation of the Empire which furnishes the keynote of the present position compared with the protection of old days, which looked to the United Kingdom being self-contained, self-subsisting, and self-supporting. This latter condition is so absolutely impossible to-day, that we are bound to extend our borders and to treat the Empire as one; and if it be urged, as it is urged, that some of our possessions cannot for revenue purposes, and will not, dispense with import duties, even against British products, our reply is simple. In such case our hands are free to establish the differential system in lieu of absolutely free imports. In such case our Empire would be still united in commercial bonds, and there is probably no British Colony in existence that would not, in return for a preferential market on our shores, only too gladly give us a preferential market on theirs."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—Every member of every party sympathises with the sentiment for a closer union between Great Britain and the great communities beyond the ocean which have sprung from her.—*Scottish Leader*.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.—According to the Government statistics just issued the total number of immigrants who have arrived in Canada since January last amounts to 117,000, being an increase of 25,000, as compared with the corresponding period of last year. Of this number 62,000 were actual settlers, or 11,000 more than last year. Manitoba and the North-West Territory drew 12,000 this year, which shows an increase of 50 per cent.

THE LATE SIR W. McARTHUR, K.C.M.G.

In any large body it must necessarily occur that the loss of one of its prominent members has from time to time to be deplored by those who remain.

Alderman Sir William McArthur, K.C.M.G., who died on the 16th of November, was one of the founders of the League, his name appearing upon the original list of the General Committee. Having large interests in the trade between the United Kingdom and the Australian Colonies, his sympathies were readily enlisted in favour of a proposal for a closer union between them, the immense value of which to all concerned was plainly visible to his keen perception.

His remarkable success in life has shown that Sir William did not do things by halves, and having declared that Imperial Federation was a desirable object, he spared neither money nor pains in promoting its attainment. Whether by attending the meetings of the two committees of which he was a member, or presiding at those of the Kensington Branch, of which he was the President from the date of its foundation, or by generously supplementing the funds of the League when a special effort was required, Sir William McArthur's assistance could always be safely counted upon.

Apart from his kindly disposition and always genial manner, his intimate acquaintance with Colonial affairs, his clear understanding, and his ripe knowledge of men combined to make him a valuable counsellor as well as a welcome colleague.

Sir William McArthur presided at the Mansion House at the last annual meeting of the League, and only the evening before his death he took the chair at a meeting of the Kensington Branch, at which a paper was read by Colonel Innes, at the conclusion of which he made a speech with all his usual warmth and humour.

Both the League and the Branch have suffered a loss in his death, which cannot be easily repaired.

Sir William was an Alderman of the City of London, and Lord Mayor in 1880, in which year he received his K.C.M.G. He was for many years Liberal member for Lambeth, and was the head of the firm of W. and A. McArthur and Co., founded by himself and his brother, Mr. Alexander McArthur, M.P.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee on November 21st, a resolution was unanimously passed, expressing the great regret of the Committee at the loss of their much-valued and highly-respected colleague.

THE POST OF AGENT-GENERAL.

THE growing importance of the duties devolving upon the Agents-General for the Australian Colonies has recently given rise to informal communications between the Governments of New South Wales and Victoria as to the expediency of bringing the Colonial representatives in London into closer sympathy with the Ministerial party for the time being in the Colonies.

On this interesting subject the *Sydney Morning Herald* has a valuable article, which will enable our readers to estimate the drift of public opinion in New South Wales. It will be remembered that our late Chairman, Mr. Forster, always looked forward to an extension of the Agent-General's functions as the first step towards the formation of a representative body capable of discussing Imperial affairs with the Home Government. We subjoin extracts from the article to which we have alluded.

CHANGE IN THE POSITION OF AGENTS-GENERAL.

The duties of Agent-General have widened a great deal of late years. In the earlier days he was merely a commercial agent. He had to purchase the Government stores, to pay all

the London debts, to look after emigration, and generally to transact any business that the Government wanted done. All intercourse with Downing Street was transacted through the Governor. But, with the development of responsible government, the Agent-General has more and more become the political mouthpiece of the Ministry. . . . What we have to do is to harmonise our political offices with the conditions of things, and it is this desire which has increasingly developed the opinion that the Agent-General ought to be politically *en rapport* with the local Administration.

THEIR TWO-FOLD FUNCTIONS—POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL.

So far as our London representative is still to be a business man, there is no good object to be answered by changing him frequently. Good business men who are able and willing to take the position are not over plentiful; and when we have discovered a first-class servant, it is good policy to keep him, and to encourage him in the faithful discharge of his duty. But at the same time, for political reasons, frequent changes may be desirable, because local Cabinets change; new questions arise in the Colony, new interests develop themselves, and a new tone of feeling prevails. So long, therefore, as one man is employed both to do our business and to do our politics, we are always exposed to the risk of finding that, while he is good for one function, he has become gradually less and less good for the other; and in that case we must either sacrifice our business to our politics or our politics to our business. If we retain a good man of business, we may have an unsatisfactory political representative; if we replace him by a superior political representative, we may send an inferior man of business. This consideration may, perhaps, lead us to subdivide the office, or to establish a sub-commercial department in the Agent-General's office, and so get and keep a first-class business man, however often we may change the holder of the political office. We must remember that our London business is important, and that a very little muddling would lose us hundreds of thousands of pounds. In our zeal for having an ambassador we must not forget the extreme importance of having a good commercial agent.

IMPORTANCE OF A MINISTERIAL REPRESENTATIVE AT THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE.

There is no doubt that every change of Ministry in the Colony makes the relations between the Premier and the Agent-General a little awkward, because there pass between the two not only business but confidential communications, which are both of interest and of political value. . . . If we insist, as a matter of primary importance, on sympathy between the Ministry and the Agent-General, we shall have to change the latter on every change of Government; and this is probably what we shall come to. In such a matter, for instance, as the New Hebrides question, an agent in London who would cordially adopt the views of Sir Patrick Jennings would be a very bad exponent of the views of Sir Henry Parkes; and the same remark would apply to the recidiviste difficulty; and we cannot wonder that Colonial Administrations, now that they are more and more entering into the circle of Imperial politics, should find it inconvenient to have an uncongenial representative at the heart of the Empire. Even a conscientious but cold and formal representative would not satisfy the Ministerial desire; for if the wishes of the dominant party in the Colony are to be warmly pressed on the English Government, it must be by somebody who does the work *con amore*.

PROS AND CONS.

Of course if we change the Agent-General with every change of Ministry, we shall run the risk of having this appointment more and more a matter of political aspiration; and there will be some inconvenience in that, as it will complicate local politics. Men will manoeuvre to get the coveted appointment, and we know how that will affect their political action in the Colony. Their personal ends will be a factor in their party action; but that is an evil inseparable from the working of popular institutions. We should also be subject to the disadvantage of sending home men who would have to learn a new business, and who might begin to be officious before they had had time to make themselves expert. There is something to be learned in London even by a successful local politician, and new men may be more anxious to distinguish themselves instantly than would be altogether expedient in the interests of the Colony. If a man is only to have a short tenure of office, and yet to justify his appointment, he must do something, and there is great danger of his being too fussy and dictatorial. Against this we must set the very great advantage of giving to our local politicians an Imperial education. No man of any real political ability could be Agent-General for two or three years without becoming a wiser man, and he would come back to us at the end of his short term with a wider horizon, and a larger knowledge of men and affairs; and, if he resumed his position in Colonial politics, he would be a more useful man for our local purposes. There would be no small gain in sending our politicians to a finishing Imperial school.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT BRIXTON.

THE *South London Press*, one of the most enterprising and influential local newspapers published in the metropolis, devotes four columns of a recent issue to a full report of a lecture on Imperial Federation delivered on November 14 at the Brixton Liberal Club by Mr. Harold E. Petherick, barrister-at-law, chairman of the No. 1. polling district of the Norwood Liberal and Radical Association. There was, we learn, a good attendance, and Mr. Petherick was warmly cheered at the close of his lecture, which was followed by an interesting discussion. The speakers, with the exception of one gentleman, who thought that, "if Russia or any other country produced food better and cheaper, we should as commercial men leave even a colony federated with us to buy in the cheapest market," all sympathised with Mr. Petherick's views.

After a rapid but careful sketch of the growth and present position of our Colonial Empire, the lecturer continued:—

"Notwithstanding the advantages which have resulted from the giving of responsible government to the leading Colonies, whereby they administer their own internal affairs, it must be admitted that if the local legislatures continue to make laws as they have done, legislation, though the same in principle, will become less and less uniform throughout the Empire. Already laws differ very considerably. Take, for instance, those relating to marriage. The forms of ceremony are various, and we have prohibited degrees in one place and not in others; while as to the law of divorce, in some Colonies the evidence which here is sufficient to obtain only a decree for judicial separation would there give the petitioner a decree for divorce. Then we hear of laws limiting the hours of labour, poll taxes on Chinese, laws for the taxation of bachelors, and so forth, while there are entirely different land systems in nearly every Colony. To prevent these anomalies, remedies are sought, and Federation is one and the chief."

He then went on to point out the progress that had already been made in this direction by the constitution of the Canadian Dominion and the Australian Federal Council. But still the Colonies were left without control of their foreign policy.

"It is said that Great Britain must wait until the Colonies make advances and proposals to draw closer, by Federation, the ties now existing. Federation is then, under such circumstances, some distance away. Will the Colonies ever suggest to Great Britain the advisability of her reforming her present constitution by separating the Imperial from the local powers of self-government? No. The British Parliament must itself realise this duty, and understand that by reason of the multiplicity of affairs it has to transact, its will has become paralysed and its machinery so clogged that there is a total cessation of active legislation upon important and long-delayed subjects. There should be taken away from Parliament, and transferred to a central Federal Parliament, those national powers—which are the prerogatives of the Crown—and those quasi-national powers, in respect of which there should be united action and uniformity."

Mr. Petherick then went on to say: "Great Britain must undoubtedly look forward, realise her present and future position, and prepare for changes in many directions. When her scattered peoples have become accustomed to their local laws, it will be very difficult to introduce or effect any changes. But is there any reason why we should not have throughout the Empire, without Federation, one criminal code, one bankruptcy law, one law of banking and bills of exchange, one law of patents and copyright, one system of coinage, a uniform law of marriage and divorce, also regular steam communication, and the lowest possible rates for postage and cable messages? These are common interests, and, if existing, would do much to cement a permanent union. And why not ask the United States to join us in this direction? As regards the foreign policy of this country, Great Britain is fulfilling the duties of a trustee for her Colonies. In performing that trust, let her exercise the greatest care and forethought, and, while firm, let her be just and conciliatory; let all her movements be for peace and progress, and on the principle of defence, not aggression. The Colonies wish England to retain the seat of the chief executive authority from the prescriptive reverence of her station, the superiority belonging to her vast accumulated wealth, and as the commercial centre of the world. The Colonies, as Mr. Merivale has said, still naturally look to Great Britain for guidance, and they still desire to be communities of citizens owning the name of Britons, bound by allegiance to a British Sovereign, and uniting heart and hand in maintaining the supremacy of Great Britain on every shore, wherever her unconquered flag can reach."

If there is any one section of the English people usually supposed to be less given to idealistic sentiment and less accessible to new ideas than another, it is that section of the middle class that mainly has its home in such suburban centres as Brixton. We are grateful to Mr. Petherick and his audience for showing that even here the great idea of Imperial Federation can touch the heart and kindle the imagination.

CANON DALTON'S PAPER ON THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

FROM Canon Dalton's paper, read before the Royal Colonial Institute on November 8th, we make the following extracts:—

CONTINUITY OF THE COLONIAL POLICY FOR THREE CENTURIES.

If there had been some great change in English opinion as to the worth of Colonies—some sudden recognition of a truth newly discovered—then I think it would be only reasonable to suppose that what has often resulted in similar cases of conversion would follow also in this case. We might confidently look afterwards for some revulsion of feeling; some reaction consequent on the cooling of the over-fervid enthusiasm of new converts; some recognition of other considerations that would qualify the general application of the new truth, and the sweeping conclusions its first adherents might wish to draw from it. But, in reality, there has been no sudden change in British feeling regarding the value of the Colonies; no sudden awakening or rash conversion; no feverish excitement due to such temporary causes as the Colonial Exhibition which we may anticipate will be succeeded by a cold fit of torpor and sluggishness in this matter, now that the show is closed and the exhibitors have gone home. In reality, the current of British feeling regarding the worth of Colonies has been the most deep, persistent, and continuous in its strength of any that have ever swayed the people of these realms. The thread of history regarding Colonial acquisition has been so interwoven with our own country's very existence for the last 300 years; the efforts required, the sacrifices made, the indomitable resolution requisite for the building up of a Colonial Empire, spite of all adversaries, disappointments, and disenchantments, have been so great, that an onlooker might justly suppose that Great Britain cared for very little else except Colonies.

THE INTEREST OF BRITISH COLONIES IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

But our foreign policy for the past 300 years has been a Colonial policy; it is so still, and as long as our Colonial Empire remains it will continue to be so. Advocates for Imperial union in the Colonies (such as the late Prime Minister for New Zealand) tell us that one great obstacle to closer union is that they take comparatively a small interest in European affairs to what England does; that no Colonist could be expected to care to meddle in continental politics, that it is a matter of supreme indifference to them who rules in Bulgaria or Constantinople. But we have recognised that Great Britain for 300 years has rarely, if indeed ever, actually by force of arms interfered in Continental affairs, except as they affected her Colonial Empire. And now the Suez Canal, Egypt, and the so-called Eastern Question, only affect us and them as barring our intercommunications. Would Australia like to see India in Russia's hands? or France in possession of Egypt? or either of them mistress of the eastern end of the Mediterranean? Such questions as these we hope will not result in war, but they are the only ones that, with their collateral issues, anyone can imagine would lead Great Britain to interfere in Continental matters. British statesmen, no more than Colonial, care who rules in Bulgaria or at Constantinople, except as it may affect the freedom of the route between Great Britain, India, and Australasia. In fact, with the expansion of trade consequent on the use of steam and electricity, the whole centre of foreign policy has been, I do not say shifted from the Old World to the New, but it has been, at least, so radically affected by the New, that the consideration of all the problems that are likely to vex the peace of Europe are such as affect our Colonial Empire as much as, even if not more than, ourselves. Take the three cases sometimes put forward as extreme specimens of questions that could not possibly affect the British Dominions as a whole—Afghanistan, Belgium, and Newfoundland. "Nobody can believe (we are told)¹ that Australia would undergo risk or pay money for a war, say for the defence of Afghanistan against Russia, or for the defence of Belgian neutrality: or that the Australian would willingly find his resources crippled for the sake of European guarantees or Indian frontiers." In point of fact, however, the Australian has the keenest money interest in both these questions. The Afghan frontier is only interesting to us or to them because it concerns our peaceful maintenance of the Indian Empire. Now, the direct trade of Australia with India is already large, and rapidly increasing; the imports have quadrupled, and the exports doubled themselves, in the last two years. If any disarrangement of India occurred it would affect the pockets of Australians by interfering with this trade. It would also, by interfering with the supply of coolie labour from

India to the West Indies, affect their attempts at reviving trade also. And it is further to be borne in mind that it is the same Power which, while it threatens the Afghan frontier, threatens also the Australian and Canadian intercommunication in the Pacific. The Australasian direct trade with Hong Kong, China, and Japan is menaced by the same great North Pacific Power. Australia has nearly as much interest, for instance, in the maintenance of Hong Kong under the British flag as we have, her direct trade with China for tea and silks coming immediately after that of Great Britain in quantity.

In the maintenance of the neutrality of Belgium, again, the Australian has almost a keener interest than the Englishman himself. As you stand upon the miles of quay at Antwerp, although the trade between Australia and Belgium is in its infancy, you cannot fail to be impressed both at the exports of Belgian manufacturers and the imports of Australian wool you there find being loaded and unloaded. If the direct trade between the two countries increases as fast as it has done lately, in a few years' time the Australian interest in Belgium will exceed our own. And the same may be said of the direct trade between Antwerp and Canada; it is already very considerable, and is increasing by leaps and bounds. The principal exports from Belgium are iron goods of all kinds—bars, plates, and joists, rails and machinery of all descriptions. The Indian railways have lately begun to supply themselves from Belgium with rails, sleepers, bolts, nuts, &c. Antwerp, thanks to Belgian neutrality, is the greatest shipping port for all the adjacent countries; the tonnage of the ships entering and leaving it is nearly one-half of that of the port of London. A large quantity of the machinery shipped there comes from as far south as Paris, and from German works, from Vienna and Eastern Germany. The sugar machinery of Queensland is nearly all shipped there, for Belgian iron can be delivered in all ports east of Singapore, in China, and in Australia one pound per ton cheaper than English, estimating the freight paid for each as equal. If, therefore, the prosperity of Antwerp is at all owing to the neutrality of Belgium, and the progressive, peaceful, commercial character of the Belgians thereby fostered and allowed free play, Canada and Australia have quite as much interest in its maintenance as England.

Again we are told¹: "The objections to a closer union with the Colonists, arising from the absence of common interest on foreign policy, may be illustrated in the case of the disputed rights of fishery off Newfoundland. We cannot easily believe that the sugar-planter in Queensland or the coffee-grower in Fiji would willingly enter into war with France, however authentic might be the explanations given to him of the reasons why the fishermen of Nova Scotia had destroyed the huts and drying-stages of French rivals in a disputed question." Surely we may reply, he would probably perfectly understand and appreciate the reasons, for the same Power that raises these irritating discussions on the banks of Newfoundland raises far more irritating convict questions in his own neighbourhood in New Caledonia and the Pacific Islands, and he would only too eagerly seize upon the opportunity for making a clean sweep of the loathsome dregs once and for ever from his doors.

Again, our objector went on: "Nobody dreams of asking a farthing of Australia in support of our expedition to Egypt. Its object was the security of the Suez Canal, though to nobody is the Canal more useful than to our countrymen in Australia. It has extended the market for their exports, and given fresh scope to their trade. English statesmen do not expect to find cheerful open-handedness in Colonial contributions for Imperial purposes." The words were scarce published before the New South Wales contingent started for the Sudan, and Victorian gunboats cordially and patriotically volunteered to take part with the British fleet at Suakin, and Canadian voyageurs assisted in the ascent of the British force up the Nile. The fact is that the more closely the subject of the community of trade interests and foreign relations is considered, the more intricate will be found to be the network of interwoven interests that binds our large English-speaking Colonies to us and us to them. Their and our present life, social, political, commercial, is the outcome of a long series of interacting causes, the slowly-developed result of the centuries that have gone before. We cannot reverse the decrees of Fate or Providence. In the future that will follow orderly from the present and the past, for good and ill, we are all one, linked together indissolubly by every imaginable tie of interest and affection.

FROM CONFERENCE TO CONFEDERATION—A HISTORICAL PARALLEL.

The recommendations of the Conference, and the Bills necessary for carrying them into execution, have not yet been passed by the several Colonial Legislatures. Six more months at least must elapse before they can be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, and then their consideration may be still further delayed, and their possible modification by the House of Commons may necessitate their reference back again to the various Colonial Governments, whose additional amend-

¹ By the Right Hon. John Morley, M.P., on "The Expansion of England," in *Macmillan's Magazine*, No. 292, February, 1884, p. 250.

¹ By the Right Hon. John Morley, M.P., on "The Expansion of England," in *Macmillan's Magazine*, No. 292, February, 1884, p. 250.

ments may require their reconsideration again by the Imperial Parliament; nay, let us paint the prospect as dark as you like, the exigencies of party warfare may even lead to their final rejection, quite irrespective of the merits of the case. We may grant all this as within the bounds of possibility; I do not say of probability. And what then? Probably the same as history shows us has happened in similar cases; and all the more so since men of British race have deliberately, after weighing with calm reason all the merits and issues of the case, set their hearts and minds on achieving a given end, the obstacles that are thrown athwart their path only lead them to set their faces with sterner resolve to break down whatever opposition may stand between them and their goal. The history of every Confederation is in this respect the same; whether we look at the smaller or the larger ones, those that existed in the ancient or have come into being in the modern world. Nearly all have begun in the same way. To go no further afield, it was so, for instance, in Switzerland, in the United States, and in Germany. The several Governments of each of the component parts at first nominated delegates to meet together in a Conference, just as our delegates and ministers did in London last spring. In each case these (just as ours did) consulted together on matters of common interest, but possessed no binding or ultimate power of decision. History shows us that their conclusions were ever referred in the first instance back to each of their governments for ratification, sometimes to become the cause of angry and acrimonious debate, sometimes to be rejected, always to be jeopardised by the confusion and dangers begotten of delay. And what resulted? Each confederation, after a longer or shorter period of such experience, developed through various stages into a Federation, that is to say, came to cheerfully acquiesce in the existence of a permanent central authority, in which each of them was fully represented, and to which they gave a direct power over, and whose conclusions were final and binding on the whole, regarding certain specified matters affecting the common interests of the whole as a whole.

The Conference was nothing less than a confederate assembly; it remains to be seen whether its successors will develop in an analogous, I do not say precisely similar, way to others that have preceded its history. For if there was one belief that was universally felt and expressed by all the members of this Conference, a belief shared by every one who has paid any attention to its proceedings, it was this, that it was only the first of a series, "the parent of a long progeniture." Now that effective demonstration has once for all been given of the comparative ease with which, thanks to steam and electricity, Colonial and Imperial statesmen may meet face to face for purposes of mutual consultation, even the pessimist must allow that the bugbear of "inevitable disruption," which haunts his dreams, has become somewhat attenuated, even if it be not altogether dissipated. Culpable beyond all prospect of culpability would they be who would henceforth allow any difficulties or friction that may conceivably arise between the Mother Country and the Colonies to develop into dangerous symptoms before a friendly meeting of the parties interested was called. But I think that with happier augury we may justly anticipate far more than such a merely sedative and negative result as that, valuable as is the mere destruction of misconceptions and prejudices that may arise on one side or the other.

UNION, THE LAW OF DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS.

One sentiment, above all others, this Conference cannot fail to inspire alike in unprejudiced onlookers and in those who were privileged to take any share or part in it, and that is an aspiration for an ever-increasing union with our kinsfolk on either side of the sea, and of the strength that results therefrom. The fabric of the United Kingdom, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof, is built up of self-governing parts. Each portion, each nation, each Colony, is an organic part of a greater whole. As each, while preserving its local autonomy fully unimpaired, draws closer to its fellow, as the Canadian provinces band themselves for objects of common interest, so do the West Indian, so do the Australian, even so now the South African appear to be doing. We can thus watch, as it were, the actual growth of the various limbs of one organic whole as they wax in strength beneath our eyes. The process we behold taking place is not like that belonging to some low species of organisation in the animal world. The British Empire is not like some amorphous jelly-fish or invertebrate of low order of vitality that is about to shed its useless limbs, each of which, endowed with a separate divisibility, is doomed by further fissure in time to fall asunder in its turn. The process that is taking place is the exact opposite of anything of the kind. Adhesion, not fissure, is the law that is in action. Union, not dismemberment, is the law of democratic progress. These aggregations of various Colonies are so many synchronous signs of the same principle of development, of consolidation, not of disintegration, of orderly and organic growth, "until the whole body politic fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the working, in due measure, of each several part, maketh increase unto the building up of itself," as one united realm.

A SCHEME FOR COMBINED LAND DEFENCES IN AUSTRALIA.

THE following important Memorandum on the subject of the Federal Defence of Australia, by combining the forces of all the Colonies, has just been drawn up by Brigadier-General Owen, Commandant of the Forces in Australia:—

NECESSITY FOR COMBINED FEDERAL ACTION.

As to their first line of defence, the navy, these Colonies may be said to have already taken combined action by the joint contributions agreed to for an increase in the fleet to be employed in Australian waters. This action as to naval defences was due more to the initiative of the Imperial Government than to that of the Colonies. As to the *personnel* of the second line of defence—*i.e.*, the forces required to man works of defence, and to meet in the field such hostile force as might possibly be landed—similar combined action must be taken in hand much more directly by the Colonies themselves. The Imperial authorities will undoubtedly lend any aid required in the way of special legislation where necessary, or lending the services of professional officers, &c. But they cannot, of course, initiate action regarding forces entirely raised and maintained by the several Colonies. It is, however, universally acknowledged by all knowing these forces, and the circumstances of the Colonies at present, that the money annually spent on the several local forces might give a greater result if the Colonies concerned would take some Federal action as regards them. Should the Australian Colonies eventually federate as those of the Dominion of Canada the matter would be simple, as the Federal or Dominion Parliament could legislate on the subject. Were all the Colonies represented on the existing Federal Council, it is presumed that that body would have power sufficient to legislate on some of the points below mentioned, and the question of defence would no doubt be pre-eminently a question suitable for this Council to deal with. In the meanwhile the matter is pressing, and some important points for combined action might be readily settled amongst themselves by the Colonies as they now stand.

PRACTICAL STEPS TO BE TAKEN.

The following are among those which should at once be seen to (detailed reasons for this opinion are given subsequently):—

A. Inspection of and report upon forces of the Colonies by a general officer of repute, lent by Imperial Government, and paid jointly by the Colonies. For Federal arrangement:—(1) agree or not to above; (2) probable total cost and quota payable by each Colony.

B. Preparation of a scheme of combined Australian defence in case of attack as to each point where attack might be considered possible.

C. Determination of the approximate smallest number of local forces required for such scheme.

D. Hence the quota to be kept up by each Colony. For Federal arrangements, B, C, and D mean that the Colonies should at once determine on reasonable grounds, aided by expert opinion, what Permanent and Militia Force respectively is on the whole necessary as a minimum for Federal defence; that each Colony should lend itself to maintain its proper quota of such minimum number of Permanent and Militia Force respectively. To ensure the reality of this, each Colony should bind itself to carry an Appropriation Bill for a term of years for the expenses of its quota, and agree that such Permanent and Militia Force should come up to a standard reckoned "efficient" by the Inspecting General Officer. The reasonable grounds above mentioned might be set forth, and expert opinion given by a conference of the several Commandants and a member, say, of each Colony's standing Defence Court. There is an able ex-Imperial General Officer—General Schaw—now in the Colonies, who could well preside over such a meeting or give skilled advice. This could be at once arranged for.

E. Agreement on an intercolonial meeting and encampment of the (1) Permanent or regular, and (2) Federal Militia forces respectively of each Colony, in the several Colonies in turn, or in certain central positions to be held annually. For Federal arrangement:—A series of years to be laid down definitely where the meeting is each year to be. To settle questions of expenses, &c. &c., of such encampments.

F. With reference to all the above, to arrange as speedily as possible by Legislature the undermentioned. In time of peace "Ordinary" service (1) laws to govern forces of different Colonies when encamped in another Colony, as E. (2) Law to govern forces when called out by proclamation and sent to another Colony. (3) Power, if not already existing, to send Permanent or Militia Forces to any other Federated Colony. (4) Assimilation of the terms of obligation of service of the forces of the several Colonies. (5) Precedence amongst each other [of the forces of the several (Federated) Colonies. (6) Precedence of officers of the same. For Federal arrangement as to F:—Draft an identical Bill for the several Colonies as to (1), (2), (3), and (4). As to (5) to draft an identical Act authorising Her Majesty the Queen to grant officers' commissions in

the several (Federated) forces. This is stated to be the simplest solution of this question.

G. Establishment of a Military College. At first on a small scale for the education of officers of the permanent or regular, and, to a limited extent, of the Militia forces of the federated Colonies. For federal arrangement; approximate cost; where to be established. Important that it should be in a healthy locality, not in, or in the immediate neighbourhood of, a large city. Specially situated as to access from the several Colonies. Tasmania seems to offer the best *locale*.

H. Establishment of a (federal) Small Arm Ammunition Factory, so that the (federated) Colonies should be independent of supply of ammunition for rifles from Europe. For federal arrangements as in G above. Victoria seems best situated for the position of such a factory.

I. There are many minor points, such as uniformity of equipment, accoutrements, ammunition, and discipline, &c., which might also well be gone into with much advantage, and prepared for federal agreement by a draft scheme drawn up at a conference of Commandants for transmission to their several Ministries; otherwise the principal points, which are really within easy practical range, are, I think, enumerated above in paragraphs A to H.

MEETING OF THE PETERBOROUGH (CANADA) BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE.

MR. E. TOKER, editor of the *Daily Review*, read a paper on "United Empire," before the Peterborough (Ontario) branch of the Imperial Federation League. He began by saying the great idea underlying the association of which this is a branch, viz., the unity of the Empire, is steadily growing in favour, but, no doubt, there is considerable ignorance of the means by which we hope to gain our end. The opponents of unity—the advocates of disintegration—take advantage of this ignorance by ascribing to us views we do not entertain, and then proceeding to combat these imaginary opinions.

The charges brought against Imperial Federationists in Canada, according to Mr. Toker, are usually these: (1), that they advocate Imperial Free Trade and protection against foreigners; (2), that they wish to extract from Canada its share of the cost of Imperial affairs, to make it pay, for example, a portion of the expense of a war in Europe, or for the defence of India; (3), that they propose to set up an Imperial Legislature in Westminster in which Canadian representation would be so small that Canadians would be outvoted, and would have no control even in matters especially affecting them.

A considerable portion of Mr. Toker's lecture is devoted to knocking down "these bugbears—men of straw set up to be knocked down." We have, however, so recently tried our skill at knocking down these very men of straw ourselves, that we must be excused if we confine ourselves to a brief abstract.

In answer to accusation No. 1. Mr. Toker says:—No branch or member of our League in Canada, or, as far as I know, in Great Britain, has proposed such a bargain as I have indicated. There is, however, a widespread and growing desire in Canada, in Great Britain, and in other parts of the Empire, for some measure of discrimination in favour of each other and against foreign nations. It is proposed to give a preference over foreigners to any land under the British flag, while not interfering with its right to frame its own tariff.

A Canadian member of our League, Mr. Thos. Macfarlane, has devised a plan, and the Montreal branch has signified its approval by publishing it. He suggests that throughout all parts of the Empire a special extra duty of 5 per cent. should be levied on all foreign imports, without in any way interfering with existing local tariffs, or any future modification of them, being an additional impost. For example, if wheat in Montreal, and New York were worth 1 dol. a bushel, Canadian wheat would pay nothing in Liverpool—United States wheat 5 cents a bushel. If a certain class of iron stood in our Canadian tariff at a duty of 50 per cent., English or Scotch importations would pay that 50 per cent., United States importations 55 per cent. The same rule would be applied to all other articles. This would not so seriously affect prices as to prevent its acceptance, while it would operate in favour of trade between different parts of the Empire, would foster such commerce, and promote closer relations.

Mr. Toker calculates that such a duty would produce £18,000,000 per annum, of which Canada would not contribute more than £500,000. The proposed special duty might or might not be constituted a separate Imperial fund for the maintenance of a navy and coast defences.

Coming to (2), Imperial expenditure, Mr. Toker points out that the principle of Imperial expenditure for Imperial defence, and local expenditure for local defence, is already established.

Even now it is customary to make the Indian, not the British, Treasury bear the main portion of the expenditure for Indian wars, and there would be no difficulty in the way of a similar arrangement in regard to wars in which the Mother Country was especially and the Colonies lightly concerned. In case of invasion of any part of the Empire, I will not even suppose that any

man under its flag would wish to shrink from doing his fair part.

Canada, however, already spends much money for Imperial purposes. On defence, both troops and fortifications, on harbours, dock, canals, railways, mail steamship lines, telegraph lines, diplomacy—for all these matters she has spent much, and is ready to go on to spend more.

Altogether, Canada has not only done her share, but very much more than her share, in matters of Imperial concern. No doubt she will meet with a proportionate return. But if we were to assume our share of Imperial expenditure calculated by any such method as the suggested discriminating duty, our proportion would be diminished rather than augmented.

In this connection our opponents should remember that if Canada became independent, or if it were annexed to the United States, the two alternative suggestions, Canada would not escape expense for defence, diplomacy, and other national purposes. Indeed, we would have to pay more in either of these events, and get less for our money.

Dealing lastly with (3), the central machinery, Mr. Toker has no magnificent schemes to propose, but, besides supporting the suggestion that the Agents-General should be formed into a council to advise the Crown on Imperial questions, with responsibility each to his own legislature, he offers the sensible and valuable advice that the judicial committee of the Privy Council, with its heavy appeal business and constitutional questions from every quarter of the globe, might be usefully strengthened by judges from the important members of the Empire. There are usually retired Indian judges in England, and there would be no great obstacle in the way of obtaining judges of experience from Canada, Australia, &c. Then it would be a truly Imperial court of final resort.

We have already exceeded our space, but Mr. Toker's concluding remarks seem to us both so eloquent and so practical that we must find room for them.

"We do NOT want to crush our home industries beneath the weight of too onerous competition, even from Great Britain. We do NOT ask Canada to undertake heavy expenditure for objects in which she is little interested. We do NOT wish to send a handful of representatives to be outvoted in the Parliament at Westminster. We DO wish to favour commerce between the different members of the Empire in preference to foreigners. We desire to contribute as in the past, though perhaps not in the same measure or in the same manner, to the advancement of the whole Empire. We hope that the various portions of the Empire will regularly consult together for the common benefit of the whole—for mutual defence and support.

"Our critics taunt us with being loyal to England, and insinuate that we are, therefore, disloyal to Canada. We are truly loyal to Canada, and aim at her further advancement. We are also loyal to our Empire as a whole, and would see it flourish. If we look with love and pride to the land of our ancestors—to our parent kingdoms—who shall chide us? As we come to maturity we desire to form a partnership with the parental interests, not to cut ourselves utterly adrift from them, or to form a new alliance against them in combination with a rival power.

"In short, without a pedantic framing of paper constitutions, we desire, while remaining loyal to Canada and its interests, to resist all disloyal tendencies towards disintegration, and to look for the continued and closer union of our glorious Empire—in which we are proud to feel that no insignificant place is held by this grand Dominion."

DRAKE'S STATUE ON THE HOE AT PLYMOUTH.

Ingrata Genti Quies.

WITH gallant front, and eager eyes aglow,
A mimic world within his fingers' span,
Drake stands erect, a very Englishman,
On that historic greensward of the Hoe:
Beneath, he sees the great ships come and go,
Plying the task that he and his began,
When round the globe they steer'd the Pelican,
And ransack'd all its harbours, high and low.
Dear restless Islanders! At home to bide
Your blood forbids you, while the sounding sea
That laughs and leaps around your ancient walls
Cries "Come!" At once ye scatter far and wide,
As glory beckons, or as duty calls,
Clutching the golden skirts of Destiny!

H. F. WILSON.

AUSTRALIAN RAILWAYS.—An annual report just issued exhibits the following contrast between New South Wales and Victorian railways:—Capital invested: Victoria, £26,171,000; New South Wales, £27,300,000. Gross receipts: Victoria, £2,453,000; New South Wales, £2,190,000. Expenditure: Victoria, £1,427,000; New South Wales, £1,492,000. Net receipts: Victoria, £1,026,000; New South Wales, £667,000. Net interest earned: Victoria, 4 per cent.; New South Wales, 3 per cent.

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THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

DECEMBER, 1887.

STOCK-TAKING.

As the year draws to a close the thoughts of our members will naturally turn to a retrospect of the progress that has been made during the past twelve months. It is only by a comprehensive survey of a definite period that we are able fairly to compare our position at the beginning and the end. At any given moment in the interval the horizon is apt to be limited by some operation that engrosses the whole of our energies, and thus assumes an undue importance, to the exclusion, perhaps, of an instructive past or a hopeful future. We propose to seize this opportunity, when our second volume is about to be closed, for taking stock of the work that has been done during the year 1887 in the cause of Imperial Federation.

Members will require, first of all, to be assured that the League's official work has been strenuous, judicious, and effective. At headquarters we have not been idle. It was felt that with the growth of our responsibilities the monthly meetings of the Executive Committee needed some relief from the multiplicity of business crowded into them, and an important step was taken when four special sub-committees were appointed to deal respectively with matters of Imperial defence, communications, Parliamentary business, and commercial questions. The vigilance constantly exercised by these bodies over the several problems within their grasp cannot fail to be productive of great benefit to the Executive Committee in suggesting legitimate channels for useful action. Of all the subjects which have occupied the directors of our organisation none was more urgent than the necessity of placing the finances of the League upon a sound and stable footing. The proposal to establish a guarantee fund of £1,000 for three years was a bold one, but it has been more than justified by its success; the limit at first indicated has already been left far behind, and we feel confident that we have not come to the end of the list yet. With a well-sustained flow of annual subscriptions, we hope to see the responsibility of the guarantors reduced to a minimum; but the knowledge of this strong reserve is an immense boon, enabling the League to lay its plans for the future with a certainty of pursuing them vigorously for a considerable period.

Bringing influence to bear directly upon the Govern-

ment by means of resolutions and deputations is not a matter to be undertaken for trivial objects by a body representing such large interests as ours. But on two occasions this year circumstances arose in which the Executive Committee felt it their duty to lay their views before the Government. The Canadian Pacific steamship subsidy was a question of Imperial magnitude, which at one time seemed in serious danger of rejection; but within a few weeks of a strongly-worded resolution being presented to the Prime Minister by our Chairman, the Government reconsidered their adverse decision, and granted the subsidy. The second occasion to which we allude was the agitation for an Imperial census in 1891. From the important correspondence which appeared in a former issue of the Journal on this subject, and the fact that it was favourably received at the Conference, we may reasonably hope that the League's timely action will bear good fruit.

The arrival of representatives from the Colonies to attend the first Imperial Conference was signalled by their reception at a brilliant banquet given by the League in their honour. Invitations were accepted by all the representatives, and the occasion was universally recognised as the visible link between the League and the Conference of its creation. Nor must we omit to mention another banquet in July, when the Executive Committee entertained Sir Henry Holland and our Vice-Chairman, Mr. Stanhope, in special recognition of their services to our cause at the Conference summoned by the one, and presided over by the other.

The practical work of organisation has proceeded without intermission. There is no better criterion of our progress than the increase in branches, both in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies; but at the same time it must be remembered that local circumstances may often render the establishment of a branch inadvisable even in neighbourhoods permeated by a strong Federationist spirit. The past year has seen branches inaugurated at Selby in the North and Rochester in the South of England; at Glasgow and Edinburgh in Scotland; and at Peterborough in Canada. During the same period great activity has been manifested by those already in existence. If we were to single out one for special commendation, perhaps the palm might be awarded to the Melbourne branch, which has done yeoman's service in Victoria.

In addition to organised efforts, invaluable assistance has been rendered to the League by some of its individual members. Lord Brassey has infused fresh life into our supporters in Australia, and evoked an almost incredible amount of enthusiasm wherever he went. Mr. O. V. Morgan has well-nigh circumnavigated the globe in our interests, for in the spring he was at the Cape of Good Hope, and now he has just returned from Canada, where the exertions of Mr. Castell Hopkins and Mr. McGoun have sowed much good seed. At home no more useful work has been done than that of Mr. H. F. Wilson in crusading among the public schools, with the best results. Of lecturing, of distributing literature, of enrolling new members, it may be truly said there has been no end, to the great advancement of our principles in all parts of the Empire.

While such has been the official work of the League, the effect it has produced upon the national policy has been enormous. We have seen this year the assembly of an Imperial Conference, attended by representatives of the Colonies and the Mother Country, in session together to discuss the common weal. We have seen the United Kingdom stretching out her hands to Canada, and sharing with the Dominion the glory of opening a new British highway on the ocean, from Colony to Colony. We have seen Australian interests placed in the van of our Foreign policy, and British ministers ready to risk a war with France rather than abate one jot or tittle of Colonial rights in the New Hebrides. We have seen that the Imperial policy is thorough, that it holds good alike with a group of great Australian communities, and with the small but ancient Colony of Newfoundland, where a legitimate Act of Parliament has been maintained in the face of strong foreign opposition. In matters of administration the same determination to promote Imperial unity has made itself felt, and no more welcome announcement has been made this year than the latest scheme of the Admiralty for

establishing a naval school in Sydney. This will manifest to the world that British maritime supremacy is no longer confided to the sole charge of a single corner of the Empire, for Britannia will henceforward draw her strength from the South as well as from the North, from Colonies and Mother Country alike.

CANON DALTON AT THE COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

CANON DALTON's paper on the Imperial Conference, from which we give extracts elsewhere, was read before the Royal Colonial Institute on November 8th, and fully realised the high expectations that had been formed of it. A masterly summary of the historical sequence of events culminating in our world-wide Empire of to-day supplied the lecturer with incontestable proofs that, whether consciously or unconsciously, the motive permeating all our foreign policy with its attendant wars and treaties for nearly three centuries has been the maintenance and extension of our Colonial possessions. It is not, perhaps, necessary to go the whole way with Canon Dalton in attributing the wars of the eighteenth century entirely to the "one object and aim" of Colonial aggrandisement on the part of English monarchs and statesmen, but we can at all events agree with him that our Empire is the tangible result of those wars, and that the British people have actually spent the vast sum of £800,000,000, against which must be placed their magnificent assets in the shape of the Colonies and India.

It may, then, truly be said that "our Foreign policy for the past three hundred years has been a Colonial policy." The lesson which Canon Dalton would have us to draw is that so far are the British from not caring for Colonies that they may more fairly be supposed to care for nothing else. The "operation of the great law" of Colonial acquisition shows no sign of reversal after three centuries of persistent and steady progress, nor is it possible that men in their senses will ever willingly relinquish their share in an inheritance that has cost almost fabulous sums of national money. The Foreign policy of to-day is bound up with Colonial interests even more definitely than it has been in the past. The passages in which Canon Dalton exposes the fallacy of thinking that European politics are no concern of the Colonies form, in our opinion, the most valuable portion of his paper. What, he asks, is the meaning of the Eastern Question to the United Kingdom? It means simply and solely the freedom of our route between this country and India and Australasia. For no other reason than to secure the preservation of that route do British statesmen care who rules in Bulgaria or at Constantinople. And if this compels the United Kingdom to take a keen interest in the Eastern Question, is not the same compulsion equally incumbent upon the Colonies? "Would Australia like to see India in Russia's hands, or France in possession of Egypt, or either of them mistress of the eastern Mediterranean?"

Another instance in which European politics might possibly implicate the Colonies is our guarantee of Belgian neutrality; but Canon Dalton ably argues that in this question, in spite of its apparent remoteness, the Australian and the Canadian have almost a keener interest than the Englishman. Our interest in the neutrality of Belgium consists in allowing free play to the "progressive, peaceful and commercial character" of its inhabitants, and is practically exemplified in the enormous trade of Antwerp, which, "thanks to Belgian neutrality, is the greatest shipping port for all the adjacent countries." The direct trade of Canada and Australia with Antwerp, already very large, bids fair to exceed our own in a few years' time, if the present rate of increase be continued; so that if the prosperity of Antwerp is due to the neutrality of Belgium, the interest of the United Kingdom in its maintenance is fully shared by the Colonies. We have no space to follow Canon Dalton further in the striking examples adduced to connect the Colonies with the foreign policy of the Empire. If Russia threatens Afghanistan, Australian interests are imperilled, and the shock will re-act upon the growing trade of Canada in the Pacific. If France disputes our fishing-rights off Newfoundland, she has also encroached upon our freedom in Australasian waters. The gist of the matter is that every one of the problems likely now-a-days to vex the peace of Europe affect the British Dominions as

a whole, or not at all. The Conference was the natural manifestation of the old persistent law of Colonial expansion, applied to modern necessities. Our duty formerly consisted simply in acquiring Colonies and defending them against armed aggression from Europe. With their development into nationhood, surrounded by offshoots from other European Powers or by independent States, the position of affairs has changed. It is no longer from Europe alone that danger can emanate, or protection be extended to the Colonies. International difficulties may arise in the Antipodes themselves; Europe has no more the monopoly of diplomatic quarrels, nor the monopoly of strength for war. The same spirit which induced the inhabitants of these islands not to grudge countless millions for the acquisition of a Colonial Empire, when money was the one thing wanted, now urges them to summon wise heads and loyal hearts from all parts of that Empire, when the one thing needful is joint counsel and joint responsibility. The Conference of 1887 was the first essay in the new departure. Canon Dalton briefly recapitulates the main subjects of discussion, to show, by the variety of topics entertained, how manifold are the common interests of the whole Empire. It would have been impossible, for instance, to devote seven days, or a third of the time and attention of the Conference, to purely legal and business questions, did there not exist, beneath the utmost diversity of detail, that general consensus of opinion as to the true principles of government which forms the only sure foundation for an united Empire.

Passing to the results of the Conference, we are bidden to remember that for actual binding legislation it possessed no mandate: consultation and discussion were the objects of the assembly, whose duty was to prepare the way for harmonious legislative enactments by the Parliaments. But the moral force exercised by the Conference was immense; the New Hebrides difficulty, which had been constantly aggravated for many months, terminated in a satisfactory settlement, as soon as the Prime Minister's hands had been strengthened by the unbending firmness with which the assembled representatives of the whole Empire resolved to confront the French claims. We believe that throughout the Continent a most salutary effect has been produced by this unmistakable proof that where British interests are threatened, the British Empire has the power and the will to act together as one man for their defence. The Conference testified to the living strength of an aspiration for an ever-increasing union between kinsfolk throughout the Queen's Dominions. It was nothing less than a Confederate Assembly. We believe, with Canon Dalton, that it will be the parent of a long progeniture.

THE IMPERIAL DOMAIN.

It is stated that the Government have conceded "in principle" the request of Western Australia for self-government. We may hope that the saving words imply that a decision has been taken to reserve the public domain of the Empire in those regions for its rightful heirs, while endowing the few thousands of people who will constitute the new self-governing community with a liberal hand.

Victoria has, says the *Melbourne Argus*, "properly set aside an area of 150,000 acres of land as an endowment for agricultural education." This judicious policy has been carried out with the best results in all our great Colonies. Let us seize the magnificent opportunity of realising it on a larger scale by creating an Imperial endowment for those Imperial purposes, which, in time to come, must otherwise prove a burden upon the Exchequers of the Colonies and of the United Kingdom. Had an Imperial endowment existed to-day, administered by Trustees for the whole Empire, not a penny need have been asked from the taxpayer of Victoria or New South Wales for the Australasian squadron. There is still time for the creation of such an endowment which will grow in value year by year, and it is certain that there will be plenty of demands upon it. We urge our fellow-citizens in crowded Britain, in Australia, in heavily-taxed New Zealand, in Canada and South Africa, to raise their voices high in a united declaration that the land which belongs to us all shall be used and administered for the interests of all British citizens.

NOT FOR SALE.

SOME months ago we called attention to the difficulty of obtaining such statistical and other information with respect to the Colonies as is generally summed up in the term Blue Books. We referred to the fact that although the Agents-General are marvellously courteous and patient in endeavouring to supply the requirements of numerous applicants, it is impossible to purchase in London, the centre of the British Empire, any of the official publications which are issued by Colonial Governments.

We cannot help thinking that this is a scandalous state of things, and thoroughly detrimental to the interests of the Colonists themselves. We know from personal experience, having occasion not unfrequently ourselves to trespass upon their good nature, that the offices of the Agents-General are constantly besieged with requests for the loan or inspection of documents which would have gladly been purchased by the inquirer, and that no small portion of the junior officials' time is occupied in endeavouring to supply information which in the case of English statistics can be bought for a few pence at the nearest Parliamentary book-seller's. We believe, therefore, that, judged merely by the standard of economy, the trifling expenditure involved in supplying a few copies of all Government publications to some recognised agent, on the sale or return system, would be amply compensated by the saving of labour and interruption of business at headquarters.

There can be no doubt whatever that, even if a loss of a few pounds were incurred annually, the advantage of giving the public access to trustworthy information on Colonial subjects would be incalculable. It is said that statistics can be made to prove anything; but it is equally true that nothing can be satisfactorily proved without statistics; how, for instance, can the ordinary Englishman inform himself upon the Commercial Union question, if he cannot obtain full official statistics of Canadian trade? Or how can he hope to master Australian politics, so long as neither love nor money can procure him a copy of the Parliamentary debates in Victoria or New South Wales? We are led to revert to this subject by a recent Canadian Order-in-Council, which provides for the regular supply from Ottawa of Blue Books and other official information *for use in the House of Commons and at the Colonial Office!* It certainly seems strange that our Parliament should have been content for so many years to do without the volumes which, starting from this year of grace 1887, are henceforward to be supplied. "Let not your right hand know what your left hand doeth" seems to have been a maxim terribly misapplied by legislators in the British Empire, and may account for many of the mistakes and blunders in our Colonial policy of the past. That it is a policy of the past, not of the present, is due mainly to the change of public opinion brought about by the League. Members of Parliament now find it necessary to keep abreast of Colonial affairs, and hence this tardy demand for the supply of information, which we hope is only an instalment of a complete series from all the self-governing Colonies. But, in these days, it is hardly enough to prime the members; their constituents, the British public, are rapidly becoming awake to the importance of Colonial problems, and the advantages of studying them seriously and minutely. They, too, must be supplied with information to guide their studies aright; and we appeal to the Agents-General whether they will not make representations to their respective Governments which will result in the establishment of a regular sale-office for official publications. When this has been done, they will not only be relieved from a host of superfluous callers and letters, but may have the satisfaction of feeling that if the public of the United Kingdom continues to misjudge Colonial events, or miscalculate Colonial progress, it need not be for want of such teaching as Blue Books and statistics can give.

CANADIAN PUBLIC DOMAIN.—The whole of the Banff Valley and adjacent mountains, to the extent of 100,000 acres, have been set apart by the Dominion Government as a national park for ever. They have voted various sums of money—in all about £16,000—for the making of roads and footpaths through the dense forests to various points of attraction, and will continue to vote further sums until the work is satisfactorily completed.—*From Mr. Caine's Letter to his Constituents.*

MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P., IN MONTREAL.

ON October 24th Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation to the Montreal branch of the League. According to the *Gazette* the subject was treated by the lecturer in a masterly style, and his views on the question, cloaked in eloquent language, were broad and patriotic. Mr. Henry Lyman presided, and amongst those present were Messrs. George Hague, A. Robertson, A. McGoun, Junr., secretary, E. Judge, Professor Johnson, R. D. McCord, G. B. Burland, Hugh McLennan, J. S. Stevenson, and others.

MR. MORGAN, who was received with applause, sketched the progress of the Empire for the last fifty years, and told his hearers that the most striking exhibit in the recent Colonial Exhibition at South Kensington was the huge map of the British Empire on the wall outside the Queensland Court. He continued: The day has happily passed when an English statesman can be named who is in favour of separating the Colonies from the Mother Country. (Applause.) No; instead of separation, the desire exists, not only in the Colonies, but also at home, among the majority of well-informed and travelled men, to bring our kinsmen beyond the seas into closer and more intimate relations with the Mother Country. A belief is growing that unless we come closer together we may separate.

After quoting a paragraph in his election address of 1885, strongly advocating Imperial Confederation, the lecturer continued: In what way the closer relationship shall be brought about, is a matter for discussion and consideration. The subject is rapidly ripening. Imperial Federation has become one of the leading questions of the day, and was referred to in the Queen's Speech in August, 1886.

The meeting of the Colonial Conference in London this spring was, he said, largely due to the action of the Imperial Federation League. At that Conference there met for the first time in our history representatives from all sections of the Empire. Canada shook hands and met in friendly intercourse with Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and other Colonies and dependencies. (Hear, hear.) A general and better understanding of the wants and wishes of the different Colonies has been brought about. Some matters have been settled, other matters have been discussed, and are in consequence nearer a settlement. The representatives of the British Empire have discovered how much better a mode of procedure is a friendly conversation than a lengthy correspondence. The one leads to practical and satisfactory results, the other sometimes leaves behind it unsettled sores because the parties have not sufficiently understood the views of one another. (Applause.) That further similar Conferences will be held, and at no distant date, I entertain no doubt. Lastly, we come to the question, "What do we mean to get?" My own view, and I speak only for myself, is the establishment of an Imperial Parliament, consisting of members from the Mother Country and the Colonies, which shall deal exclusively with Imperial subjects, such as foreign and Colonial affairs, army and navy, ocean postal service, &c. Of these matters I would relieve the present English Parliament, in which, I am happy to admit, there are many members with a practical knowledge of Imperial affairs; but there are also many members, and excellent members, too, who have little or no knowledge of the Colonies and foreign countries. The objection on the part of some Colonists that they would be outnumbered in such a Parliament seems to be satisfactorily answered by pointing out that foreign affairs are already managed without their being directly represented at all; and that even at the beginning the representation would be real and effective, and would be based upon the principle of increasing with their population and national importance, so that in a short time it would have a commanding influence on the counsels of the Imperial authorities. Many ways have been suggested of raising funds for purely Imperial purposes. The mode so far most generally approved would appear to be by the imposition of a small discriminating duty on foreign imports, from which products of the Empire would be exempt. It is considered that this would have the double advantage of raising Imperial revenue and of promoting commercial intercourse between the different portions of the Empire. An Imperial Parliament also means the establishment, wherever they do not already exist, of local assemblies for the conduct of local affairs. We are the possessors of a proud heritage. Do not let us, by want of wisdom and foresight, lose that heritage. Do not let the possibility arise for our sons and daughters to be able to say that their parents inherited a great empire, and, through narrow-minded ignorance and selfishness, allowed it to slip out of their hands.

MR. HUGH MCLENNAN said that he believed that if England once made a suggestion that she would open her arms to interchange commerce with the Colonies there would not be a hall in Montreal large enough to hold an Imperial Federation meeting to discuss the question.

MR. GEORGE HAGUE said that they, as Canadians, had to maintain their separate nationality in the face of a great and powerful Republic, speaking the same language and having the same fundamental laws and institutions. His opinion was that

commercial union was simply annexation, and should be resisted. (Applause.) While Canadians were quite ready to enter into a reciprocity treaty, such as they had some years ago, discrimination in trade with the United States and against the Mother Country was a totally impossible state of things. (Applause.) If they discriminated against Great Britain, it would not be reasonable to expect that they should remain a Colony of the British Empire. Canadians might just as well discuss annexation as commercial union. (Applause.)

MR. MCCORD believed that Imperial Federation would have to be based on reciprocal trade advantages to both the Colonies and the Mother Countries.

The CHAIRMAN said that since Commercial Union had been spoken of he might say, ironically, that Mr. Wiman, a celebrated man in his way, had taken up the question for the benefit of Canada, and not for his own benefit, or that of the United States! (Laughter.) He had visited Canada, and expended a good deal of time and money, and telegraphic energy (laughter), a case in point being an assembly of nine persons in Belleville, which looked very big when Mr. Wiman sent it through the press. (Laughter.) He had a pamphlet by their secretary, Mr. McGoun, on the question, which would convince those who read it that Commercial Union was not a scheme beneficial to Canada. (Hear, hear.)

After addresses by Messrs. A. P. McDonald and Stevenson, a cordial vote of thanks was tendered the lecturer, and the proceedings terminated.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PRESENTED 21ST NOVEMBER, 1887:

1. THE Guarantee Fund, instituted by Lord Rosebery at the dinner of the General Committee on the 6th of July, has resulted in the subscription of a little over £1,200.

It is greatly to be wished that the fund could have been larger, but in view of the heavy expenses which this year has brought upon every one it is perhaps as much as could have been expected.

2. The other outcome of that meeting was the establishment of four sub-committees to deal with the Political, Commercial, Postal, and Defence Branches of Imperial Federation.

The Political Committee, owing to Lord Rosebery's indisposition, have not yet commenced their sittings, but Lord Rosebery has already been in communication with its members.

Sir R. Rawson, the convener of the Commercial Committee, is preparing a synopsis of the tariffs of the Empire, which will be shortly laid before his Committee, and which will form the basis for their consideration of Commercial Federation.

The Communications Committee held a meeting on the 7th inst., when the lines for its operations were laid down, and an adjournment ordered, to enable its members to collect the necessary information.

The Defence Committee, owing to the absence of Captain Colomb, Lord Brassey and Mr. O. V. Morgan, has not yet held its first meeting. It will, however, be summoned early in December.

3. The pamphlet, "Imperial Conference for 1887," ordered by the Committee has been printed and issued to branches and subscribers.

4. The series of pictures illustrative of Scenes in the Empire, ordered by the Committee for lecturing purposes, has been completed. Mr. H. F. Wilson, at whose suggestion they have been provided, has expressed his strong approval of them.

5. One hundred and thirty-six members have been added to the League during the year, exclusive of those added to branches.

6. The Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch of the League was inaugurated by a meeting in Edinburgh on the 16th inst., at which Lord Rosebery delivered an important address, enforcing the absolute necessity of Imperial Federation to the existence of the Empire, and praising the present Government for having summoned the Imperial Conference at the request of the League.

Branches are also being formed in Huntingdonshire, New Zealand, Tasmania, and St. Thomas, Ontario.

7. A large meeting has been arranged for November 30th in the Town Hall, Poplar, E., at which Mr. Sydney Buxton will preside, Major Welby and Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster being the speakers.

Addresses and debates upon Imperial Federation are taking place in many parts of the country under the auspices of the League.

8. With a view to stimulating the formation of Branches, and spreading information concerning the objects of the League, a proposal has been drawn up for the appointment of an Organising Lecturer, and will be submitted to the Committee.

9. The visit of Lord Brassey to Melbourne has evoked a valuable demonstration in favour of Imperial Federation in the Colony of Victoria, in which a Branch of the League has existed since 1885. The Branch recently offered a money prize for the best

essay on "Imperial Federation" from the State Schools, which was largely competed for.

10. A farewell dinner to Hon. James Service, late Premier of this Colony, has been arranged for the 7th of December. The Earl of Rosebery has consented to preside, and in the interests of the League I have undertaken the duties of hon. sec. to the Committee.

11. The proposal to establish a Commercial Union between Canada and the United States has been actively worked in the Dominion by Professor Goldwin Smith and others, and as actively opposed by the League in Canada and in the columns of *Imperial Federation*. An influential portion of the Canadian Press has supported the movement, and the telegraphic news from Canada appears to be entirely extracted from its columns. On the other hand, no member of the Dominion Parliament has as yet supported the proposition, and the Dominion Government is entirely opposed to it.

The United States has as yet shown no desire to enter such a union. In the course of recent conversations with the President of the League in Canada, and another Dominion member, I gathered that the Government were not disturbed by the extent of the agitation.

The resolutions passed at the recent meeting of the Provincial Premiers at Quebec were distinctly in favour of reciprocity with the States, but it should be remembered that these gentlemen were not elected to deal with Dominion questions, and do not represent the views of Dominion Legislators.

I am led to expect that proposals will shortly be made from Canada for a commercial arrangement between the United Kingdom and the Dominion, as well as an arrangement for defence. Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., has recently been visiting Canada, and has addressed the League there upon its objects.

12. The report of the "Imperial Conference" has been issued, and forms two large volumes of highly interesting reading. The expressions of the representatives towards the objects of the League are most satisfactory. The speech of Sir Samuel Griffith at the close of the Conference pointed to a strong desire on the part of its members for an early renewal of its sittings. It is to be regretted that the high price will prevent many from reading the report who would otherwise have done so. Application has been made to the circulating libraries to induce them to circulate the volumes. A digest of the contents is appearing monthly in the *Journal*, which it may be desirable to re-publish in pamphlet form.

13. The request made by a resolution of the Executive Committee, forwarded by Lord Rosebery, with regard to the subsidy for a trans-Pacific line of steamers, has met with a favourable response at the hands of Her Majesty's Government, the subsidy having been granted within a few weeks of the request. The grant is the more gratifying to the League, as it takes the form of a joint subsidy by the Dominion Government and the Government of the United Kingdom.

14. The settlement of the New Hebrides question in a manner which appears to be satisfactory to the Australian Colonies, and which may be assumed to be a result of the Imperial Conference, has removed an obstacle which has been often opposed to the suggestion for Imperial Federation.

15. The desirability of retaining for Imperial purposes, revenue and other, some of the hitherto unoccupied lands of the Empire, has been discussed in *Imperial Federation*, and the proposition has met with considerable response from the public press.

16. The movement for a memorial to the late Mr. W. E. Forster, which was set on foot by the League, has resulted in a subscription which has enabled the Committee to undertake the erection of a statue in London and a tablet in Westminster Abbey.

17. The League has recently lost by death two important members—

The Rev. Edward Thring, Head Master of Uppingham, who was enthusiastic in his advocacy of Imperial Federation, and Sir William McArthur, one of the earliest members of the League, a member of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Kensington Branch. The funds of the League have been greatly assisted by Sir William McArthur's liberality, and he was a contributor of £50 to the Guarantee Fund. He presided at a meeting of the Kensington Branch on the evening before his death in apparently excellent health.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. LORING, Secretary.

GERMANY AND SAMOA.—The indifference with which this advance is regarded in England is astonishing. It is evident that England is losing credit among the islanders; but it is gratifying, at the same time, to notice that they are beginning to look towards Australia. This continent is to them the mainland—their defence and protection. But, so far as the Pacific is concerned, it seems to be the destiny of Australia to set things right that have been foolishly allowed to go wrong. Other nations have discovered the value of the islands before we are in a position to say to all comers "Hands off." But the goodwill, however, of the native populations will give an equitable right to our claim to rule over them, and in the meantime everything that is feasible should be done to bind them to us by the friendly chains of commerce.—*Melbourne Argus*.

FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT EDINBURGH.

AN important and representative meeting took place in the Royal Hotel, Edinburgh, on November 16th, for the purpose of inaugurating a new Branch of the League, to be called the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch. It is not many months since the great commercial city of Glasgow showed its appreciation of our principles by establishing a powerful Branch of the League, and the action now taken at Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland and the centre of her intellectual life, amply confirms our opinion that whether the appeal be made to the commercial instincts or to the political intelligence of an enlightened people, the result will be equally favourable to the cause of Imperial Unity.

A glance at the list of gentlemen who have consented to take office in the Edinburgh Branch will suffice to show the importance of the movement; the office-bearers are without exception men held in high respect and esteem by their fellow-citizens at home, and several of them have already achieved a wider reputation as able servants of the State; while we have plentiful evidence—though by this time we hope it is no longer required—that the League has no connection whatever with the party politics of the United Kingdom, looking to a wider horizon, “where all are for the State.” We append a full report of the proceedings, which can hardly fail, under such favourable circumstances, to be the precursor of a long and energetic career:—

At the meeting held on November 16th in the large saloon of the Royal Hotel, Princess Street, Edinburgh, for the purpose of inaugurating the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch of the Imperial Federation League, the Earl of Rosebery occupied the chair; and there were also present—the Very Rev. Dean Montgomery, the Rev. Dr. MacGregor, the Right Hon. J. B. Balfour, Q.C., M.P.; Sheriff Jameson, Councillor Colston, the Rev. A. B. Morris, the Rev. John Storie, the Rev. Dr. Masson, Professor Nicholson, Mr. Henry, S.S.C.; Mr. Ure, advocate; Mr. R. A. Macfie of Dreghorn, Mr. James Simpson, Hon. Sec., &c.

The SECRETARY, in stating the object of the meeting, said the Imperial Federation League which had been established in London for about four years, and had done good work, had for some time past been very desirous of having a branch in Edinburgh, partly because of the recognised position which Edinburgh held as the leader of national movements, and partly because of the somewhat cosmopolitan character of its University, which brought it into touch with almost all the Colonies. Recently instructions were sent down to form a branch in Edinburgh. Circulars were sent to a limited number of gentlemen who were likely to support the movement and help its development. The result was a very enthusiastic response, sufficient to justify the formation of a branch, and to warrant the expectations which had been formed. The Earl of Rosebery, who they were perhaps all aware was chairman of the Imperial Federation League in London, and the leading spirit of the League, being resident at Dalmeny, it was thought very desirable that they should have this preliminary meeting. They had called together the members who up to this time had given their adherence, in order that they might have a formal inauguration of the branch. He hoped the semi-private character of the meeting would not in any sense interfere with the movement. He had received apologies from a number of gentlemen who had been unable to attend, amongst others Sir William Muir, General Hope, Sheriff Comrie Thompson, and the Solicitor-General for Scotland. The latter wrote as follows:—

“16th November, 1887.

“DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to find it will not be in my power to attend the meeting of the Imperial Federation Society this afternoon. I hope you will successfully enlist public interest in this important and patriotic object.—Yours truly,

“J. P. B. ROBERTSON.”

Mr. Simpson also stated that Sir William Muir, who was an ardent supporter of the movement had consented to become chairman of the branch. (Applause.)

LORD ROSEBERY, who was applauded on rising, said—Gentlemen, for more reasons than one I would ask you to be content with a very few sentences from me in moving this resolution. The resolution is to the effect—“That this meeting adopt the principles of the Imperial Federation League under the name of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch; that the following be the office-bearers and committee of the branch, with power to add to their number.” (Applause.) The names I would ask the secretary to read after I sit down. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me most unfeigned pleasure to be allowed to assist you at this private meeting, which may be the nucleus of showing the real interest of Scotland in the

work of the Imperial Federation League. There is no part of the United Kingdom which has a greater right, or indeed a greater duty, in respect to this movement than Scotland. After all, in proportion to her population and her resources, no part of the United Kingdom has the same responsibility both with regard to the founding and with regard to the maintenance of our Colonial Empire. And gentlemen, I do not think that that responsibility is likely to decrease. Wherever a Colony is growing, or wherever men are wanted for Colonial enterprise, it is Scotchmen that are mainly called for. They happen to have that Colonial spirit and those Colonising capacities which are the backbone of an Imperial race. Now, gentlemen, I say therefore that it is the duty of Scotland to take no mean position in regard to this movement. But as regards the movement itself, let me say one word. In the first place, it has this great advantage over many other movements, which is that no vestige of political or party feeling should enter into it. (Hear, hear, and applause.) When I say that, I perhaps go beyond my own limit, because if I were to speak to you, to tell you what is the exact, what is the real foundation of all my politics, party or otherwise, I should say they lie in Imperial Federation—in that closer union of the Empire which in the closer union of all other communities at this moment is absolutely and essentially required not merely for our predominance, but for our future existence. (Applause.) In that sense, gentlemen, it enters into my party politics, but party politics take no part in the scheme itself. Let me call your attention to another point in regard to it. It is a practical point. Many people have a well-founded objection to the principle of the Imperial Federation League, because they say that the Imperial Federation League has no definite and practical scheme to submit to the country. Now, gentlemen, that I fully admit to be true, and I tell you it is true, and that it is wisely true. (Hear, hear.) I see a rev. friend of my own (Dr. MacGregor) in the front seat, who will tell you, having passed over a great part of the Canadian Dominion, which forms so important a factor in our ideas of Empire, I see him now in the front seat, and I think he will tell you that if there is any idea of the Mother Country dictating to the Colonies a scheme that would be advantageous to them as a means of connection, that scheme would at once be taken as a proof of that spirit of dictation which lost us the American Colonies, and would have no chance of acceptance. (Applause.) Depend upon it, gentlemen, if we wish to create Imperial Federation, it must be a mutual affair, and not a one-sided one. (Applause.) The inspiration, it is possible, may come from Great Britain itself, but the response must come from the Colonies themselves before anything can be done in the matter. Now, when I say that, I wish to go a little further, and to say that I am astonished at the progress not merely that the idea of Imperial Federation has made in this country, but at the practical steps which it has been able to effect. Last year, on the fall of the late Government, the Imperial Federation League presented a memorial to the present Prime Minister urging that a Conference should be called with regard to various Colonial questions, of which the main one was the defence of the Empire, and the present Government, to their infinite credit, to their lifelong credit, agreed to that proposition, and they summoned that Conference, and the Conference took place, and I think that no one who has studied the voluminous report they have issued in two volumes would fail to see that not merely were the actual and immediate results of that Conference very great, but that as a movement onward towards Imperial Federation infinitely greater. No one can say how far we have gone in that direction till we have had time calmly to look on the results of that Conference, and see how far they have taken us. Gentlemen, who would have thought it possible in the old days of the Colonial Office, when the main duty of the Colonial Secretary was to send convicts to some Colony, Imperial rescripts to another, or governors of not exalted reputation to others, who would have believed it possible that the Colonial Office of its own wish and of its own movement should summon to its own council the representatives of the various Colonies in the Empire to meet on an equal footing in the discussion of Imperial questions? (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, I say, then, that we have not merely the idea to record, but we have the practical progress of our movement; but if we only had the idea, an idea after all, is something in human life and in politics. The man in public or private life who is inspired by a great idea is living a higher political life than some who are realising smaller and more immediate practical objects. I venture in these few words to offer the resolution to your acceptance, and to wish a long and prosperous career to the branch of the Imperial Federation League. (Loud applause.)

The SECRETARY read the names of the office-bearers, as follow:—President—Sir Wm. Muir, K.C.S.I. Vice-Chairmen—The Dean of Faculty, Q.C.; Mr. J. P. B. Robertson, Q.C., M.P., Solicitor-General for Scotland; the Right Hon. J. B. Balfour, Q.C., M.P.; Sir Charles J. Pearson, advocate; Professor Lorimer, University of Edinburgh. Members of Committee—Sheriff Comrie Thomson, Sheriff Jameson, Mr. Charles J. Guthrie, advocate; Mr. James Wallace, advocate; Professor

Cossar Ewart, Professor Wallace, the Rev. Donald Masson, M.D.; the Rev. John Storie, the Rev. A. B. Morris, the Rev. Robt. Henderson, Dr. R. C. McLagan, Mr. Dalziel Pearson, Mr. R. Addison Smith, S.S.C.; Mr. R. A. Macfie of Dreghorn; the Rev. Dr. MacGregor; hon. treasurer—Mr. George Jamieson, C.A. Hon. secretary—Mr. James Simpson, LL.B.

MR. MACFIE of Dreghorn, in seconding the motion, said—It is not necessary for me to detain you with a speech. Your presence here is a gratifying proof of the interest that is felt very generally in Scotland and throughout the Empire on this great subject—(applause)—and you have already heard conclusive evidence of the propriety of a society being formed in the capital of Scotland. We in Scotland look upon our fellow-subjects in the Colonies being one in race, and as the men who are maintaining the unity of the Empire in the manner in which it needs to be maintained and promoted in these times. Some people looked upon the separation of the British dominions as having a tendency to weakness. That was quite a mistake. They were so many more points to defend, but they are also so many points where we have defenders. The word Federation is the only thing connected with this association that gives me any unpleasant feeling. Federation is a cold expression of the feelings which we maintain—the unity we mean to express. I agree with your Lordship in this, that there is no party feeling in connection with this movement. I have been watching the steps which led to it for many years, and I can say that there never has entered into the movement any party feeling—(applause)—for the last twenty-five years—the least idea of making it the means of promoting one party more than another, but all parties have been panting to join in it—there have been anxious aspirations all through the globe. (Applause.)

REV. DR. MACGREGOR, on the invitation of the chairman, said—I feel much honoured in being called on to give expression to my desire for the success of the movement which the chairman has to-day inaugurated. Not only this meeting, but the cause generally, must be very much indebted to his Lordship for his daring in being here—(applause)—against the advice of his doctor, when, if he had consulted his health, instead of being in the chair he would have been in his bed. (Applause.) It is sometimes brought as an objection to this movement that they have no short-cut system of Federation. His Lordship is right in saying that if they had it would be the ruin of the Colonies. It is a thing that must shape itself in the course of time, and his Lordship was right in the high ideal, though it might look unpractical. I hold that the fact that an institution of this kind exists—that that fact alone is exercising a great influence on the Colonies. (Applause.) Depend upon it that the minds of men will be turned more closely on this question in the future than in the past. Some practical scheme will be devised for bringing about the object in view. I am not a pessimist, but gentlemen in extensive business tell me that, in their view, Britain has got on the other side of the hill—that her best days are past. I hope that is not true—("No, no")—and the "No, no," from Mr. Macfie emphasises that hope. But one thing is certain: that it is good for this country to draw near to the Colonies; and not only good for her, but for them. Depend on it, the strongest tie that binds the Colonies close to us is the tie of self-interest. The moment it ceases to be good for the Colonies they will cut the cord that binds them, and they will go. But a Federation like this has a tendency to keep the Colonies close to us. You were speaking of an ideal. It may be a dream, but I hope the day is coming when not only the Colonies will be drawn closer to us, but we will be drawn nearer the great English-speaking people of America—(applause)—nearer the time—

"When the war-drum throbs no longer,
And the battle-flags are furled
In the parliaments of men,
And the federation of the world."

(Applause.) I am satisfied this movement could not have been better inaugurated in Scotland than by having the intelligence and enthusiasm of Lord Rosebery in the chair. He is a happy illustration of the fact that no one goes to the Colonies but comes back bitten by them. His Lordship has been bitten; in my own way I was bitten too, and I am glad to see that my friend Dr. Cameron Lee has been excessively bitten also. (Laughter.) The more we know about the Colonies the more we wish to know about them. (Applause.)

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

The Right Honourable J. B. BALFOUR, M.P., said—My Lord Rosebery, ladies and gentlemen—The resolution which has been put into my hands is a purely formal one, and will need no recommendation. It is as follows:—"That it be remitted to the office-bearers and committee to frame rules for the guidance of the branch, and to take such steps as they may deem most expedient for the furtherance of the objects of the League in this district." I need only say that the office-bearers will not forget the principles that have been so well laid down in the addresses to-day, and they will regard these in framing such resolutions as may be likely to advance the interests of the scheme.

REV. JOHN STORIE said—I chanced to call into the com-

mittee-room, and so soon as it was ascertained that I had spent twenty years in the Colonies I was fixed upon to speak a few words, and I am pleased to do so. I can bear testimony to this: we look to this great and noble land of our fathers as our own home. And I believe it is the same through our whole Colonial constitution, that we look to this great mother-land as the old home whose blood and breath we bear with us to the utmost lands where duty leads us. It is but a little world this in which we dwell, but I could not help feeling, both in going and in coming home, that our Empire is vast—that it had a note of welcome in almost every spot where the ship could stop, and that the necessity of its arms, and its presence, and its protection was felt from north to south, and east to west. Then I felt another fact. One day I chanced to be at Melbourne, and dined with a gentleman there. Afterwards we walked into his gardens, and there were a number of most elegant mansions round his place. He named eight of these immediate neighbours of his to me, and he said, as he popped his cigar into his mouth, "And not one of them worth less than £25,000 a year." I came home, and am home now, with the distinct impression that these gentlemen, many of them, are realising fortunes so immense, laying the foundations of prosperity so vast, and accumulating with such rapidity, that I expect, my Lord, to see some of them beside you in the House of Lords, and that, it is possible, may be one of those steps to Federation, and will prove that Federation is something like an accomplished fact. (Applause.) I have much pleasure in seconding the motion.

SHERIFF JAMESON—I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution. I rejoice that this League proposes to start a branch in the capital of Scotland, for there is no part of Her Majesty's dominions whence more people go out to distant parts of our Colonial Empire. For many ages Scots have been famous for their wandering propensities. They go to the ends of the earth, and carry with them that indomitable perseverance which has always distinguished them in the history of the world. (Applause.) It is therefore peculiarly becoming that we should have in our own country a branch of this League, which has for its object the maintaining and strengthening of those ties which bind us to the greater Scotland and greater Britain beyond the seas. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN put the motion to the meeting, and it was unanimously adopted.

COUNCILLOR COLSTON proposed a vote of thanks to the Earl of Rosebery for presiding. (Applause.)

The noble CHAIRMAN—I am very grateful, gentlemen, and hope this meeting will be the pioneer of larger and stronger meetings in times to come. (Applause.)

This terminated the proceedings.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

CHARTERHOUSE.—A debate on the subject of Imperial Federation was held on Saturday, November 19th. It was opened by the Rev. Canon Dalton in an address explanatory of the leading features of the movement, and an animated discussion followed, in which about a dozen speakers took part. A resolution expressive of sympathy in the work of the League was carried by 27 to 4. Some 80 of the boys attended the debate, and listened with interest to the speeches. Dr. Haig Brown, who had kindly allowed it to be held, expressed his approval of the result, and wished all success to the League.

WINCHESTER.—A lecture was given to the School on Monday, November 28th, by Mr. H. F. Wilson, who made use for the first time of the admirable series of pictures illustrative of Colonial life and scenery which has been prepared by Mr. L. Speed. The thanks of the League are due to the Head-master, Dr. Fearon, who has accorded a hearty welcome to the proposal made on its behalf that a lecturer should be received at Winchester.

WELLINGTON.—The Head-master, the Rev. E. C. Wickham, has given his consent for a debate to be held under the auspices of the League either this term or next. Any member willing to undertake the opening of the discussion is requested to communicate with the Secretary as soon as possible.

UPPINGHAM.—The lecture, postponed on account of Dr. Thring's death, will, it is hoped, take place early next term. It will be delivered by Mr. H. F. Wilson.

Offers of help in lecturing, opening debates, or giving prizes for essays, &c., to be competed for at the various public schools, will be thankfully received at the League's Offices, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.

The set of twelve large pictures, illustrative of our Colonial Empire, prepared by Mr. L. Speed for use by lecturers, is now ready.

FAST PASSAGE TO AUSTRALIA.—On November 15th the Orient Steam Navigation Company received notice that the *Ormuz*, their newest vessel, had landed the mails in Australia in 23 days 17 hours, the fastest passage on record.

THE CONFERENCE BLUE BOOKS.¹

IV.—THE DEFENCES OF CAPE COLONY AND NATAL.

THE military forces of these Colonies are not very numerous. Mr. Hofmeyr stated that at the Cape the first line of defence consists of 802 Mounted Riflemen, 706 Cape Mounted Police, and 4,000 trained Volunteers. In the second line of defence are the mass of the European inhabitants, all between the ages of 18 and 50 being enrolled to the number of about 60,000 men, but these are not trained. The annual expenditure amounts to £250,000. In Natal there are 300 Mounted Police, and 1,200 Volunteers, costing £74,000 a year.

But the branch of South African defence with which the Conference concerned itself was that relating to the seaboard. Table Bay, the commercial port, and Simon's Bay, the naval port, at either side of the Cape Peninsula have long been a source of anxiety which we may now soon hope to see removed. The delegates from the Cape Colony and Natal had a special meeting with the representatives of the Home Government on April 30th, at which the matter was fully discussed. Sir Thomas Upington and Mr. Hofmeyr reviewed the position with great ability. It was pointed out that although Simon's Bay had been chosen for the naval station, and strongly fortified, yet there was considerable risk in an attack from the land side if Table Bay were in the hands of an enemy, while for purposes of refitting and repairing Her Majesty's ships, the protection of the dockyards at Table Bay was indispensable, apart from the enormous commercial interests involved.

The force of these considerations has been admitted by the War Office, and proposals have been drawn up which provide for the defence of Table Bay at a cost of about £70,000 to the Colony for works, and of £75,000 to the Imperial Government for an armament; some of the guns will be 9-inch breech-loaders, and others either 6-inch breechloaders or muzzle-loaders of heavier calibre. There remain two important points upon which, if a decision has been formed, the report of the Conference is silent. It was urged upon the Government that railway communication should be completed between Cape Town and Simon's Bay, thus transforming the two into practically one fortress. The Cape Colony offered to construct the railway if £50,000 were advanced by the Treasury repayable by the Colony at the end of ten years, and bearing interest for the last five years of the term at 3 per cent. This would have involved the Treasury in a total expense of £7,500, and as the line would be purely strategic, and could never pay for itself, while Sir. H. Holland "recognised its military value in regard to the general defence of the Peninsula," it seems unfortunate that Her Majesty's Government could not undertake to accept the conditions mentioned at once. But the last published words (for part of the discussion is suppressed as confidential) of the President will find an echo everywhere. "I should hope," he said, "and confidently expect that a satisfactory arrangement may be arrived at as regards the railway."

The other point to which we should like to draw attention is the necessity of stationing a war-ship in Table Bay. Sir T. Upington stated that the vessel now supposed to be stationed in Simon's Bay is often absent for months cruising along the west coast of Africa as far as the Congo. If war broke out suddenly, there would be no means of communication, and Table Bay might be exposed to attack while the "guard-ship" was hundreds of miles away. Even a vessel of little service for sea-going purposes might be very useful, if heavily armed and anchored inside the breakwater at Cape Town, and would afford great facilities for training naval auxiliaries in time of peace. We hope that the Government will perceive the advantage of complying with Sir T. Upington's request in this matter.

The coast defence of Natal, in the opinion of Mr. Robinson, the delegate from that Colony, should be carefully strengthened at Durban. "You cannot," he said, "hold the Cape Peninsula without holding Cape Colony; you cannot hold Cape Colony without holding Natal;" and the key to Natal is the port of Durban, which is "absolutely defenceless."

The South African cable is landed at Durban, and Mr. Robinson states that "the only coal-fields at present known to exist between England and Australia are those of Natal." In view of the French and German acquisitions in Madagascar and the east coast of Africa, Durban assumes a special value; but the approaching completion of the Delagoa Bay Railway may perhaps divest it of some of its importance as a port of disembarkation for the interior. It is, however, satisfactory to learn that the Colonial Government, according to a despatch received by Sir H. Holland after Mr. Robinson left the Colony, "have liberally come forward and offered to provide new type guns at the cost of about £10,000." The position is so defensible that a simple work mounted with these guns will suffice, it is stated, for the protection of the port.

V.—THE MILITARY FORCES OF AUSTRALIA.

Several important contributions to the military problem in Australia were furnished by the Conference. There are, as was

well shown by Sir Samuel Griffith, several different military systems in the Australian Colonies. "Each Colony has its own law; there is not much uniformity, and there would be different defects in each Colony." As to the disadvantages of this want of uniformity, the representatives were unanimous. Sir James Lorimer forcibly expressed the general feeling in saying, "I am quite sure that if New South Wales was attacked, Victoria would very soon be there to help her with 5,000 men, and we should expect the same assistance from her. (Hear, hear.) Therefore our military organisation should be as complete as possible." Sir Patrick Jennings quoted the report of a Commission consisting of the Commandants of the Forces in Victoria, South Australia, and New South Wales, who unanimously recommended the appointment of an Imperial officer, as inspecting officer of the Australian forces and military adviser to the several Governments, for a period of three or five years, subject to renewal. And especially important was this sentence in the report:—"In time of peace the officer would not exercise any executive command; should there be combined or federal arrangement for defence, he would assume supreme direction." It is so far satisfactory to state that at a subsequent sitting a letter was read from Mr. Stanhope, who said, "I have consulted the Commander-in-Chief, and he agrees with me in thinking that we can make arrangements to meet the wish that there should be an occasional inspection by a General officer, sent for that purpose, of the Colonial forces" in Australia. We hope that this important step, which but for the Conference would certainly not have been taken, will develop into the regular appointment of an Australian Commander-in-Chief contemplated in the Report quoted above.

But much remains to be done before the Australian forces reach their highest efficiency. Sir James Lorimer said:—"It would be very desirable to have an assimilation of our legislation as well as of our organisation, so that we should all be organised on precisely the same system, and be able to assist one another in time of need." Sir Samuel Griffith immediately laid his finger on one essential condition, that all the Colonies should have power to move their forces beyond their own boundaries. At present, he declared, none could do this, except Queensland, within certain limitations. All the information the President could give was that "he supposed there was no question that the Colonial Legislatures might pass laws which would authorise the moving of volunteers or of a militia force from one Colony to another." We hope to see this supposition confirmed by the Law Officers of the Crown, and followed by the necessary Colonial Acts without delay.

Supposing that the forces of two or more Colonies are brought together either for active service or for manœuvres, questions of precedence would naturally arise. Sir H. Holland circulated a memorandum on this subject, which stated that "the only authority in the Empire who can give such precedence is the Queen." Presumably, therefore, with Her Majesty's consent, the memorandum continues: "No rule of precedence could well be applied except in accordance with the precedence in seniority of the Colonies." This lays down a principle that will prove of great value; the precedence will hold good among forces of the same arm; all regulars will precede militia, and militia, volunteers; in each arm the order of seniority of the Colonies will be observed. With a view to settling the more difficult question of precedence of officers, the memorandum observes that "the only solution appears to be that all commissions should be granted by the Queen, for which purpose it would apparently be necessary only that the Colonial Governments should pass Acts authorising Her Majesty to grant them." Another suggestive paragraph follows: "As soon as these questions have been settled, it appears most desirable that the names of all the officers of Colonial forces of all kinds should be shown once a year in the Army List."

The same document which contains these valuable suggestions draws attention to the terms of obligation of service of Colonial forces. "It is extremely important that these terms should be assimilated. The following are proposed:—

"1. To serve at all times in the defence of their Colony.

"2. With the assent of their Colonial Governments, and in the event of that Government providing the means, to aid Her Majesty in any wars in which she may be engaged.

"3. In such a case, the command must be vested in the commanding officer of Her Majesty's troops.

"4. When serving within the Colony, to be subject to Colonial law. When serving with Her Majesty's troops beyond the Colony, to be subject to the Army Act and the Queen's Regulations."

It will be noted that nothing is said as to the law to which a Colonial force would be subject when serving in another Colony. At present they remain under the law of their own Colony, and until the different laws are assimilated there will remain a serious obstacle in the way of that striking demonstration which Sir S. Griffith states to be in contemplation of "collecting all the forces of Australia in one place" for manœuvres or for an encampment.

¹ "Proceedings of the Colonial Conference," Two Vols., 8s. red. Eyre and Spottiswoode.

In all these matters the utility of the Conference has been strikingly apparent; not only has it manifested the general desire on the part of the Colonies for united action in all that pertains to defence, but it has brought into strong relief difficulties and anomalies which would probably otherwise have been allowed to lie dormant until they revealed themselves in the moment of danger, too late for effectual cure. But now there will be no excuse for delay; the Colonies have stated their views plainly, and have been frankly met by the Imperial Government. The latter has shown its readiness to take the initiative wherever the former required guidance or advice; and if the good intentions of the representatives are seconded by the Colonial Parliaments, and abetted in a generous mood by the War Office and Admiralty, the way seems clear for the consummation of measures for Imperial Defence that shall render the Empire impregnable by land and sea.

HERE AND THERE.

OF the 7,912 immigrants who entered Toronto with the intention of settling in Canada, 4,447 were English, 1,683 Irish, 1,416 Scotch, and only 46 foreigners.

THE *Quebec Chronicle* urges that the old colours of the 100th Regiment shall be deposited in the English Cathedral of Quebec, which city was formerly its headquarters. We trust they may be.

SIR GEORGE STEPHEN, President of the Canadian Pacific, is said to be coming to England shortly to arrange for building three steamers for the new Subsidised Pacific Line. They are to be 4,000 tons burden, and to steam 18 miles an hour, with boilers below water level, and twin screws to meet Admiralty requirements.

THE New York Chamber of Commerce has appointed a Committee to consider the question of Commercial Union with Canada.

MR. M. H. DAVIES has been elected Speaker of the Victorian Legislative Assembly.

THE Red River Railway scheme of Manitoba has collapsed for the present, owing to the inability to procure funds, and to the confirmation of the Dominion Government's objections by the legal authorities.

OUR thanks are due to Mr. Albert W. Smith for his able advocacy of our cause in the pages of the *British Israelite*. "I hope," he says, "all readers will at once subscribe to the funds of the League, and so help to keep going this most important organisation." That is a kind of practical sympathy of which we cannot have too much.

WE regret to learn that Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, has, under pressure of pecuniary embarrassments, assigned his estate for the benefit of his creditors.

AN interesting and useful list of books relating to the Colonies, including works published in Australia and other parts of the Empire, is given in the current issue of Mr. E. A. Petherick's periodical, which may be obtained at the Colonial Booksellers' Agency, 33, Paternoster Row.

THE American Transcontinental lines are reported to be endeavouring to induce the Canadian Pacific Line to join the new association being formed to keep up through rates, and to be offering to grant important concessions in order to secure its co-operation.

ON the eve of his departure to assume the government of the Bahamas, Sir Ambrose Shea was, according to a Reuter's message, presented with an address signed by 3,000 citizens representing all classes and denominations.

A COMPLETE library of books relating to Canada would, it is estimated, contain 5,000 volumes.

THE survey for the fortifications at Esquimalt is understood to be practically completed, and it is hoped the works themselves will be begun next spring. The scheme which it is proposed to carry out will make Esquimalt practically impregnable from the sea.

IT is believed in Newfoundland that the Imperial Government is prepared to subsidise a mail service between England and her oldest Colony.

THE Government of New South Wales are promoting a measure in Parliament for changing the name of the Colony to "Australia."

MELBOURNE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The sight best worth seeing in Melbourne is the public library. Victorians are very proud of it. "In all Britain," said a learned judge to me, "you have only 14 free libraries; in Victoria we have 140." Every small town has its free library, but that of Melbourne is the chief. It is supported by the State, and occupies a large and handsome building.—*Dr. Cameron Lees.*

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

ALDERLEY EDGE.—An important public meeting was held under the management of the Executive of the two political clubs for the Alderley polling district on November 5th, in the Wesleyan Schoolroom, Alderley Edge, for the purpose of hearing an address from Colonel Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B., on Imperial Federation. The Rev. E. J. Bell, rector of Alderley, and rural dean, presided, and there were also present the Hon. Alan de Tatton Egerton, M.P., Colonel Dixon, Mr. W. C. Brocklehurst, Mr. J. Jardine, Mr. J. Collier, Mr. J. O. Nicholson, Mr. W. Goldthorp, Mr. W. J. Napier, and others. There was a large attendance.

THE CHAIRMAN said that meeting was unique in two respects—it was a political meeting with the politics left out, and it was a meeting which had been got up by the combined efforts of the Liberal and Conservative clubs.

COLONEL SIR CHARLES NUGENT said he had appeared there as the representative of the Imperial Federation League, London, whose object was the closer union of all the dominions of the Queen, sometimes called Greater Britain. The League was not a political institution; on the contrary, on its council Liberals and Conservatives were almost equally divided. The main objects of Imperial Federation were defence, extension of territory, and extension of commerce. We could not but acknowledge with pride that this Empire of Greater Britain—an Empire such as the world had never seen—was an Empire worth fighting for; nay, he would go further, and say that it was an Empire we were bound to fight for—and, this was the pith of the whole matter, an Empire upon the maintenance of which our existence as a nation depended. Why did our existence as a nation depend upon the maintenance of this Empire? The answer was plain. It was because the independent existence of States, other things being equal, rested primarily, or would do so in the future, upon their numbers. Indeed, it was impossible to notice without concern the tendency of peoples to empire themselves in great nationalities. Throughout Europe the larger communities had absorbed, or were steadily absorbing, the smaller, and it did not need a far-seeing eye to forecast the period when the continent of Europe should be apportioned between three or four great States. At no very distant time the population of the British Isles would be insignificant compared to those of the European nations, and if our Empire were then limited to these four seas, we should indeed be insignificant, and should lead the existence of sufferance only. Our Colonies were already in some fashion or another bound to us, but was the tie that bound them sufficient? It was not necessary to ask the question. Which will gain most by Federation—the Mother Country or the Colonies? If such a question were mooted, it should rather take the form of—What will the Colonies lose if they do not federate? In the case of Canada, Principal Grant answered, "Almost everything a country needs." Defensively our Colonies would gain by a closer union, while closer union meant the advantages of British capital, increased security for commerce, favourable markets, and such other benefits, moral and material, as arise from membership in Great Britain, the freest, the wealthiest, the most glorious Empire the world had ever seen. At the present moment there was in Great Britain a vast amount of ignorance and indifference in Colonial matters; but, still, a great stride had been made during the past three or four years through the unselfish and patriotic exertions of individuals, and also through the exertions of the Imperial Federation League, which even Ministers acknowledged. (Applause.) Men's minds, both here and in the Colonies, were being drawn to the advantages of Federation. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) The League had deliberately abstained from putting forward authoritatively any scheme of Union, as they thought they could at present promote less obtrusively, but as effectually, and in ways which were not likely to endanger it, the cause which they had at heart. (Applause.) Whatever else they might do, the Colonists would call for representation of one sort or another. (Applause.) Representation was the keystone of Federation. What they looked for was a true Imperial representation, to which they might with something like confidence entrust the destinies of this noble Empire. (Applause.) They might direct the current of popular feeling thitherwards, but they did not think it expedient to propose it. They had placed defensive matters in the forefront, for they could not ensure peace and its attendant blessings without strength; yet their object was essentially peace. (Loud applause.)

MR. W. J. NAPIER moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting fully recognises the importance of a closer and more definite union between the Mother Country and the

Colonies, and will support any well-considered scheme to carry this into effect." (Applause.)

The HON. DE TATTON EGERTON, M.P., seconded the resolution, and said that Imperial Federation was the coming question, the dealing with which could not be long postponed. (Applause.) The real point at the present time was to get an Imperial policy in combination with their Colonies—(hear, hear)—for if they got that the rest would follow. (Applause.) If they had an Imperial Parliament, the questions of Free Trade or Protection could be threshed out in such a manner as to be a benefit both to the Colonies and to the Mother Country. (Applause.) At the present time the commercial policy of the Colonies was by no means beneficial to the Mother Country. (Hear, hear.) He sincerely hoped that this lecture might bear good fruit. (Applause.)

MR. J. O. NICHOLSON supported the resolution, which was unanimously carried. The proceedings then closed.

BRAMPTON.—On November 2nd, in connection with the working-men's club, MR. W. S. SEBRIGHT GREEN lectured in the Cross Room at Brampton, on Imperial Federation. The chair was taken by the Rev. H. S. Budge, who briefly introduced the lecturer. In England there was now a very different feeling exhibited towards the Colonies to that which had previously prevailed, and it was now recognised how necessary the Colonies were for the expansion of our trade and for sending us our food supplies. The late lamented chairman of the Imperial Federation League, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, had declared that Imperial Federation consisted in regarding our Empire as many States with respect to their internal government, but as one State with respect to their attitude towards foreign powers. For securing Federation two conditions were necessary. In the first place there must be no attempt to deprive the Colonies of local self-government; and, secondly, the aspirations of the Colonists must be encouraged; they must be led to see that their self-interest demanded that they should be on the side of Union; and that they, as well as us, must feel that their future would be stronger and better as a part of the British Empire than as individual communities. (Applause.) Discussion having been invited, the Rev. J. W. Munns expressed himself as being in favour of Imperial Federation. The Chairman seconded a vote of thanks which had been proposed to Mr. Green, and this terminated the proceedings.

BUCKDEN.—A very instructive lecture upon Imperial Federation was given by Mr. Sebright Green, of Brampton, in the Infants' Schoolroom on November 9th, the Rev. H. M. Roxby occupying the chair. The lecturer, being an old Colonist, gave many interesting facts regarding our Colonies, showing the necessity for a scheme of Federation. Colonel A. W. Marshall, in a capital speech, proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting believes that in order to secure the unity of the Empire some form of Federation is necessary, and that no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs." This was seconded by Mr. A. Grist. The Chairman, after inviting discussion, put the resolution, which was carried without a dissentient. A hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer brought the meeting to a close.

ENFIELD.—MR. F. P. LABILLIÈRE delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation to the members of the Enfield Radical Club on November 18th. The policy propounded met with warm support, no opposition being apparent. The chairman remarked that the people of this country would certainly welcome Imperial Federation, if a desire for it existed in the Colonies. After the meeting a member informed the lecturer that he should propose their asking the Conservative working men to unite with them in holding a joint meeting on the subject.

HUNTINGDON.—A large and representative meeting was held in the Town Hall on Oct. 28th, in support of the movement for State Colonisation. The idea of Imperial Federation permeated the speeches throughout, as will be seen from the extracts we give.

In the absence of the Mayor, the chair was taken by the ex-Mayor, Mr. C. S. Windover, who is himself an old Colonist; and he was supported on the platform by the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Alfred Simmons, the Ven. Archdeacon Vesey, Mr. W. Sebright Green (late of British Columbia), and other gentlemen. In addition to these gentlemen, the speakers included the High Sheriff (Mr. H. C. Geldart), Colonel A. W. Marshall, Mr. G. J. Rust, J.P., Mr. A. Grist, and the Rev. T. Hodgson. Amongst those who were also present were Mr. F. R. Beart, J.P., Mr. F. J. Howson, J.P., Capt. Ricketts, Rev. J. Pycock, Rev. Miles Atkinson, Rev. P. Duffy, &c. &c. The audience also included a large number of ladies.

The EARL OF SANDWICH in the course of his speech said, people who had never been out of their own district had not the faintest conception of what our Empire really was. Their ideas were naturally confused, and they did not realise what was meant by being a subject of the "British Empire." The one thing which struck an Englishman on visiting one of our great Colonies was how very similar the surroundings were to those at home. It was an unfortunate thing that labourers who failed

to find employment in their own neighbourhood should at once go to London. Of the people who actually left England, the largest number went to the United States, and in so doing, by their labour added to the wealth of the American capitalists, who were among our severest and most formidable competitors. This was a pity, as in our own Colonies there was a vast field for the labour of Englishmen. And as an inhabitant of one of the Colonies an Englishman would remain just as much an Englishman as if he had never left the Mother Country, and he would be far better situated than if he had fled from the country to one of the large towns of England. (Hear, hear.)

MR. ALFRED GRIST said that State colonisation would be one great step in the direction of the grand idea of the Federation of the Empire—in the direction of the binding together in one great body by indissoluble bonds all peoples, races, and lands owing allegiance to the British Crown. Such a bond could never be effected by Act of Parliament, although it might be so sealed. (Hear, hear.) The population thus sent abroad would not be lost to England; they would still be Englishmen, living on English soil, and under the English flag; and if the day should come when all the resources of England were taxed by a great European war her call to arms would awaken a thrill of patriotic sympathy in every quarter of the globe; every part of the Empire would contribute its quota of men, and Greater Britain would show to the world a grand and united front, for a parallel of which we might search in vain through the pages of history. In State Colonisation we had everything to gain and nothing to lose. It would increase our commercial prosperity, it would carry the benefits of civilisation into unexplored regions, it would bind in closest bonds of friendship the Mother Country with her children in every part of the world, and would render more possible a true Federation of the Empire which would convert Greater Britain into a grand world-state, unrivalled in power, and unequalled in influence and wealth. (Applause.)

KENSINGTON.—A meeting of the Kensington Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on Tuesday, the 15th inst., at the office of the branch, 99, Gloucester Road, South Kensington. Among those present were Alderman Sir Wm. McArthur, K.C.M.G. (President), J. Horne Payne, Q.C. (Vice-President), Admiral Sir Leopold McClintock, K.C.B., and Lady McClintock, Lieut.-Colonel P. R. Innes (Honorary Treasurer,) and Mrs. Innes, Major-General E. O. Leggatt, Dr. W. Culver James, John Ogle, W. Bousfield, Lieut.-Colonel Higgins, A. H. Loring, Dale Hart, J. R. Kindersley, J. M. Ludlow, C.B., G. G. Tremlett, C. Freeman Murray (Secretary), &c. &c.

The chair was taken at 8.30 p.m. by ALDERMAN SIR WILLIAM MCARTHUR, K.C.M.G., who in a brief speech introduced Colonel Innes to the meeting, and called upon him to read his paper on the "Empire of India with reference to Imperial Federation." Colonel Innes having given a short sketch of how we obtained India, and of our present position there, pointed out in a skilful manner the high position India will hold in the future, in a military sense, as one of the most important portions of the British Empire, containing as it does an almost inexhaustible supply of men of splendid physique in whom the martial spirit is born and bred. The reader of the paper further drew attention to the commercial advantages of India, especially to our Australasian Colonies. Among several suggestions for strengthening our position in India, perhaps the most novel was, that Cashmere should be formed into a British Colony, the climate being suitable to Europeans, and the soil one of the most fertile in the world. Could a British agricultural population be transferred to Cashmere it would help to relieve the distress in this country, and greatly strengthen the security of the northern frontier of India.

An interesting and instructive discussion ensued. Mr. G. G. Tremlett held that in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India would have to be treated in a different manner to our self-governing Colonies, as it would be political suicide to allow the natives of India to determine our foreign policy. Dr. Culver James in moving a vote of thanks to Colonel Innes for his admirable paper, drew particular attention to the wish expressed in the paper that Cashmere might be utilised as a British Colony, and expressed a hope that the subject would not be allowed to drop. Mr. G. M. Ludlow, C.B., in seconding the vote of thanks suggested as a moderate measure, that representatives from India should aid the Imperial Council with advice without having any voting power. The vote of thanks to the reader of the paper having been carried unanimously, the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Mr. J. Horne Payne, Q.C., and seconded by Admiral Sir Leopold McClintock, K.C.B.

LONDON: BATTERSEA.—MR. F. P. LABILLIÈRE gave a lecture on November 22nd at the Battersea Liberal Club, choosing for his subject Imperial Federation. The lecturer spoke of the common interests of the British people in these islands and in the Colonies; of the necessity of their standing together in order to enjoy the most perfect security and strength; of their general commerce, provincial progress, and peace with other nations requiring the insurance which Imperial Federation can alone give. He pointed out the nature of Federal government

and its various forms, and said it would be for the people of the Empire, through their responsible Governments, to say from what existing model of Federal institutions they would have that of the Empire adapted.

The policy was well received, a number of questions being put to the lecturer, with a view to clearing up certain points, and the answers were regarded as satisfactory.

MANCHESTER.—Imperial Federation was the subject of an address by Sir Charles Nugent to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on Nov. 7th.

MR. G. H. Gaddum, president of the chamber, was in the chair.—Sir Charles Nugent, who represented the Imperial Federation League, said he had been requested by the Council of the League to attack Manchester on the subject of federation, because they had hitherto done little there. In his address Sir Charles insisted strongly upon the opinion that in a few years we in the United Kingdom would be hopelessly outnumbered by the great military Powers of the Continent, and that unless we were then federated into Greater Britain we should sink into insignificance. Greater Britain would be able to set the world at defiance. The Federation League did not put forward any cut-and-dry scheme, but it was generally agreed that representation and responsibility would be the main points in this arrangement.—Mr. J. F. Hutton moved a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Nugent, and the vote, which was seconded by Mr. J. E. Middlehurst, was heartily carried.

MANCHESTER.—On November 7th, LORD FREDERIC HAMILTON addressed a crowded and enthusiastic meeting at Hulme, near Manchester. The speaker concluded by saying they all knew our present difficulty from an over-stocked labour market. What would it be with 68,000,000? How were they to find employment for the people? There was only one resource, and that was emigration to the greater Britain beyond the seas. (Hear, hear.) As Sir Charles Nugent, speaking at Alderley Edge on Saturday night, on this subject, said: "In British territories beyond the seas are lands for the landless, prosperity and wealth for those in straitened circumstances; on the one side are men without property; on the other side is property waiting for the men." (Applause.) There was something very beautiful in the idea of Imperial Federation—of all our dependencies being bound together in one great national tie. Imperial Federation had been scoffed at, but it was gradually gaining ground. He believed that we should live to find our dreams realised, and see under the sovereignty of these realms one of the grandest Empires the world had ever known, an Empire stretching from pole to pole, a nation of freemen, prosperous, contented, united under one Queen, serving under one flag. (Loud cheers.)

NEW BARNET.—At a recent meeting of the Mutual Improvement Society a debate took place on the subject of Imperial Federation. It was opened by MR. R. A. RICHARDS, who contended that the present system of Imperial government, which gave the voters of the United Kingdom the sole voice in the control of Imperial affairs, is a negation of the first principles of representative government which must lead to dissatisfaction and irritation on the part of the Colonists, who, though often more deeply interested than their brethren at home, have no influence but as outside petitioners. The dissatisfaction was shown to exist by quotations from the late Premier of Victoria and other representative Colonial men, and the evil result of government of the whole by a part was exemplified by the New Guinea, New Hebrides, Newfoundland fisheries, and other disputes. This anomaly in government could not long continue; some change must be made or separation ensue—a result detrimental to both Mother Country and Colonies. England without her Colonies would lose prestige and power, her trade would be exposed to wholly new risks, and as Colonies take from her three times as much in proportion as foreigners take, it is probable that her trade would decline. The Colonies separated would be but petty states, liable to have their rights abused and their interests set at nought. Germany in New Guinea and France in the New Hebrides, would not have listened to a mere Australian protest, and Canada alone would be next to powerless before the United States.

Some more advantages to be derived from a Federal Union in matters of common interest such as defence, were mentioned, and motion moved in favour of Federation. Mr. Oakeshott then spoke in opposition. The debate was continued by Messrs. Arthur, King, Starr, S. J. Games, Cross, and the Chairman. Mr. Richards replied, and the motion was then put and carried by a majority of four.

TIVERTON.—The opening meeting of the twelfth session of the Tiverton Debating Society was held at the coffee-house on October 31st, when there was a large attendance of members. The question before the house was a motion by the president (Mr. Arthur Fisher), "That the British Empire must federate or fall." This was seconded by Mr. W. H. Martin, and supported by Mr. J. Thorne. The opposition was led by Mr. S. H. Fisher, and Messrs. A. Gregory, J. B. Clutterbuck, Stubbs, and A. Bond, also spoke against the motion. Upon a division (he resolution was carried by twelve votes against nine.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as the lecturing season has now commenced, and the map is much in request.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1887, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their Journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1887 is being compiled, and will be ready for binding with the volume in January.

A NEW pamphlet, entitled "The Imperial Conference of 1887," is now ready, price 2d. Post free, 2½d. In accordance with the terms of membership, the pamphlet has been sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN'S FUND.

(JUBILEE COLLECTION, 1887.)

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

Viceregal Lodge, Simla, October 25th, 1887.

SIR,—On the 1st of January¹ of this year you were good enough to publish a letter in which I appealed to members of the National Association, and to all others interested in its work, "to join me in making some special effort to commemorate Her Majesty the Queen-Empress' Jubilee, and at the same time to benefit those Indian women in whose welfare the Queen takes so great and personal an interest."

It is unnecessary for me to repeat the arrangements made to carry out this suggestion; but now that the collection is closed, I shall be glad if you will allow me, through the columns of your paper, to inform those who interested themselves in the matter of the success of the effort made, and to give a few particulars with regard to the sums collected. On the 15th of October, on which day we were obliged to close the list of "Jubilee" subscriptions and donations, we had received Rs. 4,78,465 in India, and £1,770 in England. Our Jubilee collection therefore exceeds five lakhs.

Of this sum 3¼ lakhs were received in large donations, the remainder being the aggregate of smaller subscriptions on cards. Most of the branches of the Association took an active part in this collection, and Rs. 75,925 has been paid over to them according to the rules laid down in my letter of the 1st of January.

To all donors of large sums, and to the collectors of smaller ones, I have sent receipts, and I have therefore, in some way been able to acknowledge their kindness, and to express my appreciation of their generosity. I have, however, still to thank the tens of thousands of persons whose subscriptions, ranging from one anna to Rs. 100, have so greatly swelled this Jubilee collection, and whose gifts, appearing on other people's cards, have as yet received no personal recognition. I take this opportunity of doing so most heartily.

The list of donors and collectors is now being prepared for transmission to the Queen-Empress, and the same list, with the address forwarded to Her Majesty, will, for the information of subscribers, be published in the report of the National Association in January, 1888. And here I must add that although this letter refers only to the "Jubilee collection," and to the money which has actually passed through my hands, it would be incomplete did it not contain at least a passing allusion to the well-directed efforts and to the large sums which are being spent in various parts of India, upon female hospitals, and other works in connection with the National Association, and in commemoration of the Queen-Empress' Jubilee. Her Majesty's attention will be drawn to these, and detailed accounts of them will also appear in the annual report.

The system of collection by cards inaugurated on this occasion has certainly been successful. It has proved that vast

¹ [Lady Dufferin's letter was dated January 1st, and appeared in our February issue.—Ed.]

numbers of persons are interesting themselves in the work of the Association, and it has shown that by a very simple organisation, a lakh and a half can be collected in small sums such as thousands of persons are both able and willing to give. I hope, therefore, to continue it for the benefit of the Central Fund, though I cannot after this year undertake to receive money for the branches.

The Central Committee have now been enabled to invest the five lakhs which they were anxious to lay by as an Endowment Fund. The branches are likewise endeavouring to invest money so as to ensure the continuity of the work of the National Association. We trust, therefore, that although the next year affords no special occasion for liberality, the progress already made in carrying out the objects of the Association, and the assurance of stability given to it by the possession of a certain, though a comparatively small income, will encourage all who are interested in the welfare of the women of India to make still further efforts on their behalf, and to give us the means of more quickly relieving their sufferings, and of supplying them with the medical aid which they so greatly need.—I am, Sir, Yours faithfully, HARRIET DUFFERIN, Lady President, National Association for supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India.

A CANADIAN PROTEST AGAINST COMMERCIAL UNION.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—It is with hearty sympathy and gratitude at one and the same time that I greet the appearance and bear testimony to the strengthening sinews of so powerful and world-embracing an exponent and guide of the Confederated Imperial idea as is embraced in the advent of your great monthly expositor. The regular appearance and transmission throughout the Empire of your invaluable Journal is the magnificent outcome of an earnest and unceasing effort to bring into some practical shape and proportions that noble sentiment of Imperial Consolidation. Who shall doubt now as to the possibilities of the agitation, an agitation which the internal and outside enemies of the Empire have laughed to scorn, and pooh-poohed to derision? The hearts and minds of our thinkers and patriots have long been occupied with the possibility of realising the attainment of what formerly seemed a visionary millennium. And yet, Sir, notwithstanding all the greatness of the task before the propagators, the immensity of the idea, and the conservative propensities of the British people in all matters pertaining to sweeping measures of statecraft which have to be aroused and guided in the pathway of Imperial reform—notwithstanding all these apparently at first glance almost insuperable difficulties, I cannot see how British statesmen can arrive at any other conclusion than that as the trustees and guardians of such an Imperial sceptre as is ours, it is absolutely necessary, no matter how immense the effort required, to formulate a Confederated Union throughout, of advantage commercially, morally, and for purposes of offence and defence to the whole connection.

The facts of the Colonies' objection to Free Trade, and Great Britain's Free Trade dogma, should present no insuperable difficulty. Without either the Mother Land or the Colonies foregoing their principles on these issues it should be possible to arrive at a compact. The British Isles, with a population of at most forty millions, in commercial arms against the world, including their own children would be ruined. But they would present a very different spectacle by consenting to commercial union within the entire Empire of over 300 millions as against the world! That is—the Colonies would not doubt submit to an Imperial and Commercial Free Trade Confederation, provided the Mother Land would forego its Free Trade dogma as against the rest of the world.

We in Canada at the present time are being urged by a number of fancy philosophers, disappointed politicians, and annexationist agitators to cast ourselves at the feet of the adjoining Republic, and earnestly solicit commercial union; or in plain language we are being urged to supplicate commercial union with a nation of exporters at any price. Seeing, however, that we are close on the borders of a manufacturing people as well as an agricultural exporting people of about sixty millions, whose manufactures have been established on protective principles and are now capitalist institutions which could close up every Canadian manufacture on free trade terms within six months, and seeing furthermore that there is nothing in agricultural produce we have to export which the United States have not also a surplus of, I do not think our people will be apt to be hoodwinked in cold blood by the plausible sharpers who are brazenly advocating our fiscal surrender to the Republic, and at the same time still more brazenly allowing the natural consequence of such a suicidal surrender—to wit, our own commercial engulfment, and the permission to levy the American tariff against British imports—to go by default. In fact we are furnished with the peculiar anomaly of ardent Free Traders advocating closer commercial union with the most protective

nation on the earth, and at the same time ardent Protectionists in the fraternity advocating commercial union on the ground that such a union would give us free intercourse with a people of sixty millions!

What hosts of our people are feeling, however, is that whilst a larger commercial intercourse on free fiscal conditions is desirable yet that something even higher than mere commercial interests has to be considered. The British stock, whether English, Scotch, Irish, or old United Empire Loyalist, which has made Canada the land of adoption for the sake of the old flag, and dear British traditions, infinitely prefers Imperial and Commercial Confederation with the 300 millions of British fellow-subjects, to free commercial intercourse with sixty millions of foreigners. With the 300 millions we should be in cordial harmony, and be in no danger of losing our British heritage. With Free Trade with the 300 millions, and an outstanding tariff against the rest of the world, Canada could feed the Empire and immensely enlarge her magnificent agricultural resources and become enriched in consequence. With Free Trade with the 300 millions Canada would enlarge her already expansive marine service, and find new fields in distant Australia for her commerce, and supplant the American there with the essentially American manufactures which are now finding a market and favour in the Antipodes. With Free Trade with the 300 millions of fellow-subjects, Canada's manufactures must certainly stand a better chance for existence, seeing that the nearest competitor would have 3,000 miles of ocean freight to overcome, than in the event of Free Trade with rivals close on our confines, as in the American case. Whilst as regards Great Britain's advantages from such a Confederation, she would enlarge her commerce with her Colonies; would of necessity under such a combination of British millions in solid union present an overwhelming position to the world and minimise the chances of war. British capital would find new fields in the development of the mines and resources of the Colonies. British labour would find new fields for distribution and the attainment of land, homes, and wealth. Without a speedy and solid Confederation England's sceptre will depart. Let strong hands grasp with Imperial sway the situation worthy of a Cæsar or a Cromwell, a Pitt or a Beaconsfield, and let Britons hold what Britons have.

With profound reverence for God, Queen, Empire, and Union, I am, sir, your obedient servant,
St. Thomas, Ontario. ALFRED EDWIN RIDLEY.

THE WESTERN PACIFIC.¹

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Would you kindly allow me a few lines in your valuable Journal, so as to bring before your readers some idea of the loss of prestige and trade that the British people have had to put up with lately amongst the islands of the Western Pacific, through the harassing restrictions placed on them by the Imperial Government. It is hard lines that the French, German, and American citizens can sell guns, powder, and alcoholic liquors to the natives of these islands, also make contracts with the chiefs for the sale of lands; and our own people, who civilise them and encourage them to cultivate and trade by honest industry, are looked upon by the Imperial authorities as little better than buccaneers and beach-combers. The sooner the New Hebrides and other islands in the locality are placed under the British flag, the better it will be for all nations, as well as the natives themselves. Friends of my own, who have started from Melbourne and Sydney to trade in the Western Pacific, with capital and honest energy, have returned in disgust, minus their capital, after losing several thousands of pounds sterling. All we Australians want is fair play and no favour. Having British blood in our veins, we pant for liberty and freedom, but not tyranny. These islands might be placed under the control of the Australian Colonies with perfect safety. It would pay our Colonies well to buy out the foreigners, then there would be an end to the murder and robbery that is carried on at present. Hoping I have not trespassed on your space, and thanking you in anticipation,—I remain, yours,
F. S. B. SKINNER.

Smith Street, Fitzroy, Melbourne.

¹ We are glad to think that our correspondent's just indignation will by this time have been allayed.—Ed.

RUSSIAN GOLD-FIELDS.—“In taking a general review of the gold-fields likely in the near future to yield the most constant supply, it is evident that an important place must be given to Russia. With a very slight fall in the produce of Australia and of the United States, Russia would again take her old place at the head of gold-producing countries. With its enormous areas of placer gold only partially worked, and its Siberian veins untouched, a steady yield of gold may be anticipated for many years to come.”—*Mr. W. Topley, at the British Association.*

RUSSIAN CRUISERS IN THE PACIFIC.—Russia has now upon her North Pacific Station—cruising, that is, between Vladivostok and Yokohama—three new second-class protected ships: the *Vladimir Monomakh* and the *Dmitri Donskoi*, of nearly 6,000 tons apiece, and the *Duke of Edinburgh*, of 4,600 tons; one older protected ship, the *Vitiaz*, of 3,000 tons; four fast-sailing cruisers: the *Naïezdnik*, the *Razboinik*, the *Opritchnik*, and the *Djigite*; and four gunboats, of which two are brand-new this year. While talking about their European fleets, the Russians are paying no real attention to them, and are more and more concentrating their strength in the North Pacific.—*Fortnightly Review.*

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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

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v.2

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